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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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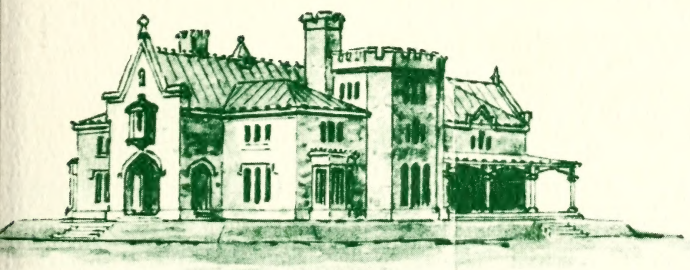
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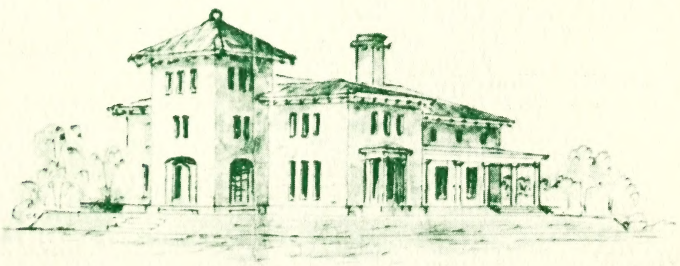
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COVER—Old English and Italian architectural versions were presented to Governor and Mrs. William A. Graham when they planned to remodel their home, "Montrose," in Hillsboro in the 1850's. The reproductions used on the cover are from files of Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Graham, Hillsboro. For an article on architectural developments at "Montrose," see pages 85 to 95.

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JAMES DAVIS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE NEWSPAPER IN NORTH CAROLINA

By Robert N. Elliott, Jr.*

On September 25, 1690, Benjamin Harris, a former London bookseller and publisher who had come to Boston four years before, issued *Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestic.* This was the first newspaper to be published in that part of America which became the United States. *Publick Occurrences* was a small paper, measuring but six by nine and a half inches, with only three of its four pages printed; the fourth was left blank for Bostonians to add their own news when they sent their copies to distant friends.

Harris, dependent largely on visitors to his coffee shop in Boston for news, issued a newsier paper than did many of his successors in the next century. The first issue contained news about Indians and Indian warfare in New England, a suicide in a nearby town, a fire in Boston, and the amorous affairs of the royal family in France. It was probably this last story, along with another hinting at corruption involving a government expedition against the Indians, that caused the Massachusetts authorities to suppress further publication of *Publick Occurrences.* Samuel Sewall wrote in his diary that the paper gave "distaste because it wasn't licensed and for certain passages referring to the Mohawks and the French King." At any rate this first colonial newspaper ended after publication of but one number.[1]

It was altogether fitting that Boston should become the cradle of the newspaper in English Colonial America. It was the largest town in the colonies, the center of foreign and intercolonial commerce; and the presence there of a literate population containing many lawyers and ministers with facile pens placed it foremost as the cultural and literary leader of the colonies. Here, also, printing had been first established in 1638 when Harvard College, then but two years old, had begun production by its printers of sermons, almanacs, catechisms, law

* Dr. Elliott is Associate Professor of Social Studies, North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh.

[1] Sidney Kobre, *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: n.p., 1944), 13-16, hereinafter cited as Kobre, *Colonial Newspaper.*

books, psalters, and broadsides. Thus 14 years after the demise of *Publick Occurrences* another venture in newspaper publishing was attempted in Boston.

John Campbell, Boston's postmaster since 1700, began to send out handwritten newsletters to merchants and various governors along the Atlantic seaboard almost from the day he took office.[2] These contained mostly items about shipping and government affairs. The demand for these letters soon taxed the postmaster's hand, so he turned to a local printer, Bartholomew Green, to print his letter weekly. In this manner, the *Boston News-Letter,* the first continuous American newspaper, was issued on April 24, 1704. Campbell's *News-Letter* carried the line "Published By Authority," thereby indicating that the authorities had licensed its publication. This meant also that Campbell's news policy would harmonize with the party in control.[3]

The *News-Letter* was slightly larger than *Publick Occurrences,* eight by twelve and three quarter inches, printed on both sides of a single sheet. It cost subscribers 2*d.* a copy or 12*s.* a year. The contents consisted primarily of summaries of news from London papers with a few items about local affairs—arrivals of ships, political appointments, court actions, and the like. At the bottom of the last column were a few advertisements. By modern standards it was not a very lively newspaper. It persisted, however, and under other publishers and, with the addition of *Massachusetts Gazette* to its title, lasted until March, 1776; in its last years, edited by Margaret Draper, it supported the loyalist cause.[4]

Within the lifetime of the *Boston News-Letter,* newspapers were introduced into each of the 13 colonies. Most of these papers were printed on four pages, each averaging about ten by fifteen inches in size. Publication was weekly; though if an important news event broke between publication dates an extra or "supplement" was issued. The average subscription rate was 10*s.* or 12*s.* a year. News primarily of the mother country was taken from the London papers. Local news was limited to certain outstanding events—the death of an important personage, activities of the government, or a major catastrophe. After all, towns in Colonial America were small and local happenings generally known. The people were interested mainly in the affairs of

[2] Kobre, *Colonial Newspaper,* 17.

[3] Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years, 1690 to 1940* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 11-14, hereinafter cited as Mott, *American Journalism.*

[4] Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Beginnings of the American Newspaper* (Chicago, Illinois: Black Cat Press, 1935), 5.

England. They were, generally speaking, English frontiersmen connected, if not by family ties, certainly by commercial and political interests, with England.

Editorials as such were missing from the colonial newspaper, but at the same time objective news reporting characteristic of the modern newspaper was not a style used by the colonial publisher. His story written in the form of an essay was often, if the occasion warranted it, interspersed with editorial comment. Then, too, discussion of public affairs was carried on through contributed letters, sometimes written by the publisher himself, and all bearing pen names.

Copy of all sorts—news of other colonies, of England and the continent, features such as sermons, poems, essays, and letters—was obtained from the newspapers exchanged by the colonial printers and from newspapers brought in by ship captains from overseas. This source was supplemented with letters received by local citizens and reports relayed by travelers. In no sense did a colonial publisher, even in larger towns, have access to a formal news gathering agency.

"Gazette" was the most popular title for the colonial newspaper. This stemmed from the prestige enjoyed by *The London Gazette*, the official newspaper of the British government. Hence if a publisher wished to imply or convey a semiofficial status for his paper he titled it "Gazette." [5]

This custom was especially popular in the southern colonies. William Parks, official printer to Lord Baltimore's province in Maryland, began this trend when, in 1727, he began the *Maryland Gazette*. It was continued in South Carolina by Thomas Whitmarsh who, in 1732, started the *South Carolina Gazette* at Charleston. Four years later, in 1736, William Parks, who had become official printer to Virginia, established at Williamsburg the first *Virginia Gazette*.[6] Thus North Carolinians, whose commercial and cultural ties were with Williamsburg or Charleston, had access to a local newspaper well before the press was established in that colony.[7] And in the *Virginia Gazette* of Parks they had one of the most handsome newspapers published in the colonies; a journal especially distinguished for its literary quality. Parks had oper-

[5] Mott, *American Journalism*, 43-65; Clarence S. Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 12, hereinafter cited as Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen*.

[6] Clarence Saunders Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 2 volumes, 1947), I, 218; II, 1,037, 1,158.

[7] That these two newspapers circulated in North Carolina may be inferred from the number of North Carolina items, especially advertisements, appearing in their pages. Also, as late as 1777, the *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg) published by Alexander Purdie and John Dixon, and later by Dixon and William Hunter was advertised in *The North Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), July 18, 1777.

ated presses and published newspapers in England before coming to the colonies.[8] Like Benjamin Harris of *Publick Occurrences,* Parks brought to colonial journalism the more advanced newspaper heritage of England.

William Parks provided North Carolina with more than just a good newspaper. From his shop in Williamsburg this colony acquired its first printer, James Davis. After some years of indecision, North Carolina's Assembly agreed to authorize a revision of its laws and then, in 1749, decided to establish a public printing office to print this revision. James Davis was named to that office at a salary of £160 proclamation money. He arrived in New Bern and set up his press June 24, 1749.[9]

Not much is known about the early life of James Davis. He was born in Virginia, October 21, 1721; where is not known. But in 1745 he was living in Williamsburg.[10] Whether he received training in his art from William Parks is also not clear. Davis, however, was a skilled printer. The only printer in either Virginia or Maryland after 1725 was William Parks. Parks left Maryland to locate in Williamsburg in 1734; he had been operating a branch shop there since 1730. His successor in Annapolis was Jonas Green, who did not come to Annapolis until 1738. At that time Davis was seventeen years old, a little old to begin an apprenticeship. To go to Charleston or Philadelphia, the nearest printing offices, or elsewhere in the colonies, was an expensive undertaking at that time. It seems logical, then, to assume that Davis learned his trade under Parks. This certainly would be no discredit to James Davis, for William Parks was as skilled as any printer in the colonies.

The record is equally uncertain about the source of Davis' printing equipment. Colonial printers used a wooden printing press, much like those used by Gutenberg and the pioneers of printing in the late fifteenth century. With such a press a good, stout pressman could

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[8] Lawrence C. Wroth, "North America (English Speaking)," in R. A. Peddie (ed.), *Printing: A Short History of The Art* (London, England: Grafton, 1927), 351-352, hereinafter cited as Wroth, "North America."

[9] See Mary L. Thornton, "Public Printing in North Carolina, 1749-1815," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXI (July, 1944), 183-191, for complete account of Davis' public printing career; Walter L. Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XXIII, 314-315, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records.* Davis was not the first experienced printer to come to North Carolina. Hugh Meredith, Benjamin Franklin's partner in Philadelphia, retired and came to North Carolina in 1732, where he remained until 1739. Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York: The Viking Press, 1938), 100-101, 117.

[10] William S. Powell, *The Journal of the House of Burgesses, of the Province of North-Carolina, 1749* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1949), ix, hereinafter cited as Powell, *Journal House of Burgesses.*

turn out about 200 impressions an hour. Occasionally some versatile printer like Christopher Sower in Pennsylvania built a press for his own use, but until after 1769, when press building became common in Philadelphia and Boston, presses were imported from England. The same was true for type; not until after the Revolution was the American printer freed from English type founders, though in 1769 Abel Buell in Connecticut began to experiment in the manufacture of type from blank punch to finished letter. Furthermore, type was expensive; so most colonial printers began work with the used type of a London printer.

Paper and ink were another story. William Rittenhouse opened a paper mill near Germantown, Pennsylvania, the same year, 1690, that *Publick Occurrences* was issued in Boston. In 1743 William Parks, backed by Benjamin Franklin, began a mill near Williamsburg. Before 1765 there were nine mills operating in the colonies. But it is doubtful that they provided sufficient paper to supply the printing trade, especially for finer printing. In all probability, Davis, along with other printers, was dependent on England for much of his paper. Ink, however, was available in the colonies.[11]

A typical print shop in the American colonies contained two presses, type, and the necessary forms, rules, and other appurtenances in sufficient quantity to enable the printer to produce books, a weekly newspaper, and the daily job work that came to his shop. Books, such as the *Journals* and the revisal of the laws produced by James Davis, used up a great quantity of type. Often the forms were left standing —that is, they were not broken up and the type redistributed until the job was completed. To provide enough type for this kind of work and still have enough available for other productions such as a newspaper, required quite an outlay of capital. For example, the shop of Jonas Green in Annapolis contained over 2,000 pounds of type of varied sorts. The value of the type greatly exceeded the total value of all the rest of his equipment. The total appraisal of such a shop amounted to nearly £100 sterling.[12] When James Davis' shop was destroyed by a hurricane in 1769 he doubtless sustained a great loss, for not only was his "house a mere wreck," but also his printing office was "broke to pieces, his papers destroyed and types buried

[11] Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer* (Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1938), gives a description of the mechanics of eighteenth-century printing.

[12] Worth, "North America," 330.

in the sand." The £3 he received from the Assembly for his loss of money was small recompense indeed.[13]

It is doubtful, of course, that when Davis came to New Bern he had as complete a shop as that of Jonas Green. To print the proclamation money,[14] his first work, and the *Journal of the House of Burgesses* issued late in 1749, he needed only a small font of type and a press. About this time, however, he began work on the revision of the laws, for which he had been hired. Governor Gabriel Johnston wrote December 21, 1749, that the revisal is "now in the press." [15] Though Governor Johnston expected this to be completed by the middle of the next summer, it was advertised in *The NOth Carolina Gazette* of November 15, 1751, as "just publish'd." This may have been, however, a second edition, which included the laws passed at the September 26-October 12, 1751, session of the Assembly. An earlier edition, bearing the same imprint date, 1751, ended with the laws of 1750. Meanwhile, Davis had printed the *Journal* for the Assembly session of 1750, was at work on the one just over, presumably had done job work, and in August, 1751, had begun *The NOth Carolina Gazette.* Whether he printed "the Speeches and Addresses at the Opening of each Session," as required by the act establishing his office,[16] is not known. In any case, to have produced the work he is known to have done required a well equipped shop.

Where Davis acquired his type and equipment must be conjectured; available records give no hint. One such attempt was made by William S. Powell,[17] a competent student of early North Carolina history. He compared certain printed works of Davis with those of William Parks and noted a striking similarity in the type used by the two men. Then he compared the work of William Hunter, who succeeded Parks in the operation of the Williamsburg press when the latter died in 1750, and found no such similarity. Mr. Powell suggested that "perhaps Parks purchased a new supply of type and sold all or part of his old fonts to Davis." This quite possibly was the case, for otherwise Davis would have had to buy type from England or from another colonial printer. Had he done so the similarities observed by Mr. Powell would not have been apparent. As to the source of Davis' press or presses, even conjecture is of no help. Nevertheless, James

[13] William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), VIII, 74, 136-137, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records.*

[14] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* IV, 1,023.

[15] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* IV, 924.

[16] Clark, *State Records,* XXIII, 314-315.

[17] Powell, *Journal House of Burgesses,* xi.

Davis began printing in North Carolina with a well equipped shop capable, under the direction of a skillful printer, of executing good work. His early productions indicated that.

James Davis was twenty-eight when he came to New Bern in 1749. Settled, apparently possessing some money, and with a five-year contract as official printer to the colony, he established himself in the town. One of his first acts was to acquire property. When the Governor and Council met in April, 1749, and again that fall, Davis was among those applying for land. He was granted 200 acres in Johnston County and the same amount in Craven County.[18] Then he obtained several lots in New Bern itself; one on the southwest corner of Broad and East Front Streets where after March, 1752, he moved his printing office from its first location on Pollock Street.[19] While thus providing for his economic future, Davis at the same time assured himself a domestic future; he married a local widow, Prudence Hobbs, the daughter of William Carruthers of Beaufort County.[20]

So prepared, James Davis could link his fortunes to the future of New Bern. In 1750 this future looked good. New Bern, founded in 1710 by Baron Von Graffenried for persecuted Palatines and Swiss, had survived the horrors and destruction of the Tuscarora War. It was no longer at the edge of the colony. To the north, the Albemarle region had long been settled, and south of the town, the Cape Fear region was increasing in population. New Bern was thus a centrally located town convenient to the more settled portions of the colony. Moreover, Governor Johnston had made an effort in 1746—unsuccessful, however—to make New Bern the official capital of North Carolina. As a result, several government offices, including that of the printer, were fixed there.[21] This prominence, plus good connections with the back country and a fair port on the Neuse River, attracted merchants. By the time James Davis arrived and became established, New Bern had, perhaps, more mercantile firms than any town in the colony.[22]

These circumstances no doubt prompted Davis to begin a newspaper. In August, 1751, from the "Printing-Office, near the Church," *The NOth Carolina Gazette* was issued. The first number of this paper

[18] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 950, 965.

[19] Alonzo T. Dill, Jr., "Eighteenth-Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIII (January, 1946), 53, hereinafter cited as Dill, "Eighteenth-Century New Bern"; *The NOth Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), March 13, 1752, July 7, 1753, hereinafter cited as *The NOth. Carolina Gazette.*

[20] Dill, "Eighteenth-Century New Bern," 53.

[21] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 836-837, 844.

[22] Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 102, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*; Dill, "Eighteenth-Century New Bern," 47.

has not survived;[23] in fact, only six issues are available today. But from these one can see what North Carolina's first newspaper was like. It was the standard folio of colonial journalism; four pages each measuring eight and a half by twelve and a half inches—what printers call a crown sheet—and issued weekly. The earliest number extant, that of November 15, 1751, was printed two columns to the page, as was the last number surviving, that of October 18, 1759. The issue of April 15, 1757, was numbered 133, indicating that Davis either suspended the *Gazette* for awhile or that he adopted a new numbering system. In either case, between the number issued November 15, 1751, and that of October 18, 1759, there was little change in format. In the earlier number there was no period after "NOth" and the imprint was run under the title on page one. But the issue of April 15, 1757, had a period after "NOth." and the imprint appeared at the bottom of the back page. The same was true also of the last extant number, October 18, 1759. The *Gazette* was available "at Four Shillings, Proclamation Money, per Quarter"; and "Advertisements of a moderate Length, are inserted for Three Shillings the first Week, and Two Shillings for every Week after."

It is not likely that the contents would appeal to a newspaper subscriber today, despite Davis' slogan which appeared just under the title: "With the Freshest Advices, Foreign and Domestic." Page one was usually reserved for an essay, such as "The Temple of Hymen. A Vision," in the number for November 15, 1751; or "Reflections on Unhappy Marriages," the feature for March 6, 1752. This fare was varied, however, for on page one of April 15, 1757, was a letter taken from the *Bristol-Journal,* an English paper. It was signed "Five Millions" and addressed "To the Right Honourable W. P., Esq." Doubtless this was William Pitt, just called to lead England in her struggle against the French. The writer advised him to avoid the pitfalls of public office—bribery, ease, and title.

News, of course, was not overlooked. It was, however, primarily foreign and run under simple headings, such as "London, *July* 5," "Genoa, *Sept. 15,*" or "From The *Westminster Journal* of July 25." This was hardly "fresh" by modern standards, but certainly current enough to colonial readers, though three months or more old. Domestic news was usually run on pages three or four. In the *Gazette* for March 6, 1732, for example, there were stories from Philadelphia,

[23] Charles Christopher Crittenden, *North Carolina Newspapers Before 1790* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Volume 20, Number 1, of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*] 1928), 11, hereinafter cited as Crittenden, *North Carolina Newspapers Before 1790.*

November 15, 1751. THE [illegible]

No^th CAROLINA GAZETTE.

[illegible] the freshest Advices, Foreign and Domestic.

All Persons may be supplied with this PAPER, at *Four Shillings*, Proclamation Money, *per* Quarter, by JAMES DAVIS, at the Printing-Office in *Newbern*; where all Manner of Printing-Work, [illegible] Book-Binding, is done reasonably. ADVERTISEMENTS of a moderate Length, are inserted for *Three Shillings* the first Week, and *Six Shillings* for every Week after.

The TEMPLE *of* HYMEN. A VISION.

A Few Days ago I had an Account of the Marriage of a Friend. When Occurrences of this Nature make an Impression upon the Mind, it is insensibly betrayed into little unadvertisions upon them. This was my Case in an extraordinary Manner; for having mused some Time on this Incident, I fell into an easy Slumber, when Fancy [illegible]sum'd the Subject and sally'd out in the following Vision.

[illegible]ught I was in an Instant placed on the Boundaries o[illegible] pacious Plain; in the Center of which was presented to the Eye a large Temple consecrated to *Hymen*, the God of Marriage. At a small Distance from me I observed a giddy Crowd of both Sexes, who were making towards the Building, in order to celebrate the Ceremony of the God. There was stuffed in among them, a Daemon, whose Form was so peculiar, and who e Sway with the Multitude so universal, that I shall here give my Reader a particular Description of [illegible]: It seems the Name of this Fury was *Lust*; in the upp[illegible] Part of his Body he carried the Likeness of a human [illegible]ce, from the Middle downwards he bore the Resemblance of a Goat, his Eyes were turgid sparkling, and inflamed; his Complexion was very irregular, attended with the most sudden Transitions from a sanguine Red to a livid Paleness, and a Tremor frequently seiz'd every Member.—Close followed him *Dissipation*, with a sickly Countenance and supercilious Eye; and *Romance*, with his Hat flapped over his Face, and a Worm gnawing his Vitals. I was shocked at these monstrous Appearances, and the more so, to observe how readily my Fellow-Creatures gave into the impious Suggestions of the Daemon. But my Surprize was somewhat abated on a nearer Approach; for I took notice that his Breath was of such a malignant Nature, that all those who rashly advanced within its Influence, were presently intoxicated, and deprived of their Reason.

I was in such a Consternation at this Discovery, that I hesitated for a while, whether I should enter into Conversation with the blithe Adventurers formerly mentioned. In the midst of my Suspence there came towards us a grave old Gentleman of a steady and composed Aspect, whose Name was *Deliberation*. He was one of the principal Agents belonging to the Temple, and so high in the God's Esteem, that *Hymen* was very rarely known to give his Benediction at a Consummation of the Ceremony to any Couple who were not introduced into his Presence, by this venerable Officer. Upon his joining the Company (to the Majority of which I found he was a perfect Stranger) there was expressed an universal Uneasiness and Discontent; and many of them industriously avoided all Conversation with him. But it was very remarkable that all those, who thus imprudently turned their Backs on this valuable Monitor, in their Return from the Temple, were seized by one or both of the melancholy Attendants of the Fury.

At my Entrance into the Building, I observed the Deity marching at a small Distance towards it.—The first in the Procession was *Love*, in the Form of a *Cupid*, who was continually practising a thousand little Arts and Graces, to draw upon him the Smiles of the God; and by the tender Regards which *Hymen* cast upon the Child, I found he was a very great Favourite.

The God followed next, holding in his Hand a flaming Torch; which shone the brighter the longer it burn'd; he approach'd us supported by *Virtue*, a Lady of the most engaging Form that I had ever beheld. She was cloathed in a white refulgent Garment, and her Head was encircled with Glory.

The next Attendant was *Beauty*, arrayed in the most gorgeous Apparel, and full of herself, even to Distraction. She was handed along by *Youth*, a gay Stripling, wearing a Chaplet of Flowers on his Head, and Wings on his Shoulders.

Then appeared *Wealth* in the Figure of an old Man, meanly attired; his Eyes were the Eyes of a Hawk, and his Fingers curved and pointed inwards, like the Talons of a Raven; He was nasty, impudent, and presuming.

The Retinue was closed by *Fancy*, ever varying her Features and Dress; and what was very extraordinary, methought the charm'd in all.

The Deity immediately after his Entrance into the Temple, ascended his Throne; and sat with his Head gently reclin'd on *Virtue*'s Bosom. *Love*, and *Beauty*, took their Station on the Right Hand; and on the Left, were disposed *Wealth* and *Fancy*.

The God quickly proceeded to the Celebration of the Nuptial Rites; but there was such a confused Sound of Sighs and Laughter, that I could not give the Attention which was requisite, in order to present my Reader with the several Circumstances that occurred; only I took Notice, that many of the Matches were so very unequal, that the God yoked them with Reluctance, and but half consented to his own Institution.

After the Ceremony was over, Silence was proclaimed in Court; for *Hymen* was determined to decide a Contest, which had been of long standing, between the Personages that attended the Altar. Upon this Declaration, the whole Multitude divided, and according to the particular Impulses of their Passions, took the Party of the several Competitors. The Young had ranked themselves on the right Hand of the Throne, while others of more advanced Years, had posted themselves behind the Disputants on the Left.

Love began with entering his Complaint against *Wealth*; setting forth, that his Antagonist had seduced such large Numbers to his Sentiments; that as to Himself, his Interest very visibly declined every Day, to the great Prejudice of that State, wherein the Gods had design'd him the Preheminence. While he was pressing his Arguments with great Warmth, *Poverty* stepp'd forth from amidst the Crowd, and stared the young Plaintiff full in the Face; who was so frighten'd at his sorrowful Countenance, that he fluttered his Pinions in order for Flight. When *Wealth* rising up addressed the Judge, with shewing the Necessity of his Presence, to make the Married State as replete with Happiness, as it was originally intended by its Institutor; together with many other Arguments, which, if they had been delivered with the same Modesty as Force, could not have failed of creating a Multitude of Converts to his Side. This his Speech was followed with a [illegible]under of Applause from the Company behind. Upon [illegible] Incident the old Man began to triumph, and to re[illegible]ce his Discourse when, through the Violence of his Emotions, his Garment flew open, and betrayed to View, *Cares* in the Form of *Vultures*, hanging at his Breast. Hereupon *Love* flew up, and would fain have resumed his Cause. But *Hymen*, who well knew that the Presence of both was of the utmost Importance in the Performance of his Institution;

and

The November 15, 1751, issue of *The NOth Carolina Gazette* featured an essay, "The Temple of Hymen. A Vision." From the files of the Archives, State Department of Archives and History.

December 31; Boston, October 21; and New York, December 16. This did not always mean that the news included concerned only events in the cities named. Under the New York date line just mentioned was a story about an epidemic in Honduras which had resulted in the death of many, especially women. Affixed to this story in brackets was this comment: "*A fine Time now, for our Ladies of Pleasure to make their Fortunes.*" Not an editorial, but a shrewd observation by Editor Davis. Then under the head "WILLIAMSBURG, *September 20,*" in the number for October 18, 1759, was a letter from New York, dated September 4, 1759, describing the military campaign in the Niagara region. This was followed by the headline, "NEWBERN, *October 18,*" and this item:

> On *Friday* last, an Express arrived here from *Charles Town* [Charleston, S. C.] on his way to *Virginia,* with Dispatches from Governor *Littleton* to the Governor of *Virginia;* the Occasion of which is said to be, the *Cherokees* taking up Arms in Favour of the French; and that they are assembling in Bodies to make Depredations on our Frontiers.

Local news was given its due when the occasion warranted. One regrets that more issues of *The NOth. Carolina Gazette* are not available for the period of the French and Indian War.

Advertising in these few issues of *The NOth. Carolina Gazette* was nearly always found on the back page, printed without display or illustration; much like the classified columns of a modern newspaper. Besides official notices, such as Acting-Governor Matthew Rowan's Proclamation announcing surveys being made by a South Carolina commission in Anson County, or the Craven County sheriff's announcement of a jail break in New Bern,[24] the advertisements were for merchandise, land or runaway slaves. The arrival of a trading ship was also the occasion for advertising. One ship, docked at Beaufort, had on board dry goods, hardware, china, medicines, paint, and other goods to be sold or exchanged for deerskins, tar, or fur.[25] Too, James Davis used the columns of his paper to offer for sale *The Laws of North Carolina,* lampblack, printed forms, and other such wares. Advertising was a major source of revenue for the colonial publisher, as indeed it is for today's publisher. But of greater significance, advertising enables one to gain an insight into the social and economic

[24] *The NOth. Carolina Gazette,* July 7, 1753.
[25] *The NOth. Carolina Gazette,* October 18, 1759.

life of a community such as New Bern. This more than makes up for the sparseness of local news.[26]

James Davis apparently stopped publication of *The NOth. Carolina Gazette* sometime after October 18, 1759. Isaiah Thomas, an early historian of colonial newspapers and himself an active printer at the time, says the *Gazette* was discontinued around 1761.[27] At any rate, Davis began a new paper in June, 1764.

Meanwhile, during the years when he published *The NOth. Carolina Gazette,* James Davis was active on other fronts. In 1753 he published the Reverend Clement Hall's *A Collection of Many Christian Experiences,* the first nonlegal book by a citizen of North Carolina to be published in the colony. Hall was rector of St. Paul's Church in Edenton.[28] But publication was incidental to Davis' other activity that year; he became involved in politics. In 1753 he was made a member of the Craven County Court, an office he held for twenty-five years. One of his first duties was the supervision, with another member, of the construction of a new courthouse in New Bern.[29] The next year he was elected sheriff of Craven County, and while holding this office was chosen by the electorate of New Bern to represent them in the Assembly. This, however, was highly irregular; the House refused to seat him, deciding that he was "not Qualifyed to serve as a Member for the Town of New Bern he having been Sheriff of Craven County at the time of his Election." Davis apparently preferred a career in the Assembly to that of sheriff, for he resigned the latter office and in 1755 was again elected to the Assembly.[30]

In 1756 Davis was returned to the Assembly by the people of New Bern. Among several bills that he introduced during this session, was one that provided for an improvement in the local government of New Bern. It passed to become the first municipal election and tax law for New Bern.[31] Up to this time every able-bodied resident in New Bern was expected to work on the streets. Under Davis' bill, citizens were permitted to tax themselves to pay for this work. Also

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[26] For sample advertising in eighteenth-century North Carolina newspapers, see Wesley H. Wallace, "Cultural and Social Advertising in Early North Carolina Newspapers," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXIII (July, 1956), 281-309.

[27] Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, Volumes V and VI, 1874), VI, 167.

[28] William S. Powell, "Eighteenth-Century North Carolina Imprints: A Revision and Supplement to McMurtrie," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXV (January, 1958), 56.

[29] Dill, "Eighteenth-Century New Bern," 53.

[30] Julian P. Boyd, "The Sheriff in Colonial North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* X (April, 1928), 174-175; Saunders, *Colonial Records,* V, 245, 529.

[31] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* V, 672; Clark, *State Records,* XXIII, 451-456.

town commissioners, who before had been appointed by the Assembly, could now be elected by the citizens.

Davis went back to the Assembly in 1757; and this time he turned his attention to commerce. In the spring session he introduced a bill to improve navigation at Port Bath. That fall he presented a memorial from various merchants for improving the inspection law on certain commodities exported from the colonies, and he was appointed to the committee to draft such a bill.[32]

For two additional years Davis represented New Bern in the Assembly, bringing in bills for the improvement of public ferries and the completion of the courthouse begun under his supervision several years before.[33] Then in 1760 he was chosen to represent Craven County. At this session, however, he was not as active as he had been previously; in fact, he was fined for nonattendance.[34]

After this James Davis halted his legislative career for awhile. In the meantime, in 1755, he had become New Bern's postmaster. This job was compatible with his work as a newspaper publisher. Then in October of that year when North Carolina's Assembly established its first postal service, Davis was awarded the contract. By this act, Davis obliged himself, for the sum of £100 10*s.* 8*d.*, "to send all publick letters, Expresses and Dispatches relating to this Province to any Part thereof for the service of the same and once every Fifteen Days send to Suffolk in Virginia and Wilmington on Cape Fear River for the publick a proper messenger to receive Letters and Dispatches at these places; to be conveyed where directed for the full Term of one year."[35] This contract was renewed the next year; but in 1757 Governor Arthur Dobbs complained of Davis' negligence. The Assembly then divided the contract among three applicants. Davis obtained the route from New Bern to Wilmington for which he was paid £40. The next year, however, he received the entire contract again.[36]

No doubt the establishment of a public postal route relieved Davis of one problem. In 1752 he was censured by the Assembly for not delivering to the members the printed laws and journals to which they were entitled. In his defense, Davis claimed that he had sent them, in some instances several times over. But he had not done so by a special messenger. To have employed such, he said, would have meant "a Considerable Reduction in his Salary, so much that it will

[32] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 840, 898.
[33] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 1,051, 1,152; VI, 145, 168.
[34] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 164, 493.
[35] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 555-556, 734.
[36] Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 735; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 920, 1,038.

scarce be worth his while to keep a Press, especially as his whole Salary is not much above half what every other Public Printer in America has."[37] Nevertheless, the censure stood. Nor were matters helped any in 1754 when his printing contract was renewed for three years at the same old salary of £160. The next year, however, the Assembly relented and voted Davis an extra allowance of £20 "for his extraordinary Service in his Office this Session inclusive."[38]

When, in 1757, this contract expired, the Assembly having "found by experience that a Printing Office is of great utility to this Province and very much tending to the Promotion of useful Knowledge among the people," Davis was reappointed for another three-year term. But in 1760 it was renewed for a one year term only, though his salary was raised to £200.[39] But in 1762, Henry Eustace McCulloch, a member of the Council from Wilmington, tried to get the job for Alexander Purdie, later to achieve distinction as copublisher with John Dixon of William Parks' old *Virginia Gazette* at Williamsburg. The House, however, refused to concur and Davis was again named public printer.[40]

It is not clear whether or not McCulloch's attempt to replace Davis as public printer was inspired by Governor Dobbs' dissatisfaction with Davis. But there was no doubt about the Governor's attitude when the question of Davis' appointment came up in 1764. After the Council, acting as Upper House, had killed the House resolution naming Davis public printer, Dobbs sent a letter to the Speaker saying he could "never approve of the late Printer appointed by the Assembly upon account of his negligence. . . ." The House accepted this and appointed a committee to find a new printer. For one reason or another they were not at once successful, but Governor Dobbs was. He found Andrew Steuart in Philadelphia and informed the House that he had appointed him "His Majesty's Printer." Upon hearing this the members adopted and sent a stinging resolution to the Council; the House declared: "We know no such *Office as his Majesty's Printer of this Province* and of *no Duties Fees or Emoluments* annexed or incident to such Office and that the said appointment is *of a new and unusual nature* unknown to our Laws, and is a violent stretch of power." The Governor and Council, of course, retorted that it was the King's "undoubted prerogative to nominate and appoint a Printer to publish his proclamations and

[37] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 1,344-1,345.
[38] Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 266; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 555.
[39] Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 349, 455-456.
[40] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 913.

orders of government, and to publish his laws"; the only right the House had was "to appoint a Printer to publish their votes and resolutions during their sessions." Whereupon the House resolved that James Davis "be appointed to Print the Laws & Journals of this Session of Assembly"; that Andrew Steuart be paid £100 for his expense and trouble in coming to North Carolina; and that the treasurers not pay out any money "without the Concurrence or direction of this House." [41] In short, if the Governor wanted his own printer he could also provide his salary. Thus did James Davis secure reappointment in 1764 and North Carolina get another printer.

During the hassle over his appointment as public printer, Davis began in New Bern a second newspaper. This was *The North-Carolina Magazine; or Universal Intelligencer.* The earliest issue located is that of July 6, 1764, Vol. 1, No. 5. Counting back, Davis must have started this paper June 8, 1764. Despite the title, *The Magazine* was a newspaper,[42] containing the current news, advertisements, and other items common to colonial newspapers. In size, however, and the method of numbering the pages consecutively throughout a volume, it did resemble a magazine. For the first year—until the issue for December 28, 1764—*The North-Carolina Magazine* consisted of eight pages, each six and three quarters by nine and a half inches, known to printers as a quarto. With the issue for December 28, *The Magazine* was reduced to four pages; no issues beyond January 18, 1765, are known. *The North-Carolina Gazette* of February 26, 1766, however, which Andrew Steuart began in Wilmington in September, 1764, quotes "a New Bern" paper of January 14, 1766. And François X. Martin, who published a newspaper in New Bern after the Revolution, using Davis' press and equipment, mentions in his history of North Carolina that Davis published *The Magazine* until about 1768.[43] In any event, Davis returned to his old title and format May 27, 1768, when he began *The North-Carolina Gazette.*

Subscribers paid 4*d.* a number for *The North-Carolina Magazine* which Davis published each Friday. Apparently he expected his readers to save their copies and have them bound—preferably at his shop no doubt, for he also did bookbinding. In his imprint he announced that "Any single Number may be had to complete Setts,

[41] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* VI, 1,122, 1,200, 1,209, 1,256, 1,318.
[42] Clarence S. Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen,* 15-18, clarifies the identity of a periodical in Colonial America as a newspaper or magazine.
[43] François-Xavier Martin, *The History of North Carolina, from the Earliest Period* (New-Orleans, Louisiana: A. T. Penniman & Co., 2 volumes, 1829), II, 186.

at 4*d.*" Davis charged the same advertising rate as when he published *The NOth. Carolina Gazette;* that is, "*Three Shillings* the first Week, and *Two Shillings* for every Continuance."

In retrospect, 1764 was a good year to have begun a newspaper in Colonial America. England had just won the long war with France and had emerged from the conflict with a large colonial empire and a huge debt. In an effort to cope with both these problems, English ministries began in 1763 a policy that resulted, some twelve years later, in a final rupture between England and her American colonies. Among the first measures adopted was the American Revenue Act, introduced in Parliament in March, 1764, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Grenville. Two provisions of this act, one levying duties on foreign sugar and certain commodities imported into the colony and the other tightening up the customs service, had just gone into effect when Davis began *The North-Carolina Magazine.* A third provision, that of prohibiting the issuance of legal tender currency in the colonies, became effective that fall.

Quite naturally, then, these measures and their reception in Colonial America, occupied a prominent place in Davis' newspaper. For example, in the number for August 3, 1764, Davis began a reprint of the Sugar Act which ran through the next issue, taking up so much space he was prevented from running much else, "which," he hoped, "our readers will excuse." Then in the following number, that of August 17, he ran the text of the Currency Act, and, in this same number, began publishing a petition, which had been sent George III, protesting England's failure to exact an indemnity from France. This was concluded in the issue of August 24. It was signed "The People of Great Britain," to which Davis added, "*To these the* Printer *here presumes to add, And the* GOOD PEOPLE OF AMERICA: *who will say* AMEN." For his paper of November 9 Davis chose a letter which had appeared in the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* of September 24 denouncing the Sugar Act, and the address adopted by New York's Assembly opposing the entire Revenue Act. Then on November 16 he ran a letter from *The New Hampshire Gazette* (Portsmouth), also in opposition to the Revenue Act, and reported that the people of Boston had agreed to cease all pomp and display at funerals in protest of the act. But the climax of his handling of the Revenue Act was the publication of James Otis' "The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved," which Davis titled "Of the Political and Civil Rights of the British Colonies." This ran through five numbers of *The Magazine,* beginning in that of November 23,

1764. In this same number he reprinted the address of the House to Governor Dobbs at the opening of the Assembly meeting in Wilmington a few weeks before. In this the members thanked the Governor for his efforts to improve trade and commerce in the colony; but, they reminded him, "your Excellency will permit us to observe the Dilemma we are in at this Conjuncture: We once esteemed it our inherent Right, as British Subjects, that no Tax could be imposed upon us, but where we were legally represented; depending on the fundamental *Principles* of the *British* Constitution; but, unhappy for us and every Colony in *America,* we now too fatally experience the Contrary: In this depressed Condition, every Attempt towards improvements appears useless." Whatever the lack of editorials in colonial journalism, an editor could succeed in conveying his opinion of a particular issue.

And Davis did this well in still another issue on a matter of local interest. The question of whether North Carolina's capital was to be Wilmington or New Bern assumed special concern when it became known that Governor Dobbs was returning to England for a leave. His place was to be taken by a lieutenant-governor as yet not known. On August 10, 1764, Davis reported that a story from Wilmington announced that "one Col. *Tryon,* an Officer in the Guards" had been "appointed at Home" Lieutenant-Governor of North Carolina, and that Governor Dobbs expected to leave for England the next March. To this story Davis added the following:

> The good people of Wilmington, ever intent on the Good of the Province, and always foremost in every Scheme for its Welfare and internal Quietude, immediately upon this News, engaged a large House in Wilmington for the Reception and Accommodation of the Governor on his Arrival in the Province, upon a Certainty that he will settle among them there. But the People of Newbern, having, for their Disobedience, drank largely of the the Cup of Affliction, and entirely depending on the Goodness of their Cause, have engaged a large genteel House in Newbern, for the Governor's Residence; upon a Supposition he will settle rather in the Centre of the Province, than at Cape-Fear, a Place within Fifty Miles of the South Boundary of a Province almost 300 Miles wide, and the Passage to it gloomy and dismal, through hot parching Sands, enliven'd now and then with a few Wire-Grass Ridges, and Ponds of stagnant Water; . . . But as the Passage, so the Entrance, dismal;—a Turkey 15s. a Fowl 2s. 8d. a Goose 10s. Butter 2s. 8d. and so *pro Rata* for every Thing else.—Terrible Horribility.[44]

[44] *The North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), August 10, 1764, hereinafter cited as *The North-Carolina Magazine.*

The attack on Wilmington and its hopes was followed by a full account of the whole controversy over the location of the capital, balanced in favor of New Bern's claim, of course, and titled "NEWBERN'S REMEMBRANCER: *or,* AN ESSAY ON THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT —about as ambitious a headline as he ever attempted. Concluding was this appeal:

> Countrymen, as the Assembly stands prorogued to some time in *October next,* and will then probably meet at *Wilmington,* your Constituents, your Country, expect that you will, to a Man, give your Attendance; or perhaps while we are pleasing ourselves with these *Golden Scenes,* the Great Fiat may be passed, and the Door shut against you; the Seat of Government may be *Settled* at *Wilmington,* and then, too late, we may behold the wretched State of the Province. They have already got the Press there and intend to GIVE LAW TO us all; and if you neglect your Duty *This Time,* imagine what will be done. Can you *Contentedly,* see the Province in this *Discontented* State! Can you see the PUBLIC RECORDS *Carted* from Place to Place, and your Properties and Estates trusted to the Mercy of a Shower of Rain, and at the Discretion of a *Cart-Driver!* Forbid it Heaven! *O Tempora!* [45]

Then, on September 28 Davis, apparently having it on good authority that Tryon favored New Bern as the location of the capital, wrote in his paper:

> Mourn, Mourn, ye Wilmingtonians, and put on Sack cloth and Ashes, for the Measure of thy Good Things is full, and the evil-Day is coming upon thee! Mr. Tryan [*sic*], if we have any Skill in Augury, is coming to live in PEACE among us, and deliver us from unleavened Bread; which nothing but his Residence on the GRASSY PLAINS can restore and accomplish.[46]

On November 2, 1764, under a Wilmington date line of October 17, Davis reported that Tryon with his family had arrived and been duly welcomed in Wilmington. The next week, November 9, he had news of another distinguished visitor, this time to New Bern. This was the famous evangelist George Whitefield who had passed through on his way to Georgia. "At the Request of the Gentlemen" of New Bern, Davis wrote, the Rev. Whitefield stayed over through Sunday "and preached a most excellent Sermon in our Church" to a large and crowded audience. After reference to the expected adjournment of the Assembly "now sitting at *Wilmington,*" Davis reported that

[45] *The North-Carolina Magazine,* August 24, 1764.
[46] *The North-Carolina Magazine,* September 28, 1764.

North Carolina State Library
Raleigh

Lieutenant-Governor Tryon intended making a tour through North Carolina and was shortly expected in New Bern. But before he arrived "a Quaker Preacher, and his Wife" paid New Bern a visit and preached "to a Numerous Audience." The doctrines "which they chiefly handled," Davis observed, "Were Original Sin, and the Necessity of Regeneration; Moral Reflections on the luxuries, Pomp and Vanities of the World and a particular Caution to the young Ladies against Dress." Davis noticed "that the Caution and Advice to the Ladies, was delivered by the Preacher's Wife, who seem'd to have a more than common Influence of the Holy Spirit; as her Doctrine was delivered with great emphatic Energy and Elocution." [47]

Finally the day of Tryon's visit arrived, and from Davis' description of the reception New Bern gave the Governor, it easily matched the energy and elocution attributed to the Quaker preacher's wife. A "great number of Gentlemen" met Colonel Tryon eight miles from town and escorted him into New Bern where he received the salute of "19 guns from the Artillery." That night "the Town was handsomely illuminated, Bonfires were lighted, and plenty of Liquor given to the Populace." The next evening a "very elegant BALL" was held in the "Great Ball-Room in the Court House," in honor of the Governor, at which "were present His Honour the Governor, and his Lady, the Mayor, Mr. Recorder, and near 100 Gentlemen and Ladies." About ten they had supper, and then all returned to the ball room "and concluded the Evening with all imaginable Agreeableness and Satisfaction." The next day the Masons honored the Governor with "an elegant Dinner" where "the usual and proper healths were drank." After a week in New Bern, Tryon left for Edenton, no doubt impressed with New Bern's hospitality, if not the town itself.[48]

No issues of *The North-Carolina Magazine* survive beyond that of January 18, 1765, so Davis' response to the decision to make New Bern the capital is not known. This action was taken by the Assembly in November, 1766.[49] One can assume that he used all the journalistic devices at his command to applaud the Assembly's decision.

Neither do the issues exist that reported the death of Governor Dobbs who, on the eve of his return home, died at Brunswick, near Wilmington, March 28, 1765. Davis had little reason to be fond of the Governor, but this is hardly cause to expect that he published anything derogatory. Faced with the death of the Royal Governor,

[47] *The North-Carolina Magazine*, December 14, 1764.
[48] *The North-Carolina Magazine*, December 28, 1764; January 4, 1765.
[49] Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 165.

Davis doubtless rose to the occasion with appropriate language and the customary style of turned rules wreathing the story in black borders.

In all probability there was some substance in Governor Dobbs' charge in 1764 that Davis had been negligent in performing his duties. Not only had he been involved in getting *The North-Carolina Magazine* underway, but also in that same year, entirely on his own, he published a new revisal of the laws, the second since that officially published in 1751. And he began taking subscriptions for another work, *The Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace.*[50]

In the sixteen years since Davis had come to North Carolina, the printing press and newspaper had become important institutions in the life of New Bern and the colony. As printer, publisher, and citizen James Davis was established. One historian of Colonial America has said, "the role of printer in colonial life . . . offered a man of ability and ambition a greater chance to exercise influence over public policy than even the ministry." [51] To what extent this was true of James Davis it is difficult to say. But there is no question that he used his position and his talents to their fullest extent. From his printing office flowed the necessary journals and laws, well executed and free from error, vital to effective government. In his service in New Bern's government, and as legislator, he acted in the best tradition of the colonial printer. His *NOth. Carolina Gazette* and *Magazine* satisfied the cultural, political, and commercial needs of his readers in a way that no other printed matter did. News hunger is basic to human nature, and in a democratic society, even one as primitive as that existing in Colonial America, the need for serious news—the necessity to know what others are doing and thinking—is essential to reaching responsible decisions. As William Hunter's *Virginia Gazette,* in Williamsburg, described it, the newspaper provides the people with "security against Errors, . . . no false doctrine in Religion, Policy or Physic, can be broached, and remain long undetected. . . . It is their great Preservation against political Empericism." [52] The two papers published by Davis, though not as distinguished perhaps as those in Williamsburg, or in Boston or Philadelphia, did their part.

How many readers Davis had is not known; certainly it was not many, for the number of people in North Carolina who could afford,

[50] *The North-Carolina Magazine,* July 6, 1764.

[51] Carl Bridenbaugh, "America's First Man of The World," *The New York Times Book Review,* November 22, 1959, 1.

[52] Quoted in Carl Bridenbaugh, *Seat of Empire: The Political Role of Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg, 1958), 28.

or even read a newspaper, was small. The record is silent on circulation figures; one estimate is 100-150.[53] But one thing is certain; with little competition for reading time, Davis' newspapers, as well as those in Colonial America generally, were read more thoroughly and lovingly than is the case with newspapers today. Also, with the scarcity of news media, each copy probably passed through many hands. What became America's standard reading matter, the newspaper, got off to a good start in North Carolina with James Davis and his two ventures into newspaper publishing.

[53] Crittenden, *North Carolina Newspapers Before 1790*, 19.

A SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY: SIMMONS VS. BAILEY IN 1930

By Richard L. Watson, Jr.*

The senatorial primary in 1930 in North Carolina brought an end to the political career of Furnifold M. Simmons, a man who had been influential in both state and nation for almost fifty years. A study of this Democratic primary should be instructive, however, to others than those primarily interested in Simmons' career or in local North Caroliniana. The story of the contest, with its personal infighting, twisting of the democratic processes, use of emotional issues, and a lack of attention to things fundamental, serves to illuminate one of the principal ingredients in the American political system—the party primary. It points up the dilemma of a conscientious senator torn among responsibility for national legislation, concern for his local constituents, and the desire for re-election. And this particular primary of 1930 in North Carolina lends support to the contention that bolting a party's nominee is a cardinal sin in American politics and leads to something almost as inevitable as divine punishment.

The story of this primary as it related to North Carolina politics has for the most part already been well told.[1] Some of the local details, however, call for further emphasis insofar as they contribute to an understanding of political techniques in a state such as North Carolina; also a consideration of some of the national issues of the day as they emerged in the campaign led to a better understanding both of those issues and of the relationship between the national legislative process and local politics.

F. M. Simmons entered politics in 1875 at the age of twenty-one. For more than ten years he served as chairman of the Democratic state committee. In this office, he laid the basis for a political organization which was to be a powerful force in North Carolina from

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[1] Elmer L. Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension in North Carolina, 1928-1936* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Volume 44 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1962), hereinafter cited as Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension.*

1898 to 1928. Success in leading the Democrats to victory over the Republicans and Populists in 1898 and 1900 and in bringing about almost complete Negro disfranchisement resulted in his election to the United States Senate in 1901. He served as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee in the Wilson administrations; and during the 1920's, as ranking Democrat on that committee, he fought Republican policies and performed innumerable services for his constituents.

By 1928 his political position seemed secure. Influential nationally, respected locally, he expected to be returned to the Senate for the sixth time in the election of 1930. He was seventy-four years old, it is true, and frequently ill, but he seemed able to rally his strength whenever the occasion demanded. He had made enemies in his fifty years in politics, but he had numerous friends in strategic positions politically, who would not think of hurting "The Senator" so long as he lived.

Then came the presidential campaign of 1928. Since 1924, when he had supported his friend William G. McAdoo for the presidency, Simmons had distrusted Alfred E. Smith. It was not merely that Smith was a Roman Catholic, or a wet, or a Tammany man, that bothered Simmons; Smith represented an element, which if successful in Democratic politics, would change the nature of the party in which the South had played so prominent a role. Simmons fought Smith in the preconvention wrangles, and when Smith, after his nomination, made John J. Raskob—a wet, a Roman Catholic, and a Republican—his campaign manager, Simmons publicly threw his considerable influence to the anti-Smith campaign in the state. In spite of the fact that he supported the local Democratic candidates, to the professional Democrats he had bolted, thereby jeopardizing his nomination in 1930.[2]

Quietly taking the lead in building up opposition to Simmons was Josiah W. Bailey, one of Smith's most vigorous supporters in the recent election. Fifty-seven years of age in 1930, he had been graduated from Wake Forest College in 1893 and immediately afterward had become editor of the *Biblical Recorder,* the weekly newspaper of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina. In 1898 he associated himself with the Simmons organization and supported Simmons for the first twenty years of the century. As a reward for his services, Simmons supported his appointment by President Wilson as collector

[2] Richard L. Watson, Jr., "A Political Leader Bolts—F. M. Simmons in the Presidential Election of 1928," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXVII (October 1960), 516-543.

of internal revenue for the eastern district of North Carolina. Relations between Simmons and Bailey remained friendly until the early twenties when Bailey began to be increasingly critical of some of the key people in the Simmons organization.[3] Even after Bailey was defeated in 1924 for governor by Simmons' choice, Angus W. McLean, the two men remained outwardly cordial, and as late as mid-June, 1928, Bailey insisted that he would never oppose Simmons.[4] Bailey had already enthusiastically endorsed Smith, however, and as the campaign went on in 1928, he became increasingly irritated at Simmons. After the election he began soundings to discover whether anyone would have a chance of defeating the Senator in the primary set for June, 1930. He found not only that there was much anti-Simmons sentiment, but, what was more interesting, that many people were suggesting that he, Bailey, declare as Simmons' opponent.[5]

As the New Year, 1929, approached, the state's attention turned to the inauguration of the new governor, O. Max Gardner, and for the next three months to the activities of the state legislature. Even during the legislative session, however, pro- and anti-Simmons shadow boxing took place. When the legislature passed an Australian ballot law, for example, and put more restrictions on absentee voting, their actions were interpreted as slaps at Simmons, who had opposed the Australian ballot and who had favored liberal absentee voting.[6] More important, another bill was passed by which candidates in primaries were required to fill out and sign an official blank stating party affiliation and pledging their support in the general elections to "all

[3] John Robert Moore, "The Shaping of a Political Leader: Josiah W. Bailey and the Gubernatorial Campaign of 1924," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XLI (Spring, 1964), 190-213.

[4] Josiah W. Bailey to C. F. Burroughs, June 19, 1928, Josiah W. Bailey Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as Bailey Papers.

[5] See, for example, Bailey to Clyde Hoey, November 12, 1928, Bailey to W. H. S. Burgwyn and others, November 13, 1928, Bailey to Harold Burke and others, November 14, 1928, John Langston to Bailey, November 13, 1928, Robert A. Collier to Bailey, November 23, 1928, Jesse H. Davis to Bailey, November 14, 1928, Bailey Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 23-24.

[6] *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), January 12, 1929, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*. One of the few states not using the standard form of the Australian ballot in 1928, North Carolina adopted in 1929 a modified form by which a voter in a primary might call for assistance in voting from a member of his family, a poll official, or any person approved by the poll officials. The new absentee voting regulations no longer permitted a person to secure an absentee ballot for another and required posting at the polls the names of absentee voters. *The News and Observer*, March 24, 1929; *Public Laws and Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly at its Session of 1929* . . . , cc. 164, 329, hereinafter cited as *Public Laws* with appropriate year. See also, *The North Carolina Code of 1927* . . . (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company, 1928), c. 97, ss. 5960-5968.

candidates nominated by" their party.[7] Everyone knew that this bill too had been inspired by Simmons' actions in 1928. Governor Gardner, who was considered by some as the rising organization man in state politics, played no open role in the anti-Simmons campaign even though he supported the legislation. When, however, in May he appointed three new Democrats to the state Board of Elections, they all were enemies of Simmons, and the chairman, Judge J. Crawford Biggs, "was the first chairman of the state board in many years who was considered as an anti-Simmons man." [8]

Throughout 1929, Bailey's activities were either those of a man who could not make up his mind, or of one who thought it politically expedient to play hard to get. He delivered various "non-political" addresses supporting the Eighteenth Amendment, attacking Herbert Hoover, and urging the reduction of taxes. He tried to talk down his reputation acquired in the mid-twenties of being an economic radical. But he continued to advance numerous reasons why he should not run—his health, his family, his finances.[9] He particularly wrestled with his conscience. He could not forget that in 1917 he had written Simmons pledging support and promising never to run against him. He was now telling his friends that he had predicated this pledge "in my mind upon his remaining loyal to the Party. . . ." [10]

It is impossible to determine what ended Bailey's uncertainty. Perhaps he was never uncertain. Several things did happen in the summer and fall of 1929, however, that gave encouragement to regular Democrats. In the first place, anti-Smith Democrats had not been faring well. In Alabama, Roman Catholic-baiting Senator James Thomas Heflin, who had opposed Smith in 1928, was ruled out of the Democratic party. In the fall elections in Virginia, the regular Democrats overwhelmed the anti-Smith forces backed by Methodist Bishop James Cannon. North Carolinians did not miss the significance of

[7] *Public Laws, 1929*, c. 26; W. P. Horton to Bailey, November 16, 1928, and J. O. Carr to Bailey, November 16, 1928, Bailey Papers; *The News and Observer*, February 2, 1929; *Greensboro Daily News*, February 2, 1929; *Consolidated Statutes of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 3 volumes [Volume III, Supplement], 1920-1924), III, c. 97, s. 6022.

[8] Frank Hampton to Charles A. Hines, June 4, 1929, and M. L. Shipman to F. M. Simmons, September 15, 1929, Furnifold M. Simmons Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, hereinafter cited as Simmons Papers; *The News and Observer*, May 31, June 9, 1929.

[9] *The News and Observer*, July 3, 5, 1929; Ira Champion to Hampton, July 3, 1929, Simmons Papers; Bailey to R. A. Doughton, May 28, 1929, Bailey to John W. Lambeth, May 23, 1929, Bailey to C. L. Shuping, November 8, 1929, Bailey to Cameron Morrison, November 12, 1929, Bailey Papers.

[10] Bailey to W. B. Jones, September 13, 1929, Bailey Papers.

these developments.[11] Hours after the Virginia returns were in, Simmons received an anonymous telegram warning that the same fate awaited "other traitors of the party." Said the telegram, "one hundred thousand North Carolina Democrats are awaiting a chance at you." [12]

Also, there were several factors which were turning North Carolinians against Hoover and thus against those who had contributed to his election. In mid-July Washington society was "shocked" to learn that Mrs. Oscar De Priest, wife of Representative De Priest, a Negro, had not only been invited to, but also attended, an informal tea at the White House. Even though Simmons denounced this act, North Carolina regulars were quick to think of the incident as a "perfect example of retributive justice." [13] Even more upsetting was the undeniable fact that the United States was facing a depression for which Hoover was blamed. North Carolina's economic situation was becoming desperate, and Simmons, who had indirectly helped to elect Hoover, suffered accordingly.

In short, the climate of opinion was favorable to the Democratic regulars, and it seems likely that Bailey was influenced. By mid-December he was taking the position that if he could not persuade some other Democrat to run, he would be a candidate. He did try to persuade Walter P. Stacy, Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, to announce as a candidate against Simmons. Then he turned to W. J. Brogden of Durham.[14] Both refused, and pledged their support to Bailey. Bailey had already prepared an announcement and circulated it to friends. He promised a campaign "of respect and courtesy," but one in which he would subordinate "every consideration to the integrity, the unity, and the victory of the party." On January 2, 1930, he publicly announced his candidacy.[15]

Simmons, vacationing at New Bern, awaited public reaction to Bailey's announcement. He received quick assurances of support. Letters poured in, many describing Bailey as "easy picking." Some

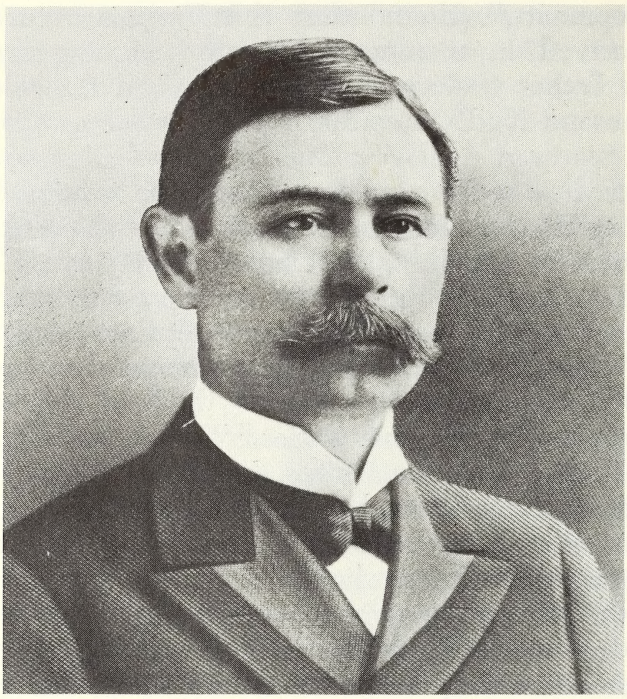
[11] For local press reports, see *The News and Observer*, June 1-2, November 6, December 16-17, 1929.

[12] "Former Supporter" to Simmons, November 6, 1929, with attached note by Alexander M. Walker, Simmons Papers.

[13] *The News and Observer*, June 14, 16, November 18, 1929; Simmons to R. H. Harris, June 18, 1929, Simmons Papers.

[14] Bailey to Doughton, November 29, 1929, and Bailey to Morrison, November 28, 1929, Bailey Papers.

[15] Bailey to W. B. Council, December 26, 1929, and Bailey to Morrison, December 28, 1929, Bailey Papers; T. B. Ward to Hampton, December 29, 1929, and George Pell to Simmons, November 18, 1929, Simmons Papers; *The News and Observer*, January 3, 1930. See also, unpublished announcement in Bailey Papers and Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 25-27.



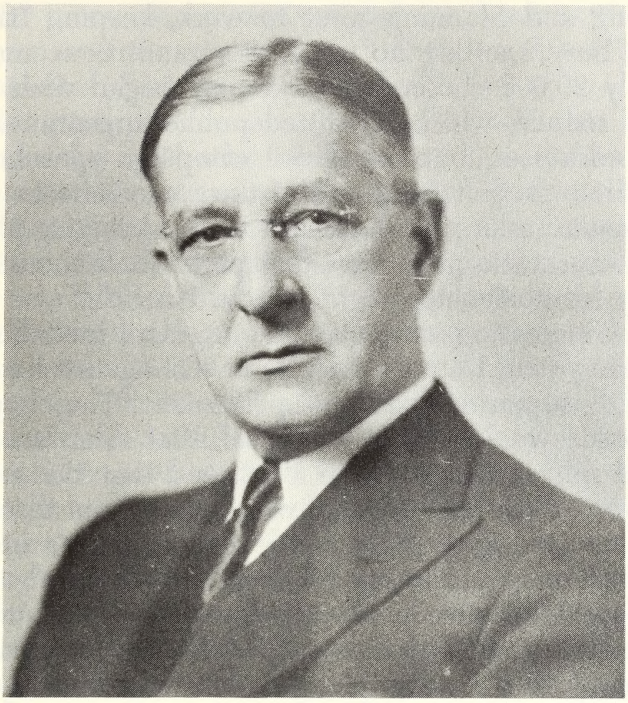
Furnifold M. Simmons, long-time senator from North Carolina, was defeated by Josiah W. Bailey in 1930. From files of the State Department of Archives and History.

writers declared for Simmons because of his experience. Others venerated him as the "leader who navigated the ship of State through the troublous waters of the 'nineties.'" "Stay in Washington, keep your money, and let your friends, 'the people' look after the election," was the advice of one of his leading supporters.[16]

In spite of the apparent optimism of his friends, Simmons realized that he faced fundamental difficulties in organizing his campaign. His enthusiastic supporters were the anti-Smith Democrats, numbering by a generous estimate, only 70,000 or 80,000. Since Smith had received 286,000 votes in the presidential election, Simmons would have to gain about 100,000 Smith votes and keep all the anti-Smith votes to win the nomination.[17] Under these circumstances, Simmons'

[16] George Rountree to Simmons, January 16, 1930, and N. C. Hines to Simmons, January 3, 1930, Simmons Papers.

[17] Simmons to Hines, January 4, 1930, Simmons Papers. The estimate is based on the assumption that the anti-Smith Democrats voted for Democrat O. Max Gardner for governor in 1928. Smith received 286,227 votes, and Hoover received 348,923. Gardner received 362,009 votes for governor, and Republican H. F. Seawell received 289,415. H. M. London (ed.), *North Carolina Manual, 1931* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1931), 89, 99; *Morning Herald* (Durham), January 5, 1930, hereinafter cited as *Morning Herald.*



Josiah W. Bailey, one of North Carolina's leaders in many fields, won Furnifold M. Simmons' seat in the United States Senate in 1930. Photograph by courtesy of Mrs. Josiah W. Bailey, Raleigh.

early moves were exceedingly cautious. Although he announced for re-election on January 11 he did not make known his choices for his campaign organization until February 19. Then he named two Smith supporters, Charles Hines of Greensboro as campaign manager and John Langston of Goldsboro as chairman of his campaign advisory committee. The anti-Smith forces were represented by Mrs. Charlotte Story Perkinson, a dedicated prohibitionist who was named assistant manager.[18]

Bailey's hopes lay in the support of the regular Democrats. Thus he had most to lose by a campaign that might further divide the party and most to gain by effective organization. On February 7, Bailey announced that his campaign would be in the hands of Judge James J. Manning of Raleigh as chairman of the campaign committee and C. L. Shuping of Greensboro as manager.[19] Following this announce-

[18] *The News and Observer*, January 12, February 21, March 4, 1930; Frank McNinch to Simmons, January 18, 1930, and Memo for the Press, March 8, 1930, Simmons Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 28, 32-33.

[19] *The News and Observer*, February 8, 1930; Bailey to Morrison, January 12, 1930, Bailey Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 31.

ment, Shuping and Manning went to work, keeping "the long distance phone busy," setting up precinct organizations and writing to approximately 25,000 chosen voters. Bailey began what he called a campaign of silence, which permitted public appearances and commencement addresses, but no official campaign speeches. The aim was to eliminate factionalism; and at the same time to point to the irony of Simmons' asking "as a reward for his bringing about the defeat of the Democratic party that that party shall choose him in the June primary for its Senator of the United States." [20]

In spite of increasing evidence that regulars including the great majority of the young Democratic voters were against him,[21] Simmons and his leading supporters were not pessimistic. They hoped that the prohibition issue would still have appeal, that ministers and women voters would rally as they had in 1928, and that the momentum of Simmons' long service and prestige would carry him through. Indeed the prohibition issue gave Simmons a real advantage in view of his close identification with the dry forces in 1928.[22] On the other hand, Bailey, though by choice a dry, had not been enthusiastic about statutory prohibition in earlier days. Shortly after the announcement of his candidacy, however, he pledged that he would support legislation for more effective enforcement. Moreover, he let it be known that he questioned Simmons' dedication to the dry cause and apparently never-repudiated campaign literature which implied that Simmons "had been drinking all his life until his doctor stopped him." [23]

Few prohibitionists, however, could have been convinced that Simmons was not their champion. "Oh, if we can only keep Prohibition, Mr. Simmons," wrote one official of the WCTU. "It really . . . is difficult to tell which direction the United States is going in—when we realize what Communism, Socialism, Atheism, the Wets, and the rest of that Crowd are doing. . . ." The Anti-Saloon League actively supported Simmons, and in April, Ira Champion, one of its principal national officials, came to North Carolina to work personally for Simmons. Indeed he warned Frank Hampton, Simmons' energetic

[20] Bailey to Morrison, February 10, 1930, James J. Manning to V. O. Riddle, March 10, 1930, D. (F.) Batts Shuping, March 21, 1930, Bailey Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 30.

[21] *Morning Herald, Daily Charlotte Observer*, hereinafter cited as *Charlotte Observer*, and *The News and Observer*, March 15-16, 1930.

[22] *The News and Observer*, March 29, April 2, 8, 1930; Hampton to J. A. Taylor and others, telegram, March 26, 1930, and William G. McAdoo to Simmons, April 14, 1930, Simmons Papers.

[23] *The News and Observer*, January 22, 1930, Bailey to J. P. Tucker, April 1, 1930, Bailey Papers; Hampton to the Rev. S. F. Conrad, May 16, 1930, Simmons Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 38-39.

secretary, that more money was needed to organize the "ministers and the women and the moral forces." If they are not "touched" at once, he concluded, "the Senator is gone."[24]

Neither Hampton nor Simmons had to be told that a promising source of votes lay with the women voters, and Charlotte Story Perkinson assumed the responsibility of rallying the ladies. A champion of both prohibition and woman's rights, she insisted that "God directs great movements," and "that in His wisdom the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified that the Eighteenth Amendment might be held."[25] She set up local organizations, wrote campaign tracts, and kept in touch with WCTU officials and with the auxiliaries of the American Legion. "We can ill afford that his labors in the United States Senate should cease," she wrote, "until the Heavenly Father shall declare all his good work on earth at an end."[26]

Unfortunately for Simmons, Bailey followers publicized the record of the two men on woman suffrage. They could show that Bailey's support of it dated from 1917 when a measure to give women the vote in municipal elections was introduced into the state legislature.[27] Simmons at that time had been definitely opposed to woman suffrage. Indeed, he never really favored the Nineteenth Amendment and suggested ratification by the North Carolina legislature only to please President Wilson. North Carolina leaders in the campaign, who had not forgotten Simmons' position, took delight in reminding their friends of the irony of Simmons' now calling for the woman's vote.[28]

Simmons' supporters devoted considerable effort to informing religious organizations of the moral issues of the campaign. A member of his campaign committee was also a district secretary of one of the women's missionary societies. She informed the membership that she was engaged in "missionary work" in her support of Simmons. "None other but a Christian gentleman," she wrote, "could have had [the] courage" to oppose Smith in 1928.[29] Simmons himself wrote

[24] Mrs. R. E. Williams to Simmons, April 22, 1930, and Champion to Hampton, April 30, 1930, Simmons Papers.

[25] *The News and Observer*, April 24, 1930.

[26] Hampton to J. G. Fearing, February 8, 1930, Charlotte S. Perkinson to Mrs. R. A. Harris, March 12, 1930, Perkinson to Mrs. A. D. Frank, March 12, 1930, Perkinson to Hampton, April 18, 1930, Simmons Papers.

[27] Bailey to H. W. Lilly, April 7, 1930, Bailey Papers. See A. Elizabeth Taylor, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVIII (January, 1961), 45-63; (April, 1961), 173-189, for a detailed study.

[28] Woodrow Wilson to Simmons, June 19, 1920, and Simmons to Joseph P. Tumulty, April 6, 1920, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; E. Delia Carroll to Editor, *The News and Observer*, May 16, 1930; Gertrude Weil to Manning, April 22, 1930, Bailey Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 39.

[29] Anna Graham to "My Dear Women," April 1, 1930, Simmons Papers.

personally to numerous ministers. Although he assured them that he would not wish them to exceed "the bounds of propriety," he warned that if it were proven "that a political leader can be destroyed in North Carolina for the reason that he stood with the moral and Church leadership, the consequences to future battles for moral issues will be very hurtful indeed." [30]

Ministers reacted in various ways to these appeals. Some declared publicly for Simmons and distributed literature. One, with a congregation of 500 people, promised to deliver their vote. At least one Baptist minister addressed a mimeographed letter urging support of Simmons as a "Pioneer against the Liquor trade now being arraigned by the devil and his hosts." [31] But others denounced the political activities of the ministry. One friend of Bailey described the organizations of preachers and women as "lying coiled in the grass of prejudice and hypocrisy and striking with their venomous fangs passers by." [32]

Although Simmons favored appeals to the moral forces, he relied principally upon his record in the Senate to persuade his constituents that he should be returned, and it was one of the jobs of Frank Hampton, Simmons' secretary, to see that the Senator's efforts were properly publicized. Simmons was the leading Democratic expert on the tariff and flatly refused to participate personally in his own reelection campaign for the legitimate reason that he was needed in the continuing tariff battle that had opened with the special session of Congress in March, 1929. Simmons' part in the tariff controversy may have been a mixed blessing for him. North Carolinians were divided on the issue, and Simmons himself was no doctrinaire free trader. He was pragmatic rather than dogmatic, preferring a low tariff, but quite sensitive to the North Carolina situation. For example, mica was mined in seven or eight counties in the western part of the state, and the mica interests let it be known that their support in the primary depended on a higher tariff on mica, and Simmons was apparently able to satisfy them.[33]

Much more complicated was the question of the aluminum tariff.

[30] See, for example, (Simmons) to the Rev. Gerald H. Payne, March 28, 1930, Simmons Papers.

[31] J. A. Hartness to Simmons, March 19, 1930, the Rev. J. M. Flemming to Simmons, January 28, 1930, Hampton to Fleming, April 18, 1930, Simmons Papers; Conrad to the Baptist Ministry of North Carolina, May 23, 1930, Bailey Papers.

[32] The Rev. Sankey L. Blanton to Bailey, May 24, 1930, and Brevard Nixon to Bailey Campaign Headquarters, May 9, 1930, Bailey Papers.

[33] G. P. Fortner to Simmons, January 10, 1930, W. W. Bailey to Simmons, February 14, 1930, David T. Fance to Simmons, April 8, 1930, Simmons Papers.

The Aluminum Company of America had announced extensive power projects in the western part of North Carolina which might result in the expenditure of perhaps $125,000,000 in the state in less than ten years. Such a building program was attractive to a section traditionally poor. Already one project had been started in Macon County. It was rumored that a larger project was "held up indefinitely because of tariff uncertainties." One of Simmons' political friends informed Hampton, moreover, that people were getting the word that Simmons' action in committee in favor of a low tariff had resulted in the loss to the state of some $52,000,000 in power projects.[34]

Simmons gave careful attention to this problem. He claimed that he had fought in conference to prevent a more substantial cut in the rates. He concluded, however, that aluminum prices were too high, that western North Carolina would not be penalized if duties were reduced, and so supported lower duties.[35]

An issue upon which Simmons counted to keep at least the eastern part of the state loyal to him was that of internal improvements. He had been a member of the Senate Committee on Commerce since 1906 and had fought frequent battles to improve water navigation in North Carolina and elsewhere. Some of these efforts came to a climax during the primary. He continued to fight for a third lock on the Cape Fear River which would make the river navigable to Fayetteville and gained authorization for dredging a 30-foot channel in the same river to Wilmington.[36] He also continued to gain appropriations for the Intracoastal Waterway which envisaged a protected channel for small boats and barges from New England to Florida.

A curious issue having to do with the waterway came to a head during the primary campaign. Before the Civil War, a lock and dam

[34] T. H. Vanderferd to Hampton, March 4, 1930, and William D. Harris to Simmons, March 15, 1930, Simmons Papers; W. W. Watt to Manning, April 30, 1930, Bailey Papers; Norman Cocke to Lee S. Overman, telegram, March 12, 1930, in Lee S. Overman Papers, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Overman Papers.

[35] J. Fred Rippy (ed.), *F. M. Simmons, Statesman of the New South* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1936), 68; Simmons to W. D. Harris, March 17, 1930, Simmons Papers.

[36] See *The News and Observer*, May 20, 1930; *Cape Fear River at and Below Wilmington, N. C., and Between Wilmington and Navassa, Report on Review of Reports Heretofore Submitted on Cape Fear River Below Wilmington, N. C., and Between Wilmington and Navassa*, House Rivers and Harbors Committee, Doc. No. 39, Seventy-first Congress, Second Session, cited in *Statutes at Large of the United States*, XLVI (1931), Pt. 1, 923; Simmons to J. E. Ashcraft, May 15, 1930, Simmons Papers; *Cape Fear River, N. C., Report on Preliminary Examination and Survey of Cape Fear River, Above Wilmington, N. C. with View to Construction of Lock and Dam About 15 Miles Below Fayetteville*, House Docs., Seventy-first Congress, Third Session, No. 786 (Serial 9,387); *Report of Chief of Engineers, 1934*, Seventy-fourth Congress, First Session, No. 7 (Serials 9,946-9,947), Pt. 1, 393; *Report of Chief of Engineers, Army, 1935*, Seventy-fourth Congress, Second Session (Serials 10,043-10,044), Pt. 1, 474-475.

had been constructed at Great Bridge, Virginia, to keep high tides from flowing into Currituck Sound and thus interfering with the operation of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal, a sea level, privately-owned canal. Currituck Sound, through which the canal ran, was a fresh water sound of about 300 square miles. It was considered "the most productive single area in America of black bass," and was also a favorite feeding ground for migrating birds. Consequently Currituck became a sportsman's paradise representing an estimated investment of $5,000,000 in hunting homes and clubs.[37]

In 1912 Congress authorized the purchase of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal as one link in the recently launched Intracoastal Waterway. At the same time, the Army Engineers apparently concluded that the lock was not essential for navigation, and it was abandoned. Within a comparatively short time, the bass became fewer, and the grasses upon which the migrating birds fed died. It seemed clear that with the abandonment of the lock and dam at Great Bridge, the salt water of the Chesapeake was pouring in and changing the whole environmental complex of Currituck Sound.

A vigorous campaign led by local interests but widely supported by conservationists developed to restore the lock. Representative Lindsay Warren of Washington, North Carolina, brought the question to the attention of Congress, and the Senate Committee on Commerce, of which Simmons was a prominent member, requested an investigation by the Board of Engineers. In 1929, three and a half years after this request, the board submitted a report containing detailed analyses of the problem of the canal but concluding that no lock was necessary for navigation and that it was uncertain whether a lock would preserve the fish and restore the grasses.

In February, 1930, *Outdoor America* carried an article under Simmons' signature describing the situation and appealing "to the people of America for help to avert" a tragedy. An editor's note on this article, reported that Simmons for at least fifteen years had "waged a battle, almost single-handed, to ward off" the destruction of the preserve.[38] Almost simultaneously with the publication of the article, a hearing was held in which Simmons' testimony in favor of

[37] The discussion of the Currituck Sound Problem is taken largely from *Hearings Before the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, Seventy-first Congress, Second Session, on the Subject of the Construction of a Lock in the Chesapeake and Albemarle Canal Section of the Inland Waterway from Norfolk, Virginia, to Beaufort Inlet, North Carolina, January 28, 1930.*

[38] *The News and Observer*, January 29, 1930. It is possible that the basic draft for Simmons' article was prepared by Wayne Johnson, a New York attorney. Hampton to Wayne Johnson, October 29, 1929, Simmons Papers.

the bill was again featured, and well before primary day the restoration of the lock was approved. Such publicity aided Simmons, and the opposition was quite legitimately exercised at the nature of the publicity. Indeed Bailey supporters insisted that Representative Warren had done more than Simmons to keep the issue alive, and emissaries were dispatched into the Currituck area to inform the voters that Warren had initiated the investigation as soon as he had entered Congress in 1925.[39]

Actually both Simmons and Warren played important parts in securing approval for the restoration. Warren had organized much of the campaign, and his committee work had been skillful and effective. Nonetheless, Simmons persistently kept at the engineers who were turning in unfavorable reports; he saw that hearings were held, and that decisions were appealed. He succeeded in relieving the locality of having to assume any of the cost of restoration. He argued vigorously that the Intracoastal Waterway was a federal project, that navigation was a federal responsibility, and that to maintain a haven for migratory birds was part of a treaty obligation with Canada.[40]

One national issue with which any sensitive local politician would be involved in 1930 was that of chain stores. The increase in the number of chain stores in the 1920's had created an atmosphere comparable to the anti-monopoly campaign of the 1890's. State legislatures, traditionally responsive to small town appeal, began to approve statutes discriminating against the chains. In 1928 the Senate directed the Federal Trade Commission to undertake "an inquiry into the methods of chain store marketing and distribution."[41] In North Carolina the controversy became lively. The legislature in 1929 approved a measure which would require a fifty-dollar license for every cash retail store operated as a part of a chain in the state.[42]

[39] Bailey to Herbert Peele, January 25, 1930, Charles J. Moore to Shuping, May 21 and 23, 1930, Bailey Papers.

[40] *Hearings Before the Committee on Commerce*, U. S. Senate, Seventy-first Congress, Second Session on H. R. 11781 . . . , Pt. 4, May 19, 1930; *Statutes at Large of the United States*, XLVI (1931), Pt. 1, 922; Lindsay Warren to Richard L. Watson, Jr., August 5, 1961, in author's files.

[41] See *Chain Stores: Cooperative Grocery Chains . . . and Chain Stores: Growth and Development of Chain Stores . . .* , Senate Docs. Nos. 12 and 100, Seventy-second Congress, First Session (Serial 9,501); Ray B. Westerfield, "The Rise of the Chain Store," *Current History*, XXXV (December, 1931), 359; "Anti-Chain Store Legislation in Congress," *Congressional Digest*, IX (August-September, 1930), 202; *Chain Stores, Final Report on Chain-Store Investigation, Letter . . . transmitting in Response to Senate Resolution 224, 70th Congress, Final Report of Federal Trade Commission of Its Investigation of Chain-Store Industry*, Senate Docs., Seventy-fourth Congress, First Session, No. 4 (Serial 9,896).

[42] The Supreme Court upheld this statute in *Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. et. al. v. Maxwell, Commissioner of Revenue*, 284 U.S. 575 (1931).

Public meetings were held, and the issue was debated on the radio. In fact, so colorful became the radio broadcasts of W. K. Henderson, owner of station KWKH at Shreveport, Louisiana, in opposition to the chain stores, that attempts were made to prohibit his programs.[43]

Simmons was deluged with letters urging him to come to the aid of Henderson and to support the anti-chain store movement. Even though he was reputed to be associated with conservative business interests, actually by disposition he favored local merchants in rural areas. He endorsed the Federal Trade Commission investigation, and lost no opportunity during the primary to let it be known that he considered chain stores a menace. Undoubtedly, as one of his organizers told him, his anti-chain store activities had some effect "where the cross roads store or the filling station is the forum for political discussion." [44]

Bailey, apparently considering Simmons' stand demagogic, was less outspoken on the issue. Some of his followers, however, were concerned about Bailey's reticence. Robert R. Reynolds, rising Asheville politico, warned that "the fight against the chain store is literally sweeping this section. Stand with the home people," he urged Bailey. "Fight the foreign owned chains" that carry "every dollar they get . . . with the exception of the small amount of rent and salaries . . . to New York City." [45]

More significant in its lasting implications than the chain-store issue in the campaign was the role of organized labor. In 1929 and 1930 emotions in the state were highly charged on this subject because of the violence that had broken out during strikes at the Loray Mill in Gastonia and the Marion Manufacturing Company at Marion in 1929. At Gastonia, the chief of police and an unarmed striker, Mrs. Ella May Wiggins, and at Marion, six strikers were killed. The issue was complicated because at Gastonia, Communist organizers were active; thus not only the rights of labor in the mill, in the community, and in the courts, but also the extent of radical participation, were involved.[46]

[43] *New York Times*, January 10, April 27, 1930.

[44] *The News and Observer*, February 23, April 1, 1930; Hampton to John H. Hawley, telegram, April 29, 1930, Simmons to T. M. Kessler, April 19, 1930, D. B. Overcash to Simmons, April 6, 1930, J. H. Canay to Simmons, undated, Simmons Papers.

[45] Bailey to Robert R. Reynolds, February 17, 1930, Reynolds to Bailey, February 18, 1930, John T. Wilkins to Shuping, April 23, 1930, J. C. Coston to Bailey, April 12, 1930, Bailey Papers.

[46] For accounts of these strikes, see Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1942); Samuel Yellen, *American Labor Struggles* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936); Broadus Mitchell and G. S. Mitchell, *The Industrial Revolution in the South* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930); and R. E. Williams, "The Textile Battle and Its Present Significance," *The News and Observer*, May 5, 1929.

Simmons was faced with the need of taking a stand on the issue when Senator Burton K. Wheeler introduced into the Senate on April 29 a resolution calling for a congressional investigation of the textile industries of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Simmons' southern sensibilities were roused by this resolution, and he promptly insisted that, if there were to be any investigation, it should be of the textile mills throughout the United States and not just in the South. He admitted that southern mills paid lower wages but argued that the southern worker enjoyed advantages such as lower rents, free water and light, and fuel at cost. Beware of propaganda that slanders the South, he warned; and at the same time, be aware of substandard working conditions in New England mills and in the needle trades of New York. Some unions, he alleged, want "to control and dominate the factory," and deny "the right of North Carolina citizens to work . . . unless they belong to these unions." [47]

Simmons generally had received the support of trade unions in the past; his attitude in this debate, however, created doubts in the minds of his labor constituents. As soon as he was apprised of this, he hastened to re-establish himself. He assured them that he had "deep sympathy for our laboring classes," that he believed that the "murderer of the poor woman at Gastonia" should be brought to justice, and that there should be an investigation by the "impartial Federal Trade Commission." [48]

Simmons apparently lost little if any ground by this episode. An "act of God" of March 8, 1930, however, put Simmons on the spot politically and must have undermined whatever support he had built up among labor leaders. Probably when Simmons learned of the death of United States Supreme Court Justice Edward Terry Sanford, he saw an opportunity to strengthen his political position. Sanford was a southerner, and it was assumed that he would be replaced by a southerner. North Carolina had two excellent candidates. Simmons himself preferred Chief Justice Stacy of the North Carolina Supreme Court. Stacy, however, was a Democrat, and Simmons

[47] *Congressional Record*, LXXI, Pt. 1, 630-632; Pt. 2, 1,379-1,384; Pt. 4, 4,221-4,226; Senate Committee on Manufacturing, *Working Conditions of Textile Industry in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, Hearings . . . 71st Congress, 1st Session, on S. Res. 49, Authorizing Committee on Manufactures, or Any Duly Authorized Sub-Committee Thereof, to Investigate Immediately Working Conditions of Employees in Textile Industry of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, May 8, 9, and 20, 1929* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1929). See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 22.

[48] Simmons to F. Wilson, October 28, 1929, Simmons to Louise Ingersoll, November 14, 1929, J. L. Hamme to Simmons, December 6, 1929, Simmons to William Green, December 11, 1929, Simmons to Hamme, December 20, 1929, Simmons Papers.

was quite aware that Justice John J. Parker, of the United States Circuit Court and a Republican, had a much better chance for presidential appointment and senate approval. Simmons, therefore, backed both of these men for the nomination, and when Hoover chose Parker, Simmons considered himself committed to his support.[49]

Although at first senatorial approval of the appointment seemed assured, opposition quickly developed. Some Democrats, even southerners, opposed Parker because he was a Republican; liberal senators, sensitive about the complexion of the Supreme Court, considered Parker too conservative and not sufficiently distinguished; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was suspicious of his position on the racial question; and the labor leadership insisted that one of his decisions on the circuit court showed that he sympathized with the yellow-dog contract. The question was a complex one; but, whatever the validity of the arguments raised, the coalition was sufficiently strong to defeat Parker's confirmation on May 7, one month before the primary. Simmons consistently supported Parker and voted for his confirmation. He undoubtedly would have lost many votes had he turned against Parker, but at the same time his vote meant that union members who considered the yellow-dog contract a symbol of enslavement would no longer give him their support.[50]

Although it had its weak points, Simmons' record on the national political scene by 1930 was perhaps more impressive than that of any North Carolinian who had preceded him in the Senate. Simmons' regular return to Washington in four previous elections had depended not only upon his record, but also upon his organization. Now the organization no longer could be relied upon, and Simmons and Hampton were too professional to think that the record alone would suffice. Voters must have the record thrust upon them; they must be registered and shepherded to the polls; and their votes must be counted. Simmons' concern about such practical matters led to an attempt on the part of his organization to persuade the state board of elections to see to it that the various Democratic election officers (registrars, poll holders, and markers) would be divided equally be-

[49] Simmons to A. W. McLean, March 14, 1930, and Simmons to C. A. Hines, March 14, 1930, Simmons Papers. For a detailed discussion of this question, see Richard L. Watson, Jr., "The Defeat of Judge Parker: A Study of Pressure Groups in Politics," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, L (September, 1963), 213-233.

[50] Senate Judiciary Committee, *Confirmation of John J. Parker to Be Associate Justice of Supreme Court, Hearing Before Subcommittee, 71st Congress, 2d Session, Apr. 5, 1930* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1930), *passim.*

tween Bailey and Simmons followers. The state board, however, when it met on March 29, 1930, announced that the normal practice of following the advice of county chairmen would be continued. Since most county chairmen now favored Bailey, it was generally conceded that Bailey had won an important round by gaining control of the party election machinery in most localities.[51]

There was in fact something wrong with the Simmons organization. Hampton, informed that the campaign "was a mess" and going "by default," was discouraged. Devoted to the old senator, he could not bear the thought of his defeat. He worked day and night, writing letters, telephoning, drafting broadsides, raising money. Not a temperate man, he occasionally blew up. "Ungrateful skunks . . . and sons of bitches who have eaten bread from the Senator's table," he wrote on one occasion, "are fighting him all over the State and trying to bring a great career to a close in humiliation and defeat and break his heart and throw him out in his old age." Vigor and inspiration were needed; and, since Simmons would not give it, the next best thing was for Hampton to provide it. He had intervened personally in the presidential election of 1928, and his intervention had apparently contributed to the success of the anti-Smith forces. Now late in May, 1930, he established himself at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh and took over Simmons' organization.[52]

Sensing that there was now a danger of losing even the anti-Smith voters, Hampton gave a go-ahead signal to Frank McNinch, brilliant lawyer, eloquent speaker, and chairman in 1928 of the anti-Smith Democratic organization in North Carolina. McNinch was delighted to turn his oratorical guns against "Raskob and the liquor crowd." Hampton also made every effort, as had been his custom, to persuade his friends in state office to get, in a "proper way of course," a good supply of absentee certificates and ballots. One of his closest friends, however, reminded him of the new absentee ballot law that required each voter to request his own ballot. At this Hampton was irritated. Convinced that the Bailey crowd would get as many absentee ballots as they wanted, he informed Frank Grist, commissioner of labor and printing, that he knew Grist would not be able to get ballots through

[51] *The News and Observer*, March 29-31, 1930; Bailey to Morrison, April 1, 1930, Bailey Papers; (H. G. Branston) to Hines, March 31, 1930, and Opie Edwards to Hampton, April 1, 1930, Simmons Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 35.

[52] Hampton to Lee Hampton, April 29, 1930, Hampton to Simmons, telegram, May 25, 1930, and McNinch to Simmons, May 27, 1930, Simmons Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 32-34.

regular channels but that he had expected Grist to get them anyway.[53]

Frustrated in his efforts to get the absentee ballots himself, Hampton made a special secretary in Simmons' office responsible for the numerous North Carolinians in Washington. The secretary interviewed each North Carolinian personally, obtained applications for their ballots, and followed them up to be sure the applications were received. In some instances, at least, requests for absentee ballots directed to county boards of election were charged to Simmons' personal account.[54]

Another problem for the professional organizer was the restriction upon spending money in the campaign. North Carolina laws required regular reporting of the amounts spent "to aid in the campaign or election of any candidate for any office in a primary or general election." Furthermore it was illegal for a senatorial candidate to "spend or allow others to spend" more than his annual salary as a senator.[55] In practice, these laws were widely ignored, and many expenditures were made locally which were not reported. Such a relaxed interpretation of the law seems to have been accepted, but there was always danger of an outside investigation.[56] In 1930, for example, a special committee of the United States Senate, of which Gerald P. Nye was chairman, was appointed to investigate senatorial campaigns.[57]

The organization of neither Simmons nor Bailey lived within either the letter or spirit of the law. Some efforts were apparently made to keep the expenditures of central headquarters within the $10,000 limits provided for a senator, but even the most conscientious efforts in a tough campaign would probably have failed. One or more campaign headquarters had to be maintained. Literature had to be printed and mailed. These functions were more or less open and aboveboard. Somewhat different was the problem of the "worker." In the Simmons camp, for example, the professionals did not have

[53] McNinch to Simmons, May 27, 1930, McNinch to Hampton, June 3, 1930, Hampton to LeRoy Martin, May 5, 1930, Hampton to Frank D. Grist, May 12, 1930, Grist to Hampton, May 16, 1930, Hampton to Grist, May 17, 1930, Simmons Papers.

[54] F. Hunter Creech to J. A. Hartness, June 4, 1930, and Sadie Larkins McCormick to J. A. Taylor, June 5, 1930, Simmons Papers.

[55] He might, in addition, pay his personal travel and subsistence expenses while campaigning. *The North Carolina Code of 1931 . . .* (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company, 1931), c. 82, s. 4185; *Public Laws, 1913*, c. 164.

[56] See, for example, Cameron Morrison's testimony in *Senatorial Campaign Expenditures, 1930, Hearings, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, Pursuant to S. Res. 215, Authorizing Appointment of Special Committee to Make Investigation into Campaign Expenditures of Candidates for Senate: North Carolina, Oct. 13 and 14, 1930* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1930), 9, hereinafter cited as *Senatorial Campaign Expenditures.*

[57] Senate Resolution 215, approved April 10, 1930, *Congressional Record*, LXXII, Pt. 8, 6,841.

confidence in the "moral forces" getting to the polls unless the workers got them there. And workers were professionals who expected payment for their services. John Langston reported, for example, that "every party worker that has been effective in the past" would work for Bailey if they were not paid. Bart Gatling, Simmons' Raleigh manager, warned Hampton early in May that "the other side has already made offers to my men, and I am in danger of losing them." He requested $600.[58]

Bailey was also bombarded with requests to pay workers and meet other expenses of getting voters to the polls. Neither his organization nor Simmons' tried to keep check on how much was spent locally. Some of these expenditures were large. Cameron Morrison, for example, gave $2,000 to Bailey's campaign which was reported. He gave in addition $1,000 to a young man who "loved Mr. Bailey," $500 each to Bailey's managers in Richmond and Scotland counties, and $3,000 to Bailey's manager in Mecklenburg County. James Pou, Bailey's father-in-law, contributed $750 which was reported. But he also paid two field workers, bought radio advertising, and increased his contributions to charity. His unreported contributions amounted to about $1,500. Moreover, it appears that bills unpaid on primary day were not included within the official $10,000 amount; Shuping paid personally between $5,000 and $6,000 worth of these bills. None of this amount was reported.[59]

Another issue which produced charges and countercharges was that involving the Negro. Simmons was still known as the "chieftain of white supremacy," a title which was bestowed upon him out of the "overflowing love and appreciation of the white people of the State for his fearless and magnificent leadership in the great White Supremacy Revolution."[60] Simmons had gained votes in the past because of this reputation. His supporters hoped to profit from it again.

The Negro question was raised as a campaign issue early in April, 1930, when the *Reidsville Review* devoted its pages on April 2, 1930, to an article in support of Simmons. It praised Simmons especially for his white supremacy activities and contrasted them with Bailey's position. Bailey, it asserted, had at the turn of the century opposed separate railway cars for the white and colored races, had endorsed a proposal to reduce North Carolina's representation if Negro suffrage

[58] Langston to Simmons, April 2 and 23, 1930, and Bart Gatling to Hampton, May 7, 1930, Simmons Papers.
[59] Pou and Shuping testimony in *Senatorial Campaign Expenditures*, 31-38, 22.
[60] Frank Hampton, *For the Senate* (campaign pamphlet), 7, Simmons Papers.

were restricted, and had sneered at the white supremacy issue. Indeed the *Review* accused Bailey of recommending independence in party, and of voting for McKinley in 1896.[61]

The *Review* article was tightly packed and rather difficult reading. Consequently, Frank Hampton and his brother Parks prepared a circular containing a more popular version of the same story. They were aided by the fact that several prominent Negroes such as James Shepard, president of North Carolina College, and a Negro newspaper, the *Carolina Times* of Durham, favored Bailey. The Hamptons took an attack on Simmons, made by the *Times*, and printed it beside allegations that Bailey opposed segregation and disfranchisement. "The idea of anyone opposing separate cars for the white and blacks will work wonders in the western counties," wrote Parks Hampton. And Frank urged that at least 50,000 copies of the circular should be printed with the thought that they be widely distributed particularly where "the prohibition issue is not popular."[62]

The explosive nature of the issue made a counterattack necessary. Bailey insisted that there was "not a word of truth in the circular." He denied that he had sneered at white supremacy, insisting that his first political speech had been in support of the suffrage amendment. He explained his advocacy of political independence by saying that as editor of the *Biblical Recorder*, a religious paper, he "had to pursue an independent course."[63] Bailey's denials were combined with attacks on Simmons. One piece of Bailey literature was in the form of a letter to Simmons written by a voter who had voted for Hoover because of Simmons' leadership. "The first thing that Hoover did was to give a tea in the White House to a Negro wife of the Negro Congressman De Priest," said the repentant voter. "My eyes were opened and I was ashamed. I realized that I had voted against all the instincts of my Southern blood. . . ."[64]

The racial issue became more complicated when it was learned late in May that 375 Negroes had registered in Raleigh to vote in the Democratic primary. Reaction to this news came swiftly. The

[61] *Biblical Recorder* (Raleigh), November 23, 30, December 7, 21, 1898, and April 25, 1900, quoted in *Reidsville Review*, April 2, 1930.

[62] James Shepard to Bailey, January 4, 1930, Bailey Papers; Parks Hampton to Frank Hampton, telegrams, April 17, May 1, 1930, Frank Hampton to Parks Hampton, April 28, May 1, 5, 1930, Simmons Papers. The circular is attached to letter, J. K. Norfleet to Shuping, May 21, 1930, Bailey Papers.

[63] Mary Stewart to Editor, *Charlotte Observer*, May 24, 1930; Bailey to John H. Cathey, May 29, 1930, Bailey Papers. See also, the draft of a campaign circular, The Charges Against Mr. Bailey, Bailey Papers.

[64] Editorial, Pender Chronicle (Burgaw), May 15, 1930, reprinted as campaign broadside, Simmons Papers.

Raleigh *News and Observer* called it "a dagger at the heart," saying that the Negroes should not have been allowed to register as Democrats since all Negroes were Republicans. Educated Negroes should be protected in their right to register and vote Republican, editorialized *The News and Observer.* "They do not desire to be guilty of the fraud of posing as Democrats." [65] Simmons, thinking that the local "Jones faction" had registered the Negroes in order to gain votes for Bailey, announced publicly that he was "shocked and amazed" and urged the exposure of "the instigators of this indefensible scheme." [66]

The Bailey organization was obviously alarmed. As one Pamlico County man put it, "But for God's sake, yours and mine, and all North Carolina, don't let the 'niggers' in Raleigh vote in a Democratic primary." "The Simmons forces are using that strong against Bailey and it is having effect. . . ." Bailey himself denied that his organization "had anything to do with the registration," and accused the Simmons organization of blackening his character.[67]

On May 31, Bart Gatling, Simmons' Raleigh manager, challenged every Negro registered as a Democrat. Although he initially indicated that he would challenge them on the sole grounds that they were Negroes, the actual complaint put party affiliation or educational qualifications as the basis for the challenge. Of the 472 Negroes challenged, 149 appeared to answer the challenge. With few exceptions all claimed to be Democrats of long standing; most of them were given literacy tests; and all except three were permitted to remain on the Democratic rolls.[68]

It is difficult to steer a straight course through the morass of charges and countercharges in the controversy over Negro voting. Actually for a good many years Negroes had been registered to vote in Raleigh elections, and the various political factions had bargained for their votes. There may not have been anything underhanded in the growing Negro registration in the Democratic party; it may have been that the Negroes themselves had made up their minds how they

[65] *The News and Observer,* May 27, 1930. The *Charlotte Observer,* June 1, 1930, stated that it was "a practice common with the Raleigh politicians of using the Negro vote when it might be advantageous to do so." There were, it appeared, more than 2,000 Negro names on the old books, of which 500 were transferred to the new.

[66] Simmons to Mrs. L. A. Mahler, May 28, 1930, Simmons Papers; *The News and Observer,* May 29, 1930. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension,* 41.

[67] Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension,* 41; S. M. Carupen to Shuping, May 30, 1930, Bailey Papers; *The News and Observer,* May 30, 1930. See also, A. E. Jones to Shuping, May 30, 1930, Bailey Papers.

[68] *The News and Observer,* May 29, 1930. Although Simmons wanted to make it appear that all Negroes would support Bailey, there was some evidence that Simmons, too, had Negro supporters. B. B. Lipscomb to Simmons, May 28, 1930, Simmons Papers; *The News and Observer,* May 30, June 4-6, 1930.

would register. Testimony at the hearings gave some indication that the Negroes were moving into the Democratic party in North Carolina because they believed that the local Republican leadership wished to make the party "lily white." [69]

The Negro issue was just one of the several devices by which the Simmons forces attempted to win supporters in the closing days of the campaign. There was some hope, for example, that former Governor Angus McLean might lead a grand rally on election eve. But McLean refused to participate, and Simmons made his own final appeal in a written statement. He asserted that he was making his case for re-election upon his record of thirty years in the Senate. He accused his enemies of ignoring his record and attacking only his failure to support Al Smith in 1928. They "ignore also the fact," he went on, that "I have voted for . . . every Democratic nominee—national, state, district, county and local—with one exception. . . ." "I have never fought a battle," he concluded, "against the welfare and glory of my country, my State, and my party." [70]

By the first of June, Bailey had returned to Raleigh to work at his headquarters. Even then he had not decided to make a campaign address. Reports from the troops in the field had indicated a Simmons gain in recent weeks; and so Bailey decided to deliver one climactic, final broadcast at the Raleigh auditorium. This speech was perhaps the clearest statement of the "issues" of Bailey's campaign. He explained that he had intentionally not developed any issues because he wanted to stand not on his own platform but on that of the Democratic party. He denied that Raskob, or any wet organization, had contributed to his campaign and asserted that he would "live and die in opposition to . . . the liquor traffic." He also denied that he or his associates had anything to do with the registration of Negroes. He assured his listeners that he had consistently opposed increasing the tax burdens upon the farmers and people generally. He was given a great ovation as he concluded: "From the mountains to the sea, I confidently predict that the Democracy of North Carolina will go to the polls next Saturday, determined . . . to repair the damage done in 1928, and to march to a great victory in 1930, and a greater still in 1932." [71]

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[69] *The News and Observer*, May 28, June 1, 4-7, 1930.

[70] W. G. Holman to Simmons, May 17, 1930, Holman to McLean, May 17, 1930, McLean to Holman, May 26, 1930, C. H. England to McLean, May 26, 1930, McLean to Simmons, May 27, 1930, England to McLean, May 27, 1930, McLean to Simmons, June 2, 1930, Simmons Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 43; *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1930.

[71] Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 43; *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1930.

Primary day, June 7, 1930, brought cloudy or stormy weather to most communities. Each side, in fact, claimed that it lost votes because of the rain.[72] Nevertheless, more than 325,000 voters turned out, some 90,000 more than ever before in a North Carolina primary. Bailey received 198,867 votes, almost 70,000 more than Simmons. He carried all but 16 of the 100 counties. Simmons carried seven counties in the East—this was his home stronghold which he had strengthened by support of the waterways. He carried only Mecklenburg and Forsyth counties in the heavily populated Piedmont where the anti-Smith Democrats had won overwhelmingly in 1928. He carried no county west of Iredell.[73]

The defeat plunged Simmons' friends into gloom. McAdoo found it difficult to comprehend and assured Simmons that he was worthy of being in the White House. Others were more emotional. "If Jesus of Nazareth had been crowned King of the Jews and died a natural death while enjoying imperial power, there would be few today . . . who had ever heard his name," wrote a ministerial friend. "Had Thomas Cranmer not been burned at the stake, his name would not appear on the pages of history. Had Woodrow Wilson not suffered defeat in the last days of his life, the honor of his memory would be less."[74] Superficially at least, ranks were closed after the primary in preparation for the election in the fall. In fact, there was much bitterness beneath the surface. From Bailey supporters came accusations that Republicans had registered as Democrats in order to support Simmons in the primary. Now that he was defeated in the primary, the accusation went on, Simmons would run as an independent in order to attract the coalition that had defeated Smith in 1928. At least some of the Simmons followers thought that the election had been stolen from them. They complained of the control of the elec-

[72] J. R. Jones to Bailey, June 10, 1930, Bailey Papers; J. W. Hollowell to Simmons, June 9, 1930, Simmons Papers.

[73] The counties carried by Simmons were Jones, Craven, Lenoir, Onslow, Pender (by one vote), New Hanover, and Hyde in the east; Wilson, Robeson, Caswell, Hertford, Lee, Richmond, Mecklenburg, Forsyth, and Iredell in the rest of the state. The largest number of votes polled in a North Carolina election prior to 1930 was in the election of 1928. *The News and Observer*, June 18, 1930. See also, *Charlotte Observer*, June 9, 1930.

[74] McAdoo to Daniel Roper, June 10, 1930, and McAdoo to Simmons, June 16, 1930, William G. McAdoo Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress; Horace M. Dubose, Jr., to Simmons, June 9, 1930, Langston to Simmons, telegram, June 9, 1930, Simmons to Langston, telegram, June 10, 1930, Simmons Papers; *Charlotte Observer*, June 10, 1930.

tion by Bailey election officials, of the purchase of voters, and of fraudulent voting by absentee ballots.[75]

Simmons became convinced that New York money had been used to rob him of the election.[76] Thus he was delighted when Senator Nye's Senatorial Campaign Committee decided to investigate the various rumors of irregularities. A very brief two-day hearing was held. Cameron Morrison, C. L. Shuping, and James Pou, among others, testified. They were on the defensive, for unquestionably they had spent more money than was permitted by law. Nonetheless, they appeared to be quite willing to talk about it rather apologetically. Editor Josephus Daniels, although he had favored Simmons, concluded that the hearing was a "Godsend" in that "not a scintilla of evidence was elicited to prove that Bailey got any outside money" of significance. At the same time, Daniels pointed out that it had "uncovered indefensible practices of money spent for a candidate through agencies other than the campaign committees and not reported."[77]

Money was not, therefore, the principal factor defeating Simmons. The principal factor was undoubtedly the obvious one: Simmons' failure to support Smith in 1928. As Simmons' colleague, Senator Lee S. Overman, put it, "The people of North Carolina do not like irregularity in politics and especially from a man who had led them all these years insisting upon regularity."[78]

By the time the primary campaign had begun, few of the local professional politicians were willing to support Simmons. This situation was novel. Simmons had never campaigned much for himself. He had relied on local politicians. In fact, Bailey claimed that Simmons' reputation as a campaign fighter was something of a myth, pointing out that he had made only two political speeches in the state between 1916 and 1928. Then in 1928, wrote a Bailey man, "he made two speeches in advocacy of the election of a mossy-back, blue-

[75] Bruce Craven to Bailey, June 9, 1930, W. A. Hunt to Bailey, June 9, 1930, A. A. Bunn to Bailey, June 10, 1930, Bailey Papers; Mary Jones to (Simmons), June 12, 1930, W. Henry Liles to Hines, July 10, 1930, Simmons Papers. In Catawba County, where fewer than 5,000 votes were cast, for instance, there was an estimate of 1,500 absentee votes. T. J. Ray to Simmons, August 18, 1930, C. G. Whitney to Simmons, August 8, 1930, G. W. Murray to Simmons, August 20, 1930, Whitney to Simmons, August 22, 1930, Simmons Papers.

[76] Memo to the Press, June 12, 1930, Simmons to Hampton, August 21, 1930, Ward to Hampton, September 4, 1930, Hampton to Ward, September 11, 1930, Hampton to Simmons, September 15, 1930, Hampton to (Simmons, September, 1930), Simmons Papers; Overman to Bailey, June 13, 1930, Bailey Papers.

[77] *The News and Observer*, October 14, 1930, and Josephus Daniels to Albert S. Burleson, October 11, 1930, Josephus Daniels Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress; *Charlotte Observer*, October 14-15, 1930.

[78] Overman to (Craige) Burton, June 14, 1930, Overman Papers; *Morning Herald*, June 10, 1930.

bellied, monopoly-worshipping, DePriest-entertaining Republican. . . ." [79]

Even Simmons' ability as an organizer was being questioned. He had become increasingly accustomed to leaving the day-to-day business to A. D. Watts, Frank Hampton, and a host of other friends who had worked with him in the nineties and following decades. By 1930 some of them were dead, many were old, and a significant number of them had revolted over Simmons' stand in 1928.[80] Since the Senator had not campaigned actively in the state for some years, young Democrats did not know him. Most young lawyers, the aspiring politicians, opposed him. There was rebellion against the idea of the "Simmons machine." Thus the local machinery became predominantly controlled by the followers of Bailey.

Under the circumstances, Simmons' only hope was to rally those who had been inspired by his stand in the 1928 election and others, such as organized labor and the corporations, who were not traditionally a part of the political organization. None of these groups voted in the way hoped for by the Simmons organization. Indeed, Hampton was infuriated at the "so called moral element" which he said had deserted Simmons when he was in distress, leaving him "naked to his enemies." [81] Yet "the moral element" was divided; Bailey, a Baptist, certainly was not a wet, and he was quite successful in rallying those women who remembered that when Simmons was opposing woman suffrage Bailey was taking the lead in favoring it.

Even so the prohibition issue would probably have had a more decisive effect had not the depression conveniently materialized to nullify the emotional issues. It was widely accepted that Hoover was responsible for the depression, and by 1930 all North Carolina was feeling its effect. In 1928 Simmons had indirectly helped Hoover, and he had not seriously attacked him since. The conclusion was obvious that because of his association, Simmons could be judged guilty of the depression. Simmons' supporters might point to his consistent record of aid to farmers, internal improvements, veterans' benefits, and other favors to constituents. In good times, this record might have been convincing; in depression times, even a constructive record of one who had bolted the party was easily forgotten.

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[79] Bailey to Gerald W. Johnson, January 16, 1930, Bailey to W. O. Saunders, March 19, 1930, D. M. Stringfield to Manning, February 17, 1930, Nixon to Bailey, April 23, 1930, Bailey Papers.

[80] For a detailed analysis of this situation, see Bailey to Walter Montgomery, June 12, 1943, Bailey Papers.

[81] Hampton to McNinch, November 20, 1930, Simmons Papers.

Simmons expected to receive support from labor. His decision to support Judge Parker's confirmation, however, had killed that hope. At the other extreme were the corporations whose resources apparently had been at the service of the Simmons organization in the past. Some expected the corporations to come to his help in 1930, but there is no evidence that they did. Perhaps they too were cooled by Simmons' actions in the Senate. Only recently he had stood against private interests' taking over Muscle Shoals; here he was no doubt judged guilty of association again—this time with that alleged radical, George Norris. Moreover, his stand on the tariff did not help him with business in general, in view of the fact that he had resisted all efforts of the Duke Power Company and others to persuade him to support a higher tariff on aluminum.[82]

There were no true issues that clearly separated the contestants in 1930. The aim was to arouse the voter, get him to the polls, and see that he voted right. Violence was frowned upon, but the practices followed by representatives of both sides were questionable to say the least. Race, religion, any subject that might influence the vote were tossed into the ring. People were marched to the polls, absentee ballots manipulated.

Simmons was defeated by a young man, more vigorous, more eloquent, and perhaps more powerful intellectually. The old Senator, who spent most of the ten years remaining to him on his porch at New Bern, would express himself as sympathetic to the New Deal at a time when Senator Bailey was becoming a symbol of the conservative southern Democrat. It is interesting to speculate whether, had he been re-elected, Simmons would have adapted to the changing policies of Franklin Roosevelt as he had supported the changing policies of the earlier Democrat, Woodrow Wilson.

[82] Victory Boyden to Simmons, June 9, 1930, Simmons Papers; *The News and Observer*, June 9-10, 1930; *Morning Herald*, June 10, 1930.

THE NORTH CAROLINA MANUMISSION SOCIETY 1816-1834

By Patrick Sowle *

In Colonial North Carolina the only group to question the ethics of slaveholding was the Society of Friends. And even they were late beginning. Although as early in 1740 they discussed methods of "using negroes well," they did little to oppose the institution.[1] In 1754 a touring Quaker from New England regretted that among his southern brethren "Negro-purchasing comes more and more in use." [2] In the 1760's, however, serious attention was given to slaveholding, and in 1768 the Western Quarterly, a subdivision of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, advised its members "not to buy or sell in any case that can be reasonably avoided." [3] Four years later the Western Quarterly advanced its position by ruling that a Friend should not purchase a Negro except from a fellow-Quaker or to prevent the separation of mates or of parent and child. Under no circumstances could a Friend sell a slave to a professional trader.[4] The members of the Western Quarterly continued to advocate their cause, and in 1775 they persuaded the Yearly Meeting to rule that "Friends . . . shall neither buy or sell a negro without the consent of the monthly meeting to which they belong." Manumission was also recommended.[5] Committees were appointed to aid members in emancipating slaves; the committee members later reported that they "found a great willingness, even beyond [our] . . . expectation to promote the work; and a considerable number of slaves [has] . . . been liberated. . . ." [6]

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[1] *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting on the Subject of Slavery* (Greensboro: Swaim and Sherwood, 1848), 6, hereinafter cited as *Narrative.*

[2] Samuel Frothergill, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Samuel Frothergill* (Liverpool, England: D. Marples, 1843), 283, quoted by Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, England: Macmillan and Co., 1911), 322.

[3] *Narrative,* 7.

[4] *Narrative,* 7.

[5] *Narrative,* 10.

[6] *Narrative,* 11.

Although the total number of emancipated slaves is not known, it appears that many of the Quakers disposed of their Negroes, although some members refused to co-operate.[7]

Legislators in North Carolina feared the Quakers' schemes of emancipation, and in 1777 the General Assembly provided that a slave could not be liberated "except for meritorious services to be adjudged of and allowed by the county court. . . ." [8] In consequence of this act about 40 of the freed slaves were imprisoned. A few were resold into slavery. The Yearly Meeting and the local monthly meetings labored to free their former bondsmen. The Friends repeatedly petitioned the legislature for repeal of the statute, but the lawmakers remained unmoved for it "would be of dangerous consequence to the Community at large to tolerate the owners of slaves to set them free." [9]

After the passage of the 1777 statute prohibiting manumission except for meritorious service the Quakers bypassed the law by allowing their slaves to live as free Negroes. They were allowed to live and provide for themselves as they wished. Again the North Carolina legislature feared such plans, and in 1794 it decided that slaves could not "hire their time." [10] The only recourse left now was to send the slaves north, especially to Pennsylvania. This plan seems to have been put into operation to a limited extent, but, the number of relocated Negroes is not known.[11]

In order to eradicate slavery completely and to evade the statutory impediments, the Yearly Meeting in 1808 devised the "Trustee Plan of Slaveholding." This plan was established with the hope that someday the laws of North Carolina would be relaxed and that the Negroes would be able to enjoy freedom.[12] Trustees were appointed by the Yearly Meeting to hold consignments of slaves in trust from Quaker masters. The trustees worked under the supervision of the Yearly Meeting which held legal title to the Negroes. Nearly all the Quaker

[7] *Narrative*, 13.

[8] John Haywood (ed.), *A Manual of the Laws of North-Carolina . . .* (Raleigh: J. Gales [Fourth edition], 1819), s. xxviii, hereinafter cited as Haywood, *Manual.*

[9] See "Report of the Committee . . . Relative to the Slaves Liberated by the Quakers," January 27, 1779, Legislative Papers of North Carolina, Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Legislative Papers; Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XIX, 31; XXI, 933; XXIV, 221, 964.

[10] Haywood, *Manual*, s. lx.

[11] *Narrative*, 23.

[12] Nathan Mendenhall to the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, November 4, 1825, Letter Book of the Meeting for Sufferings of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Guilford College Library, Guilford College, hereinafter cited as Letter Book of Sufferings.

masters participated. As many as 800 slaves were included in the plan. Ironically, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting thus became one of the greatest slaveholders in the South. Legally the Negroes were still in bondage, but they enjoyed many of the advantages of freedom. Some purchased land in the name of the trustees and built up modest homesteads.[13]

The Friends, however, disliked this system. They realized that it was an evasion of duly constituted law. In addition the trustee slaves in their unsupervised lives sometimes ran afoul of the law. Also many elderly slaves had to be supported by the Yearly Meeting, and the females constantly proved their worth by presenting the trustees with new charges. In view of these problems the Yearly Meeting repeatedly petitioned the North Carolina legislature for modification of the slave code.[14]

As slavery became more and more a burden to the Yearly Meeting and as the institution came into increasing use among their non-Quaker neighbors in the North Carolina Piedmont, the Friends sought new measures by which to act against slavery. By early 1816 Charles Osborne, a Quaker minister from Tennessee, found it possible to form small manumission societies at Center, Caraway, Deep River, and New Garden in Guilford County, the center of Quaker strength. "I . . . went . . . to Deep River settlement," he recalled later in life,

> Here I was at their monthly meeting, and also had a meeting with a number of them on the manumission business. From here, I went to Springfield and there, had a large public meeting; thence to Center, the next day, and had another at the usual hour; and finding here a society of manumissionists, who had organized in consequence of some papers they had received from us in Tennessee. I had a meeting with them in the afternoon. All these meetings were to satisfaction.[15]

Their mutual interest led these four local societies to convene in a joint meeting. On July 19, 1816, 23 delegates representing approximately 150 members assembled and discussed plans for possible

[13] See inventory, *c.* 1826, signed by George Swain and Henry Bolinger, agents for Levinia Benbow, wife of a slave owned by a non-Quaker. Listed in the inventory were 38 acres of land, one horse, seven cows, farm implements, and household furnishings. North Carolina Manumission Society Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Manumission Society Papers.

[14] Minute Book of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1794-1837, *passim*, Guilford College Library, Guilford College, hereinafter cited as Minutes of Yearly Meeting.

[15] Charles Osborn, *Journal of That Faithful Servant of Christ, Charles Osborn, Containing an Account of Many of His Travels and Labours in the Work of the Ministry and His Trials and Exercises in the Service of the Lord, and in the Defense of the Truth, As it is in Jesus* (Cincinnati, Ohio: A. Pugh, 1854), 185.

gradual emancipation. Wishing to continue future meetings, they elected officers and appointed a committee to frame a constitution.[16] In December a constitution was ratified at another convention. The new organization was christened the North Carolina Manumission Society. Although Quakers dominated the society, membership was open to all, and occasionally slaveholders and other interested citizens attended.[17]

The society's antislavery attitude was epitomized in the preamble to the constitution. It declared that all men possessed certain rights. The Creator expected men to treat each other "as we would be done by." Though the Negro was different in color, he was entitled to freedom; it was the obligation of every citizen to remove the dishonor of slavery from a Christian nation.[18] The society, however, disavowed political action. A proposal to expel members of the society who voted for slaveholding candidates for the legislature was promptly rejected.[19]

From the initial cluster of four branches the society grew slowly. In December of 1816 there were fewer than 25 delegates at the convention or semiannual "General Association" as it was officially termed. When the first convention of 1817 convened in July a new branch, Reedy Fork, had been formed, and 42 delegates were present. By the next fall the Friends Meeting at Springfield had formed a branch. From the end of 1817 to early 1820 the number of branches remained constant as did attendance at the General Association sessions, while individual membership grew steadily. In 1817 about 200 members could be claimed, New Garden and Center being the largest branches, each with about 70 members. By the autumn of the same year the total rose to 256. The roll books increased until April, 1819, when 281 members were listed.[20]

The society early undertook to proselytize the people of the North Carolina Piedmont. In December, 1816, a committee was appointed to communicate with Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Moravian organizations. "Favorable receptions" were given to the communications, but little seems to have resulted. An exchange with the Tennes-

[16] Henry M. Wagstaff (ed.), *Minutes of the North Carolina Manumission Society, 1816-1834* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, [Volume 22, Numbers 1 and 2, of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1934), 13-15, hereinafter cited as Wagstaff, *Minutes*. See also, Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke Co., 1899), 74, hereinafter cited as Coffin, *Reminiscences*.

[17] Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 75.

[18] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 39.

[19] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 17.

[20] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 34.

see Manumission Society was more fruitful. This institution, also predominantly Quaker, had the same objectives as the North Carolina Manumission Society, and a correspondence which continued for several years was established.[21]

Overtures were made to other institutions. Financial sanction was given at the meeting of the General Association in 1818 for sending delegates to the Quaker-dominated American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, soon to meet in Philadelphia.[22] A few years later the society wished to send another delegate, but the modest state of the treasury intervened.[23]

During its early years the society made periodic efforts to distribute antislavery literature. At the first convention in 1816 the Center branch delegates presented a document which the General Association printed for distribution. A few years later the society authorized the purchase of $100 worth of back issues of the *Friend of Peace,* a Quaker antislavery and reform journal, with the hope that members would distribute them among their slaveholding neighbors.[24] Officers of the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery occasionally sent consignments of material which the society welcomed.[25] Any document which might arouse local animosity or cast a militant light on the organization was rejected. The society, for example, returned a cache of pamphlets to the Ohio Peace Society as not being in accord with the views of the organization.[26]

Between 1816 and 1824 the society sent only one petition to Congress and none to the state legislature. The society probably did not take recourse often to petitions because of the frequent memorials about slavery and the slave trade sent to the state legislature and Congress by the Yearly Meeting. Nevertheless late in 1817, after more than a year of discussion between the branches and the General Association, the corresponding secretary sent a petition to Congress. Although its content is not known, some 256 members signed it. Referred in Congress to a committee considering a similar memorial presented by Baltimore Quakers, it died of neglect at the end of the session.[27]

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[21] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 17-19.
[22] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 28.
[23] Richard Mendenhall to Joseph Paul, December 22, 1821, Manumission Society Papers.
[24] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 15, 28, 30.
[25] See, for example, American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery to Richard Mendenhall, January 15, 1819; Richard Mendenhall to Joseph Paul, December 22, 1821, Manumission Society Papers.
[26] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 25.
[27] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 20, 21, 23, 25, 27.

The society's most constructive work took place in Negro education. Some time late in 1820 or early 1821 the New Garden branch established a school for Negro children with the hope of making them "useful members of the community, and fit for freedom." [28] Probably the children of trustee slaves and of neighboring masters attended. In the following summer the Coffin family opened a Sunday school for Negroes in New Garden. It was said that slaveholders permitted attendance until dissatisfied masters voiced complaints that some slaves had become "discontented and uneasy, and created a desire for the privileges that others had." [29] The efforts of the branches were noticed by the General Association, and in opening the convention in March, 1821, President Aaron Coffin stated that the society should establish a school for Negroes. The expense of the scheme, he suggested, could be carried largely by the subscribing masters. The delegates did not share Coffin's enthusiasm, and the question was referred to a committee. It was later decided that interest from the modest funds of the society might be employed for this purpose; however, nothing was done to further the matter.[30]

Thus the society during its early years carried on a limited campaign of antislavery activities. Little was done to improve the lot of the slave or to attract public attention to the cause. It was a small organization, not carrying on a controversial or aggressive program, and barely noticed by most North Carolinians. Rarely did the press take notice of its activities. Primarily it was a Quaker organization. Members did not wish to alarm their slaveholding neighbors, for almost from the time of the society's establishment members believed their cause "very unpopular." Richard Mendenhall, prominent in the society and the Jamestown branch, succinctly stated the objectives of the society:

> Our intention and object is the most gentle and pacifick manner gradually to promote the abolition of slavery and to endeavor to gain information on the subject—under a hope that some way will open for the relief and instruction of those unhappy beings still having in view the happiness and wellfare [*sic*] of all. We are well aware of the importance as well as the delicacy of the subject and that it must be a work of time is the only thing expected or desired. And under these and similar sentiments we have associated together for the purpose of collecting and diffusing information of the subject.[31]

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[28] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 58.
[29] Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 69-71.
[30] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 59, 62-63.
[31] Richard Mendenhall to Elias B. Caldwell, July 6, 1819, Manumission Society Papers.

From the time of its establishment the society maintained an interest in the American Colonization Society. At the General Association meeting in December, 1816, delegates voted to correspond with that organization. A special committee wrote that the society believed it a "Duty, social, political and Religious to lend our willing aid to any measure that may promote the Grand and Supereminant [*sic*] object in View."[32] While declining to become an auxiliary of the national organization, the society wished to contribute funds, but financial limitations made it impractical.[33] Sympathy with the colonization movement grew, and at the sessions of the General Association in the following year it was moved that the word "colonization" be incorporated into the name of the society.[34] Some delegates, however, dissented vigorously. Some members of the New Garden branch, led by Levi Coffin, walked out of the convention. Late in life Coffin recalled that the few slaveholders present insisted on discussing conditions for manumission. Sharp debate resulted over the importance of colonization. The convention ended by approving the motion; thus, "colonization" was incorporated into the title of the society. "We felt that the slave power had got the ascendency in our society, and that we could no longer work in it," Coffin charged. "The convention broke up in confusion, and our New Garden branch withdrew to itself, no longer co-operating with the others. The little antislavery band, composed mostly of Friends, continued to meet at New Garden. . . ."[35]

Even though Coffin coupled the change of name to the demands of the slaveholders, the charge cannot be accurately supported. Of the 23 delegates who attended the convention which changed the society's name, 13 were original incorporators of the society. They were probably Quakers. No more than ten could have been slaveholders, and such a high figure is unlikely. The modification of the name, therefore, resulted from a movement generated within the institution, not from the few slaveholders who had recently become members. The withdrawal of Coffin and his like-minded associates who placed more emphasis on the evils of slavery than on the expediency of resettling Negroes began a movement within the society to promote the aims of colonization and to rid the society of the manumissionists.

[32] North Carolina Manumission Society to American Colonization Society, May 25, 1817; Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 210.
[33] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 37.
[34] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 20.
[35] Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 75-76.

Repeatedly, controversy over the official name plagued the society. In August, 1819, a branch representative moved that the word "manumission" be dropped from the title. Discussion ensued, and the General Association gave the problem to a committee which recommended in the following October that the word be retained, a finding concurred in by the house. A rump delegation from New Garden which did not follow Coffin remained in the society and became outspoken opponents of colonization. In October, 1820, the New Garden contingent moved that "colonization" be struck from the name of the society. Action was deferred until the next convention, when the motion was first carried but later directed to the next session for more definite approval. At the next meeting in September, 1821, there was not a quorum, and the final decision was delayed until the next January when, after much debate, it was decided to retain the word.[36]

The internal dissension in the society between the colonizationists and the manumissionists had a profound effect upon the interest of members. A lack of enthusiasm began as early as October, 1819, when only 28 delegates attended the General Association convention. Twelve delegates attended the sessions in the following spring, while in the following October only 15 delegates appeared. This number was duplicated at the next General Association in March, 1821. Soon the situation worsened. A quorum failed to appear at the September, 1821, convention while the next meeting in January, 1822, showed some improvement with the attendance of 18 delegates. Two other General Association sessions in 1822, however, could not muster quorums. During the following two years there was a slight improvement, with 24 attending in December, 1823, and 16 in the following spring.[37]

Little was done to check the decline. In October, 1820, the society appointed two men to attend branch meetings at Caraway and Springfield, then unrepresented at the General Association. They were wholly unsuccessful, and these branches did not attend the following convention.[38] The antislavery cause came to rest more with zealous individuals than with the society. A quaker minister, the Reverend Joseph Hoag, who traveled through Guilford County in 1823, made no mention of the society even though he was an old antislavery adherent.[39]

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[36] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 35-36, 38, 45, 57, 62, 65.
[37] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 36-37, 42-44, 56, 61-62, 64-68.
[38] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 45-46, 56.
[39] Joseph Hoag, *Journal of the Life of Joseph Hoag* (London, England: A. W. Bennett, 1862), 265-266, hereinafter cited as Hoag, *Journal.*

Such were conditions in the summer of 1824 when Benjamin Lundy, an oldline advocate of colonization, visited the Quaker settlements. Lundy, the Quaker editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation,* had long promoted Haiti as a refuge for free American Negroes.[40] While visiting the Friends' Meeting at Deep Creek he delivered an address against slavery. Being well received, he gave some 15 to 20 lectures during his sojourn. He created sufficient enthusiasms for the establishment of about 14 societies, all embracing gradual emancipation and colonization.[41] After hearing of the troubles of the Quakers' trustee Negroes he became more certain of Haiti's benefits, and he soon traveled to the island in the hope of promoting a program of colonization for the North Carolina slaves.[42]

Under the influence of Lundy and because of the mounting problems of maintaining the trustee slaves, the members of the society rose to action. President Aaron Coffin, who in February, 1824, had thought it might be advisable to dissolve the society, changed his views by June of the same year and told the delegates to an especially called convention:

> Among other communications Lundy has published the following, "That the North Carolina Manumission & Colonization Society are about to Remodel their constitution, so as to become a manumission Society, which he thought would be for the better," I accord with the Idea.—But while I rejoice at the rapid march of freedom, & that the public mind is more enlightened, & ready to subscribe to the Justice of the cause we are embarked in;— . . . we all have professedly the same object in view, the gradual Emancipation of the Slave population; . . . I also think the title ought to be in future, the Manumission Society of North Carolina. If that part of the title is retained, I should not be so tenacious of the rest, but think the old Society ought to be kept up, we are now prepared to go on. . . .[43]

With this introduction the assemblage went on to reaffirm its faith in the old constitution to which had been added a few minor amendments.[44]

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[40] Benjamin Lundy and Others, *The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy, Including his Journeys to Texas and Mexico; with a Sketch of Contemporary Events, and a Notice of the Revolution in Hayti.* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: W. D. Parrish, 1847), 23-24, hereinafter cited as Lundy, *Life.*

[41] Lundy, *Life,* 22-23; Paul M. Sherrill, "The Quakers and the North Carolina Manumission Society," *Trinity College Historical Society Publications,* Series X (1914), 40.

[42] Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, England: Macmillan and Co., 2 volumes, 1921), I, 23-24. See also, Lundy, *Life,* 23-24.

[43] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 78.

[44] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 75.

Again the society actively campaigned for members. While there were only 14 delegates and six branches represented at the convention in September, 1824, membership grew so rapidly by the following spring that 92 men, representing 19 branches, attended the General Association.[45] During the winter of 1825 a committee of ten men contacted the societies organized by Lundy during the previous summer. President Mendenhall stated that the success in recruiting members was more than he "could with . . . most sanguine hopes, have anticipated. . . ." [46] By late 1825 the number of branches had climbed to 28, and 81 delegates assembled for the General Association sessions. At this time individual memberships reached 1,150, and within the next six months 500 more new members were recruited.[47]

Colonization as a solution for the slavery problem thoroughly captivated the growing ranks of the society. Encouraging free Negroes to migrate to foreign republics became the society's official doctrine. The members invited all slaveholders in North Carolina to prepare their bondsmen for ultimate colonization. Members believed that Negroes could be forced, as "an act of humanity," to leave the United States. Reflecting on past experience, a convention concluded that emancipation without provision for colonization might lead to vagrancy.[48] While the doctrine of colonization was dominant in the society's outlook, universal and gradual emancipation remained the ultimate goal.

Lundy's visit to North Carolina and the increasing influence of the colonizationists in the society brought to the Friends' attention a suitable means by which the problems of their trustee slaves might be solved. In 1824 the agents of the Yearly Meeting managed 779 slaves, and births annually increased the total by about 30.[49] The time and effort required to oversee these Negroes became a heavy burden to the Quaker community. The Yearly Meeting in November, 1824, dissolved the old "Standing Committee" which had previously supervised the trustee slaves and empowered a much larger "Meeting for Sufferings" to assume control of the Negroes. The new committee was directed "to take into consideration the situation of the people of

[45] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 79, 93-94.
[46] Aaron Coffin to Benjamin Lundy, March 14, 1825, quoted in *Genius of Universal Emancipation* (Baltimore, Maryland), March, 1825, hereinafter cited as *Genius of Universal Emancipation.*
[47] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 97, 111-112.
[48] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 103, 117, 118.
[49] Minutes of Yearly Meeting, 218-219.

colour under Friends' care."[50] The members of the Meeting for Sufferings were avid colonizationists; most of them were members of the North Carolina Manumission Society. Both the president of the society, Richard Mendenhall, and the treasurer, Nathan Mendenhall, were appointed to the Meeting for Sufferings, nearly all of whose members were active in the society.[51] In order to align itself more closely with the Meeting for Sufferings the society early in 1825 established the "Committee on Emmigration."[52]

During 1825 the members of the Meeting for Sufferings and their fellow Quakers engaged in a thorough discussion of the merits of colonization. The general object of resettling the Negroes abroad, or possibly in the free states, met little opposition, but the place of relocation found the Friends considerably short of agreement. Lundy, during his visit to North Carolina, seems to have converted many Quakers, including Nathan and Richard Mendenhall, to Haitian emigration.[53] Other prominent Friends such as George Swain, David Worth, Jacob Hubbard, Jonathan Hadley, and Abel Coffin, who had been members of the Greensboro auxiliary of the American Colonization Society for many years, naturally supported relocation in Liberia, the African colony of that organization.[54] Those favoring Haiti argued that a fully developed society awaited the emigrants, while in Africa the Negroes might lapse into barbarism for lack of adequate guidance. Those supporting Liberia objected to the French and Roman Catholic influences in Haiti.[55] A few wanted the slaves to remain in the United States and to relocate in the free states, but they realized that not all the Negroes could be sent beyond the Ohio River, for "the prejudice against a [free] coloured population, was as great in Indiana, as in North Carolina."[56] By the end of 1825 the Quakers had settled their differences, and the Meeting for Sufferings agreed that both Haiti and Liberia would be suitable places for colonization. The North Carolina Manumission Society endorsed this policy partially, declaring that emigration to Haiti ought to be encouraged primarily with

[50] Minutes of Yearly Meeting, 215.
[51] Wagstaff, *Minutes, passim.*
[52] Memorandum of the Emigration Committee, signed by Zimri Stuart, January ?, 1825, Manumission Society Papers.
[53] Minutes of Yearly Meeting, 217; Richard Mendenhall to the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, November 4, 1825, Letter Book of Sufferings, 15.
[54] *Fifth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society* (Washington, D. C.: Davis and Force, 1822), 117.
[55] Nathan Mendenhall to the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, November 4, 1825, Letter Book of Sufferings, 15; *African Repository* (November, 1826), II, 284; (July, 1825), I, 158.
[56] Samuel Charles to Jeremiah Hubbard, August 10, 1826, Letter Book of Sufferings, 28.

colonization to Liberia promoted "with a view to give the Emigrants a choice in Countries." [57]

As soon as the Quakers adopted a definite policy, a campaign was launched for funds. The North Carolina Yearly Meeting in November, 1825, authorized an appropriation of $1,000 for the Meeting for Sufferings. During the following year contributions of nearly $5,500 were granted by yearly meetings in Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, as well as by wealthy Friends in the free states. Late in the year the North Carolina Yearly Meeting granted an additional $2,000 to the project.[58]

With solid financial support the members of the Meeting for Sufferings and the manumission society as well as other interested Quakers sought to persuade their Negro charges to emigrate to a free country. In February, 1826, 40 slaves who had agreed to settle in Liberia under the auspices of the American Colonization Society set sail. Within a few months the "Sally Ann" was outfitted in Beaufort, South Carolina, and sailed for Haiti with 121 of the trustee slaves. Two members of the society, Phineas Nixon and John Fellor, accompanied the Haitian expedition.[59] By the following September the voyage had been completed and the Negroes settled.[60] At the same time that the slaves were preparing to leave for Haiti and Liberia, 11 Negroes were sent to Philadelphia and 130 to Indiana and Ohio.[61] These programs cost $3,500. The Quakers still held over 500 slaves in trust, but the prospect was bright because nearly all the remaining Negroes were willing to leave North Carolina.[62]

With such auspicious beginnings the Meeting for Sufferings and the members of the society's emigration committee redoubled their efforts. Solicitations for help in the next few years brought about $6,500 from yearly meetings in London, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Maryland.[63] The new donations helped to finance two expeditions from North Carolina to Liberia. In February, 1827,

[57] Minutes of Yearly Meeting, 229-230; Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 103; and Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 10, Guilford College Library, hereinafter cited as Minutes of Sufferings.

[58] Minutes of Yearly Meeting, 230, 242; Minutes of Sufferings, 18, 23, 26; *African Repository* (November, 1826), II, 289; (March, 1827), III, 27.

[59] Minutes of Sufferings, 19; *African Repository* (February, 1826), I, 369; "Report of the Committee that was Appointed to Examine and Settle the Accounts Arising from the Shipment of People of Color to Hayti, 1826," Manumission Society Papers.

[60] H. M. Cooke to Richard Mendenhall, September 15, 1826, Manumission Society Papers.

[61] Address of the Meeting for Sufferings to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1826, Letter Book of Sufferings, 36-37.

[62] *African Repository* (November, 1826), II, 288-289.

[63] Letter Book of Sufferings, 41, 42, 43, 54; *The Friend* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), November 10, 1827, hereinafter cited as *The Friend.*

the "Doris" set sail with 80 of the trustee slaves, and in the following November the "Nautilus" left Norfolk with another group of 80. In addition another 70 Negroes were relocated in Indiana.[64] Early in 1828 another ship carried about 60 of the trustee slaves to Liberia.[65] Almost as quickly as the Negroes could be readied they were shipped to Africa. In 1830, 35 departed, followed by about 125 more during the next two years.[66]

The experience of the Quakers with the first and only voyage to Haiti eliminated the possibility of sending any more of the Negroes to the island. The cost of the expedition amounted to almost $3,000 or $25 per passenger. The Friends found that the average cost of the passage to Liberia was only about $18.[67] In addition, the American Colonization Society supervised the African expeditions, while the Meeting for Sufferings and the emigration committee had to cope with the many details arising from the voyage of the "Sally Ann." Also reports coming back from Haiti told of dissatisfaction among the colonists.[68] In view of these problems it was decided that "Africa is the place for them to go."[69]

Such an ambitious program of colonization created problems. The influx of Negroes into Indiana and Ohio aroused bitter feelings among the local residents and even among the Quakers who supposedly were to protect the new migrants. An Indiana editor accused the North Carolina Friends with committing an "unkindly act" in sending the "dangerous" free Negroes to his state.[70] Sentiment became so opposed to the entrance of free Negroes that the legislature of Indiana in 1831 passed a statute requiring entering Negroes to post a bond of $500. Ohio had passed a similar law many years before.[71] A spokesman of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting wrote that he could not recommend the sending of the Negroes to his state because "this

[64] *African Repository* (January, 1827), II, 351; (March, 1827), III, 25; (November, 1827), III, 284; (December, 1827), III, 317-318.

[65] Minutes of Sufferings, 46-47.

[66] Minutes of Sufferings, 59; James Mace to Nathan Mendenhall, August 2, 1832, Letter Book of Sufferings, 79; *African Repository* (September, 1831), VII, 217; Minnie Spencer Grant, "The American Colonization Society in North Carolina" (unpublished master's thesis, Duke University, 1930), 122.

[67] Minutes of Sufferings, 46-47.

[68] Thomas Kennedy to Nathan Mendenhall, October 2, 1829, Letter Book of Sufferings, 66; *African Repository* (April, 1829), V, 61-62.

[69] Aaron White to Nathan Mendenhall, August 23, 1827, Letter Book of Sufferings, 47.

[70] *Public Leger* [*sic*] (Richmond, Indiana), n.d., quoted in *African Repository* (March, 1827), III, 25-26.

[71] Emma Lou Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana: A Study of a Minority* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1957), 58; Frank U. Quillin, *The Color Line in Ohio* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: George Wahr, 1913), 22.

description of people generally mingle with the lowest class here and thus remain in a degraded state." [72]

The legal restrictions of Indiana and Ohio did not impede the North Carolina Quakers, for they discovered that the laws were "seldom enforced." [73] For a time after the passage of the Indiana law few Negroes were sent to the West, but by the mid-1830's the movement began again. In 1834 alone about 130 of the trustee slaves settled in the West.[74] As this effort was being carried on the Friends received numerous warnings from their brethren about the "great excitement and prejudices" in the free states.[75] Nevertheless the program continued for several years until the Yearly Meeting held title to less than 100 slaves, most of whom were too old to be moved to the West.[76]

The efforts of the Meeting for Sufferings and the North Carolina Manumission Society were by no means unimportant in the national colonization program. When it is considered that fewer than 4,000 American Negroes were sent to Liberia before 1837, the efforts of the North Carolinians in colonizing about 420 slaves seem especially significant.[77] Oven ten per cent of the early settlers of Liberia were former bondsmen of North Carolina Quakers.

After the society helped to launch the resettling program it maintained a close relationship with the national colonization movement. During the winter of 1826-1827 Benjamin Swaim, past-president of the society, was sent as delegate to the convention of the American Colonization Society. The next year the General Association delegates expressed the same desire, but financial limitations caused a negative decision.[78] Nevertheless, individual members carried the liaison much closer. All of the officers of the Greensboro Auxiliary of the American Colonization Society were active members of the North Carolina Manumission Society.[79] In 1826 the American Colonization Society claimed that "in no year since the origins of the Colonization Society, have its friends multiplied so rapidly. . . . The Friends . . . in North Carolina, have given their approbation to our cause." [80]

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[72] John Cook to Nathan Mendenhall, October 26, 1827, Letter Book of Sufferings, 53.
[73] Indiana Yearly Meeting to North Carolina Yearly Meeting, *c.* 1832, Letter Book of Sufferings, 82-83.
[74] Minutes of Sufferings, 53, 74; *The Friend,* November 22, 1834.
[75] Minutes of Sufferings, 90-91, 85, 87.
[76] Minutes of Sufferings, *passim.*
[77] P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 251.
[78] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 149, 151.
[79] *The Eighth Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States* (Washington, D. C.: James C. Dunn, 1825), 68.
[80] *The Ninth Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States* (Washington, D. C.: Way and Gideon, 1826), 51.

At the same time that the members of the society carried on an active antislavery campaign, they feared that their activities would arouse popular feeling. When a controversial issue was broached in a convention, the question was usually avoided by referral to a committee. In 1828, for example, a convention decided that the question of Negro education was "inexpedient" as a society policy, while another convention declined to investigate the case of a Negro supposedly held illegally in bondage. [81] The society also avoided political questions. Never were such matters discussed, and only once did an officer, Richard Mendenhall, violate this unwritten rule when he criticized the federal sanction of slavery in Missouri many years before.[82]

Peculiar to the period after 1824 was the place given to women in the proceedings of the society. The first female auxiliary, Jamestown, was recognized in March, 1825. By September of the following year three more, Springfield, Center, and Kennet, had been sanctioned. The March, 1828, General Association was attended by two others, New Salem and Providence. Frequently the women presented written addresses to the convention sessions and occasionally contributed money to the society. The ladies never participated in discussion. The approving male delegates frequently passed resolutions commending their exertions. The women's activities attracted Lundy's attention, and from time to time he printed the proceedings of their auxiliaries.[83] Some time after 1824 the men gave official recognition to the auxiliaries by amending the society's constitution.[84] The ladies even sent a petition to the state legislature urging that laws be passed punishing miscegenation and preventing the separation of the slave mother and her child.[85]

After the rejuvenation of the society in 1824, members began to approve a series of petitions to Congress and the General Assembly. In the first petition the society prayed Congress to give aid to the colonization movement. "We have an offer from the Government of Hayti," claimed the society,

to receive as many of the coloured population among us, as we think proper to send, and it is understood that they will be admitted to equality

[81] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 107, 152.
[82] Address of President Richard Mendenhall, *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, April, 1825.
[83] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 136, 147, 160. See *Genius of Universal Emancipation* and *Baltimore Courier*, November 12 and December 24, 1825.
[84] Manuscript copy of 1824 Constitution, Manumission Society Papers.
[85] Abigal Albertson and others to the North Carolina General Assembly, *c.* February 2, 1827, Legislative Papers.

among themselves. . . . We think the subject worthy of the attention of the National Legislature, and hope you will feel disposed to promote their emigration while the opportunity serves.[86]

Although the plea went unanswered, the society was not discouraged. About a year later a memorial was addressed to the state legislature urging a liberalization of the slave code. Again in March, 1826, the General Association approved a petition requesting the prohibition of the interstate slave trade, while in the autumn of the same year another memorial of the same content was sent to the North Carolina Assembly. Subsequent memorials to Congress and the state legislature urged the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in the District of Columbia, financial aid to the colonization movement, and a prohibition against the further introduction of slaves into North Carolina. When the society realized the uselessness of such pleadings, its enthusiasm lagged. After 1828 only a few memorials were approved.[87]

The society continued to distribute antislavery literature. For a time it was hoped that a printing press could be established. President Swaim in September, 1826, urged the General Association delegates to provide a press, but the society decided that the cost would be prohibitive. It was agreed that a periodical might be issued if sufficient subscribers could be recruited. Subsequently a committee prepared a prospectus, but recommended that the project be discontinued because of its high cost.[88] The society, however, did distribute literature, especially at the time that the trustee slaves were being resettled in Liberia and Haiti.[89]

The antislavery enthusiasm of many members went beyond the limited scope of the society. The most aggressive and articulate was William Swaim, the non-Quaker editor of the *Greensborough Patriot.* After he purchased the newspaper in 1829,[90] he informed his readers that one of his objectives as a journalist was to seek "a general improvement in the condition of our coloured population. . . ."[91] The *Patriot,* serving as a medium of publicity for the society, frequently carried the transactions of the General Associations along with antislavery articles.[92] Believing Lundy the "most zealous, consistent, and untiring philanthropist in the United States," Swaim

[86] *Genius of Universal Emancipation,* January, 1825.
[87] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 99, 114, 134, 153-155, 162-163, 170; Legislative Papers, especially Board of Managers to the North Carolina General Assembly, March (?), 1827.
[88] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 130, 134-135, 144.
[89] *Genius of Universal Emancipation,* July, 1825.
[90] *Patriot and Greensborough Palladium,* April 4, 1829.
[91] *Greensborough Patriot,* January 6, 1831.
[92] *Greensborough Patriot,* July 7, 1830.

urged North Carolinians to subscribe to the *Genius of Universal Emancipation.*[93]

Others were active. Four members of the society, Benjamin Swaim, William Swain, Thomas Moore, and Richard Mendenhall were subscription agents for Lundy.[94] A few penned their views in letters to the press,[95] while others aided co-operative slaveholders in preparing their slaves for colonization. George C. Mendenhall of Jamestown urged slaveholders to emancipate and colonize their bondsmen during their lifetimes in order to assure freedom for the Negroes.[96] In 1830 Amos Weaver of the Reedy Fork branch was elected to the General Assembly after a campaign in which he was opposed by the "advocates of slavery."[97] Vestal Coffin, a member of the New Garden branch, frequently escorted emancipated slaves to the free states or to the coast for emigration to one of the Negro republics.[98] Other members, either individually or in groups, corresponded with slaveholders in an effort to promote colonization.[99] The manuscript minutes of the Jamestown branch indicate that many individuals carried on limited antislavery activities.[100]

The antislavery zeal of some members of the society may have prompted their participation in illegal activities. Late in life Levi Coffin wrote that there was an active underground railroad in Guilford and Randolph counties. Supposedly Vestal Coffin was the prime mover of this activity.[101] Evidence, though, is meager. Occasionally masters advertised for slaves who had been seduced away from them. "From what I can learn from different sources," a slaveholder claimed, "I am induced to believe that [a slave] . . . has been persuaded to leave me by some white person, who promised him freedom on their reaching some free state."[102] Also an unsigned committee report of the society tells of a runaway Negro who was "secreted by a Quaker

[93] *Greensborough Patriot,* May 9, 1832.
[94] *Genius of Universal Emancipation,* March, 1832, February, 1833.
[95] *Greensborough Patriot, passim,* 1830; *Genius of Universal Emancipation,* August, 1830.
[96] George C. Mendenhall to Martha Moore, June 14, 1825, North Carolina Miscellaneous Collection, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as North Carolina Miscellaneous Collection.
[97] *Genius of Universal Emancipation,* November, 1830.
[98] George C. Mendenhall to Martha Moore, June 14, 1829, North Carolina Miscellaneous Collection.
[99] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 147.
[100] Minutes of the Jamestown branch, Manumission Society Papers.
[101] Coffin, *Reminiscences,* 57.
[102] *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), October 22, 1832. See also *Miners' and Farmers' Journal* (Charlotte), September 29, 1832; *Carolina Observer and Fayetteville Gazette,* September 11, 1832; *Western Carolinian,* August 20, 1832.

on his way . . . to Indiana." [103] Although evidence is scant, probably some of the Quakers engaged in this dangerous business.

At the same time that the society was conducting a campaign against slavery, the economy and outlook of the South were undergoing basic modifications which were to have a profound influence on southern antislavery activities. As the Southwest was opened to settlement and cotton production, North Carolina, among other states of the older South, became a source of supply for Negroes for that region. Slave prices, generally low during the first quarter of the century, rose after 1825 until the mid-1830's when prime field hands commanded $600 to $800.[104] While North Carolina did not share in the cotton boom, slave labor came into more common use in the tobacco fields in the Piedmont. The Quakers could only lament the increasing dependence of their neighbors on slaves.[105]

The growing importance of slavery in the economy of the South and the attacks of the radical antislavery adherents in the North caused southerners to reappraise their domestic institutions. As the abolitionists became more vehement, editors in North Carolina and the South become more convinced of the beneficence of slavery. By 1830 abolitionism had become an "infidel creed and licentious doctrine." [106] Northern antislavery propaganda, the Nat Turner rebellion, and the consequent fear of insurrection only added to the invectives heaped upon abolitionists. Editors came to see only potential danger in antislavery activities.[107]

The conservative reaction in North Carolina was mirrored in modifications in the slave code. As early as 1826 it was made illegal for a free Negro to migrate into the state. At the same time the legislature deemed it a criminal offense for a free Negro to be found guilty of "idleness" or "dissipation," conviction bringing up to three years in slavery and the loss of all his children. In 1830 the state tightened

[103] "Report of the Committee Having the Care of the Pitts Negroes," unsigned, *c.* 1826, Manumission Society Papers.

[104] Thomas Ruffin to James Iredell, January 27, 1829, James Iredell Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection; *Fayetteville Observer*, January 27, 1835, quoted in Rosser Howard Taylor, *Slaveholding in North Carolina: An Economic View* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Volume 18, Numbers 1 and 2, of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1926), 73, hereinafter cited as Taylor, *Slaveholding in North Carolina.*

[105] Cornelius Oliver Cathey, *Agricultural Development in North Carolina, 1783-1860* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Volume 38 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1956), 107; Taylor, *Slaveholding in North Carolina*, 32-33.

[106] *Western Carolinian*, March 21, 1830.

[107] *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), October 19, 1833; *Western Carolinian*, October 17, 1831, April 8, 1833; *Raleigh Register*, n.d., quoted in *Liberator* (Boston, Massachusetts), October 15, 1831; *Cape-Fear Recorder* (Wilmington), May 11, 1831.

the manumission laws. In addition to the slaveholder filing a certificate of manumission, he had to post notice at the county courthouse, advertise his intent in a newspaper for six weeks, prove that he held unobstructed title to the slave, and offer a bond of $1,000, assuring that the Negro would conduct himself well and leave the state within 90 days, never to return. An exception was made for the slave who had rendered meritorious service; he could remain in the state provided the master posted a $500 bond. Other changes were made in 1830. If a resident free Negro should leave the state and remain away more than 90 days, no longer was he considered a resident of North Carolina, and he was subject to the statute prohibiting the entrance of foreign Negroes. Also, a free Negro or mulatto could not marry a slave, a practice heretofore tolerated.[108]

The Nat Turner insurrection heralded even more drastic modifications. In 1831 the legislature enacted laws prohibiting that a slave or free Negro could no longer "preach or exhort" to slaves. Action taken in the following year sought to terminate the circulation of antislavery literature; the first offense brought imprisonment, the second death. The General Assembly also outlawed the teaching of a Negro to read or write.[109]

As the South became more belligerent over slavery, the enthusiasm of the antislavery Quakers lessened. As early as March, 1829, only 46 delegates from 22 branches attended the General Association. At the session in the following autumn 36 delegates represented only 18 branches. Sixteen men were elected to attend the spring convention in 1831, while in the fall a meeting did not take place, probably as a result of the hysteria generated by the Turner rebellion. During the next year no more than 16 delegates could be mustered for either the May or September sessions.[110]

Leaders in the society feared the growing proslavery persuasion in North Carolina because of its possible effects on the antislavery cause. As early as 1826 President Moses Swaim noted that the liberality of the press had declined. He explained that the "deep rooted prejudices" of the people of the state should make the society more cautious.[111] With similar convictions President Henry Powell remarked some years later in 1833:

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[108] Frederick Nash, James Iredell, and William H. Battle, revisers, *The Revised Statutes of the State of North Carolina* . . . (Raleigh: Turner and Hughes, 2 volumes, 1837), I, c. CXI, ss. 57-77, hereinafter cited as *Revised Statutes of North Carolina.*

[109] *Revised Statutes of North Carolina,* I, c. CXI, s. 34. See also, c. XXXIV, s. 74.

[110] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 173-174, 181-182, 199-203.

[111] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 126, 129.

I have ever remarked, through my small sphere of observation, that when anything becomes unpopular, the spirit or the principles which seemed to keep it in action sank into Oblivion, and died away, either Religion, Politics, or what not, would share the same fate. This is the case I presume in a great degree with the Manumission Societies. . . .[112]

But more factors than the unpopularity of the antislavery cause precipitated the decline of the society. Established on nonaggressive principles, at no time could it become militant. Thus it seemed not unnatural when President Benjamin Swaim elaborated on this theme in 1828:

We have come together, not to make an ostentatious parade of our accumulating numbers to the terror of the social order,—not to brandish our . . . threatenings against the civil institutions of our beloved country; no, nor even to make a vain glorious boast of our superior proficiency in the science of human government, or to claim the exercise of any undue influence.[113]

While the rising antipathy of the people of North Carolina tended to intimidate the society, the westward movement helped to dwindle the supply of antislavery adherents among the Quakers. During the first half of the nineteenth century the Quaker community in North Carolina was decimated by the flow of its members to the West. As early as 1803 there were 800 Quaker families in Ohio, many of whom had originally come from North Carolina.[114] Soon after 1800 the movement focused on Indiana. Sections of Wayne County, first settled by North Carolina Quakers in 1807, attracted many migrants. Late in life the first settler of the region claimed the honor "of having been the pioneer of the great body of Friends now . . . found in this region."[115] After 1807 it was said that a "flood of emigrants" came to Indiana from Randolph and Guilford counties.[116] If the New Garden Friends' Meeting can be taken as representative, 52 families in addition to 28 individuals migrated to Indiana before 1846.[117] Levi Coffin claimed that the death of antislavery activities in New Garden re-

[112] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 227.
[113] *Patriot and Greensborough Palladium*, October 25, 1828.
[114] Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery, a Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), 256-260, 269-270, hereinafter cited as Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*.
[115] Andrew W. Young, *History of Wayne County, Indiana* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke and Co., 1872), 29.
[116] Henry Clay Fox (ed.), *Memoirs of Wayne County and the City of Richmond, Indiana* (Madison, Wisconsin: Western Historical Society, 2 volumes, 1912), I, 28.
[117] Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, 263.

sulted from the lure of the West.[118] In 1832 a contemporary claimed that 69 Quakers had moved to the West from Randolph County during the previous year.[119] From 1824 to 1848 twenty-three families departed from the Hopewell Meeting, and the church ceased to exist.[120] By 1830 the *Greensborough Patriot,* probably the most popular newspaper among North Carolina Friends, listed a subscription agent in Indiana.[121]

Slavery caused many of the Quakers to leave North Carolina. Opposing the institution on religious and ethical grounds, the Friend could do little in the face of opposition to carry on his activities. Evidence is abundant to demonstrate that many Quakers left the state because of slavery. A traveler recalled that he asked what had become of the Friends and was told: "They all moved off. . . . The Quakers told us for several years, that if we did not use our slaves better they would quit the country, for they could not endure to see it; but we did not believe them until we saw them go. . . ."[122] Levi Coffin recalled that many of his antislavery friends moved to the West to live in a free state.[123]

In 1830 the loyal members of the society began to worry seriously about the declining interest of their brethren in the antislavery cause. The real difficulty was stated by a committee appointed to investigate the problem:

> Many of the members seem desirous to promote the cause, but some of them are too remiss in their efforts. Many are rather discouraged from the slow progress of the principles among their Neighbours, which operates against more vigorous exertions on their part. By what [we] could learn, even those who hold Slaves, are many of them not rigid, but admit the impropriety of Slavery. They, however, permit supposed self-interest to overpower conviction.[124]

In order to bolster interest the General Association in September, 1830, resolved that 12 months hence all unrepresented branches were to be expelled from the society. Parliamentary maneuvers delayed en-

[118] Coffin, *Reminiscences,* 76.
[119] *Greensborough Patriot,* December 12, 1832.
[120] Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery,* 76.
[121] *Greensborough Patriot,* January 6, 1830.
[122] Hoag, *Journal,* 185.
[123] Coffin, *Reminiscences,* 76; *Greensborough Patriot,* May 3, 1832, December 12, 1832; Gordon Esley Finnie, "The Antislavery Movement in the South, 1778-1836: Its Rise and Decline and its Contribution to Abolitionism in the West" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Duke University, 1962), 356-369, hereinafter cited as Finnie, "The Antislavery Movement in the South."
[124] Wagstaff, *Minutes,* 168.

forcement, and in the following summer the motion was rescinded.[125] Next the society resorted to advertising. During August, 1832, a brief announcement appeared in the *Greensborough Patriot:* "All branches ever recognized by the General Association are still considered as members of the same and are earnestly solicited to be represented in the approaching session."[126] But this too failed to bring back the errant brothers.

It was against this background that the society began its final years. Only a "bare quaram" was present at the General Association in the autumn of 1832, and the only important question discussed was whether the society should continue to operate. At the next convention, in March, 1833, only 17 delegates attended; they debated the same question and decided in favor of continuation. In July, 1834, twelve delegates from Center, Springfield, and Union assembled in a demoralized convention. After due consideration the members resolved "that this institution has not yet achieved the whole object which Providence has designed for it. Therefore, be it further resolved that we continue this institution." To carry out the decision officers were chosen for the following two years; Benjamin Swaim, an old and faithful member, was elected president. It was then agreed to meet in the Center Meeting House on March 3, 1835. This convention never assembled.[127]

The North Carolina Manumission Society was a manifestation of antislavery sentiment among North Carolinians. It was one of many similar societies that dotted the South prior to 1830. Unlike most, the society was primarily a Quaker organization and incorporated not only the equalitarian principles of the brotherhood of man, but also its own interpretation of Christian doctrine in its approach to slavery.

The society made its most significant contribution to the American antislavery movement when it joined with the Yearly Meeting in the program of colonization. Only at this time did members rise above their usual timidity to advocate a cause in which they believed. The society, however, accomplished little else. Neither did it mobilize public sentiment nor improve the conditions of slavery. Especially in its later years it attracted few interested slaveholders. In failing to capture a non-Quaker element in membership, the society lost effective means of appealing to the community at large.

The society kept the problem of human bondage before the North

[125] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 196, 197.
[126] *Greensborough Patriot*, August 15, 1832.
[127] Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 203-205, 208.

Carolina Quaker population. A constant attention to the evils of slavery and, after 1824, to the benefits of colonization helped to consolidate Quaker thought. The Friends' interest in slavery led many of them to migrate to the Northwest where they found a more congenial atmosphere. It is certain that the North Carolina Friends not only made a significant contribution to the southern antislavery movement, but that the resettled Quakers in the West became equally as important in antislavery activities.[128]

[128] Finnie, "The Antislavery Movement in the South," 446-453.

CONSPIRACY OR POPULAR MOVEMENT: THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN SUPPORT FOR SECESSION

By William J. Donnelly *

On December 20, 1860, South Carolina seceded. By January 8, 1861, the Gulf States returned secessionist majorities to their state conventions, and by the end of the month Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas followed South Carolina's example and "resumed" their sovereignty. After the fall of Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops, the seceding Border States, Arkansas, Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina, joined the Lower South and completed secession.[1]

Though American historians agreed on the facts of secession, they often differed over its nature and causes. Some stressed the long-term sectional conflict, others the immediate events of withdrawal, as the cause of the South's seceding. Some stressed southern grievances, others blamed Republican victory and intransigence. And whether the South was justified or unwise, whether secession and war were inevitable or repressible, and whether northerners and southerners of the 1860's had conspired or blundered or merely defended their rights influenced historians' views of the Civil War and affected their assessment of secession.

In describing secession, succeeding generations of historians gave differing interpretations of southern support for the movement. To some, conspirators hastily voted the South out of the Union. To others, "the people" worked their will. Most, however, abandoned the exclusive categories of conspiracy and popular movement, gave a

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[1] Avery O. Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), 362, 365, 367-369, 372, 375, hereinafter cited as Craven, *Southern Nationalism*; William B. Hesseltine and David L. Smiley, *The South in American History* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), 273, hereinafter cited as Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*; Dwight L. Dumond (ed.), *Southern Editorials on Secession* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), xx, hereinafter cited as Dumond, *Southern Editorials.*

more sophisticated interpretation of secession, yet still questioned whether or not southerners wanted to secede.

"The present secession movement," Stephen A. Douglas told a large crowd in Chicago in 1861, "is the result of an enormous conspiracy formed . . . by leaders in the Southern Confederacy more than twelve months ago." Abraham Lincoln agreed. Before a special session of Congress of July 4, 1861, Lincoln blamed the war on "seceder politicians" and absolved most southerners from complicity in secession. George Bancroft, at the time more a partisan than a scholar, also viewed secession as a conspiracy. In a letter to a British friend, he emphasized southern unionism, claiming that plotting politicians, not the people, disrupted the Union to erect a "slave empire." [2]

During and immediately after the war, Union sympathizers further elaborated the conspiracy theory. Popular writers and politicians, condemning rather than explaining secession, used their histories to assign personal guilt for rebellion and war. But despite their agreement on the nature of secession, they disagreed on the motives for it. Elliot G. Storke, for example, said the South seceded to protect slavery. William G. Brownlow and Joel T. Headly thought slavery a sham issue and said that the loss of political power and patronage drove the South to secession.[3]

All, however, felt that the majority of southerners were loyal and law-abiding. Disaffected politicians put secession over on the South. They had not acted rashly, for they followed a long-planned and well executed plot. And according to "Parson" Brownlow, one of the "faithful among the faithless" of Tennessee, they enacted "the most wicked, diabolical, and infernal scheme ever set on foot for the ruin of any country." [4]

Henry Wilson, James G. Blaine, and John A. Logan, who in their

[2] *New York Daily Tribune,* June 13, 1861; John G. Nicolay and John M. Hay (eds.), *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: F. D. Tandy Company, 12 volumes, 1905), VI, 297-325; George Bancroft to Dean Milman, August 15, 1861, in Mark A. DeWolfe Howe, *The Life and Letters of George Bancroft* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2 volumes, 1908), II, 133-143; all as cited in Thomas J. Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1954), 5, 8-10, hereinafter cited as Pressly, *Civil War.*

[3] Elliot G. Storke, *A Complete History of the Great American Rebellion* (Auburn, New York: The Auburn Publishing Company, 2 volumes, 1863), I, 23-24, hereinafter cited as Storke, *Great American Rebellion*; William G. Brownlow, *Sketches of the Rise, Progress and Decline of Secession* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: George W. Childs, 1862), 116-117, hereinafter cited as Brownlow, *Secession;* Joel T. Headley, *The Great Rebellion: A History of the Civil War in the United States* (Hartford, Connecticut: American Publishing Company, 2 volumes bound in 1, 1866-1867), I, 11, hereinafter cited as Headley, *The Great Rebellion.*

[4] Pressly, *Civil War,* 18; Storke, *Great American Rebellion,* I, 143-144; Headley, *The Great Rebellion,* I, 37-38; Brownlow, *Secession,* 6, 92-93, 158-159.

histories defended Republican principles and waved the bloody shirt, gave later but similar expressions of the conspiracy theme. Wilson, an antislavery advocate, a reconstruction radical, and Grant's Vice-President, identified slavery as the southern cause, and secession as a conspiracy. A decade later, the two veteran Republican politicians, Blaine and "Black Jack" Logan, found the North right and the South wrong, but, like Wilson, admitted that southern politicians "dragooned" the people out of the Union. Only George B. McClellan, in his *McClellan's Own Story,* offered a qualified northern dissent. And though he disagreed with the conspiracy thesis, he still blamed southern extremists for secession.[5]

The South, however, had its own defenders. James Williams and Edward A. Pollard during the war, and Alexander H. Stephens after it, disregarded the conspiracy interpretation in explaining secession, held stubborn and uncompromising northerners responsible for the war, and in general tried to vindicate the southern stand. In *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States,* Stephens presented the South's legal rationalizations for seceding and contended that the so-called conspirators "aimed at nothing, and desired nothing," but the Constitution and their rights. But though these southern writers did much to refute the conspiracy thesis, the more critical and less passionate historians of the next generation felt obliged to confront the explanation of secession as a conspiracy.[6]

As the war emotions subsided, better trained and more objective historians eventually interpreted secession. Between 1880 and the first decades of the twentieth century, national historians wrote general surveys of United States history which considered the Civil War and propounded unionist points of view. Most saw slavery as the cause of secession and war. James Ford Rhodes, for example, claimed that the South went out of the Union to protect slavery. He also

[5] Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (Boston, Massachusetts: James R. Osgood and Company, 3 volumes, 1872-1884), I, vi-viii; James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress: From Lincoln to Garfield* (Norwich, Connecticut: The Henry Bill Publishing Company, 2 volumes, 1884-1886), II, 26; John A. Logan, *The Great Conspiracy: Its Origins and History* (New York: A. R. Hart and Company, 1886), 340-341, 665; George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story* (New York: C. L. Webster and Company, 1887), 37; all cited in Pressly, *Civil War,* 39, 44-46.

[6] Edward A. Pollard, *A Southern History of the War: The First Year of the War* (New York: C. B. Richardson, 1863), 36-38; James Williams, *The South Vindicated: Being A Series of Letters Written for the American Press During the Canvass for the Presidency in 1860, With a Letter to Lord Brougham on the John Brown Raid, and a Survey of the Result of the Presidential Contest, and Its Consequences* (London, England: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1862), 253, 255, 357; Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between The States* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: National Publishing Company, 2 volumes, 1868-1870), II, 126, 301, 313-314, 321.

asserted that slavery caused southerners to conjure up their state rights arguments. Hermann von Holst, on the other hand, recognized the causative importance of slavery, but also emphasized the breakdown of understanding between the North and the South. To Von Holst, Lincoln's election persuaded the South to secede. Since the Republicans threatened to stop the extension of slavery, Von Holst contended, southerners felt forced to restrict and to defend slavery while believing that slavery had to expand to survive. The South thus left the Union because of the supposed Republican threat to slavery. But Von Holst considered this threat unreal.[7]

These historians outlined regional, political, and economic variations within the South, described the unanimity of southern opinion in 1861, and dismissed the partisan approach to history and the conspiracy interpretation of secession. During the same era, J. J. McSwain, a southerner, joined with the Unionists in abandoning the conspiracy hypothesis. McSwain stated, however, that "truth and right" rather than "economic expediency" or "political revenge" brought on secession. And he also contended that sectionalism has always characterized American politics and that allegiance to the state was more than a southern sectional monopoly.[8]

But as historians stopped blaming certain southerners for causing the war, they usually implicated the southern people in the secession movement. In the *History of the United States of America, Under the Constitution,* James Schouler refused to view secession as "the crime of a few Southern leaders." Southerners, Schouler said, destroyed the Union as willingly as northerners defended it. Both Von Holst and Rhodes cited South Carolina, where slaveholders and nonslaveholders celebrated secession, to show the popular support for the movement. To prove that the people backed secession, Von Holst also noted the South's calling secession a sovereign right, "older" than and "above" the Constitution, a proposition with which most southerners agreed. Rhodes also found the right of secession a popular

[7] James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States From The Compromise of 1850 To The Final Restoration of Home Rule At The South in 1877* (New York and London, England: The Macmillan Company, 7 volumes, 1900-1919), III, 119-120, 280, hereinafter cited as Rhodes, *History*; Hermann Eduard von Holst, *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States* (Chicago, Illinois: Callaghan and Company, 8 volumes, 1877-1892), VII, 245, 259, 261, 271-281, hereinafter cited as Von Holst, *History.*

[8] Pressly, *Civil War*, 48; Von Holst, *History*, VII, 256-258, 267-269; James Schouler, *History of the United States, Under The Constitution* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 7 volumes, 1894-1913), V, 509, hereinafter cited as Schouler, *History*; J. J. McSwain, *The Causes of Secession* (Greenville, South Carolina: n.p., 1917), iii-iv, 15, 17.

rallying point for the South: Even Unionists like Stephens in Georgia upheld it.[9]

Rhodes, moreover, stated and refuted the conspiracy hypothesis. To Rhodes, those who explained secession as a plot presented little evidence. The vote for conventions in Alabama, in Georgia, and in Louisiana, they contended, was less than that for the presidential election. And in Georgia a storm on election day supposedly kept many conservatives away from the polls. The conduct of the secession conventions further revealed a conspiracy behind the South's withdrawal from the Union. The Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana conventions defeated proposals to submit the secession ordinances to a popular vote. And other conventions voted down resolutions to get a redress of grievances within the Union.[10]

Despite these facts, Rhodes said, previous writers failed to prove "that the politicians led the people by the nose." So-called conspirators, such as Davis and Toombs, had a hard time keeping pace with the people. And in not submitting the ordinances of secession to the people, convention politicians feared the hazard of delay rather than the possibility of popular disapproval. The conventions, moreover, acted with the "best of precedents." Since they had ratified the Constitution without submitting it to the people, they had merely repealed that ratification in the same way. Thus, in seceding the South proceeded in a "regular" and "constitutional" manner. The people knowingly voted for secessionist conventions, and the chosen representatives carried out the popular will.[11]

To Rhodes, southern unionists in 1861 represented a minority. Secret conventions or intimidation were never needed or widely used to suppress them. In fact, the Milledgeville mob, which gathered outside of Georgia's secret convention, expressed the people's choice by demanding immediate secession.[12]

By joining the "rightfulness of slavery and the sovereignty of the States," Rhodes continued, secession became a southern program, spread through propaganda, and gradually pervaded public opinion. Like all movements, secession needed leaders, "but planters and lawyers of local influence, village attorneys, cross-road stump speakers, journalists, and the people acted on the men of national reputation instead of being led by them."[13]

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[9] Schouler, *History*, V, 509; Rhodes, *History*, III, 119-120, 193, 197, 206-215; Von Holst, *History*, VII, 245-247, 275-276.
[10] Rhodes, *History*, III, 273-274.
[11] Rhodes, *History*, III, 272-277.
[12] Rhodes, *History*, III, 278-279.
[13] Rhodes, *History*, III, 277-278.

Later historians followed their predecessors in repudiating the simple conspiracy interpretation of secession. At the same time, however, they questioned the popular support for the movement and directed attention to southern unionism. Civil War and state historians and those writing about various aspects of the sectional struggle outlined the differences between the Lower South and the Border States, the changes in state and local opinion as the South approached secession, and the differences between northern and southern unionism. Agreeing, for the most part, that the war had been a tragedy and a mistake, they played down the conspiracy theme and concentrated on the conspirators.

In 1921, in *The Peaceable Americans,* Mary Scrugham described most Americans' peaceful intentions in 1860, pointed to the needless misunderstanding which divided the sections, and presented some of the evidence used in later revisions of Civil War history. In the same year, Chauncey S. Boucher, disproving the existence of an aggressive, united slave power, agreed substantially with Scrugham's interpretation of secession. To Scrugham, Americans "as a people" failed to foresee or to will "the event which was about to transpire in 1861." Similarly, Boucher found the South without unity throughout 1859 and 1860. Even South Carolina, which in December of 1859 mustered only enough unity to call for a southern meeting to establish a plan of action, lacked agreement as well as a program.[14]

Both Scrugham and Boucher used the election of 1860 as an indication of southern unionism. Secession had not been "a clear-cut issue" in the election; thus, it had never been put to the people. The election returns revealed the strong conservatism of the South. Breckinridge, the representative of southern extremists willing to risk secession, received only 45 per cent of the popular vote. And "neutrals," the backers of Douglas and Bell, won majorities in eight slaves states: Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, Delaware, Tennessee, Georgia, and Louisiana. They secured 45 per cent of the vote in North Carolina, Arkansas, and Alabama. Douglas and Bell, both Union candidates, closely represented the South's true opinion. And, as Scrugham said, since "neither Douglas nor Bell held out any hope for a slave state," the majority for them proved that "the South

[14] Mary Scrugham, *The Peaceable Americans of 1860-1861* (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1921), 11, hereinafter cited as Scrugham, *Peaceable Americans*; Chauncey S. Boucher "*In Re* That Aggressive Slavocracy," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* VIII (June-September, 1921), 75, hereinafter cited as Boucher, "Aggressive Slavocracy."

preferred the Union without Slavery eventually to slavery without the Union." [15]

The aftermath of the election presented Scrugham and Boucher with some difficulties. Yet they refrained from using a "conspiracy" to explain secession and admitted that southern unionism disintegrated or became ineffectual in 1861. To Boucher, the period immediately following the election revealed the strongest southern unionism in a decade. Only South Carolina clearly intended to secede, and even South Carolinians remained unsure of support from their fellow southerners. The popular wish for definite action and for a relief of tension forced South Carolina to secede. Given this example, disunionists turned six other states to secession, producing an accomplished fact to which most Unionists became quickly reconciled.[16]

Scrugham, however, found in secession no clear reversal of the South's predominant unionism. Admitting that secession had been thought of for years and that it was not the work of "hot-headed school boys [acting] on the spur of the moment," she still saw no basic, determining antagonism between the North and the South. In seceding, southern leaders backed neither disunion nor war. They merely tried to repudiate sectional dominance by wrecking the Republican party. They tested that party with the Crittenden compromise. And when the Republicans rejected compromise, six states left the Union. Eight states, representing a majority of the southern people, waited for an overt act of northern aggression. Lincoln's call for troops provided this act and united the South.[17]

During the next twenty-five years other historians adopted much of Scrugham's concern for southern unionism and gave more detailed analyses of the secession movement. Considering secession and war "a bawdy farce," or the work of an extremist "cabal," or a sign of the breakdown of statesmanship and of democracy, most with varying intensity condemned secession. But southerner Charles Ramsdell contended that southerners were defending themselves against "a hostile sectional majority," and northerner Dwight L. Dumond thought that interested and reasonable southerners logically followed

[15] Boucher, "Aggressive Slavocracy," 77-78; Scrugham, *Peaceable Americans*, 23-24, 40-41, 49-52.
[16] Boucher, "Aggressive Slavocracy," 78-79; Scrugham, *Peaceable Americans*, 39-40.
[17] Scrugham, *Peaceable Americans*, 54-63, 103.

the Breckinridge Democrats to defend their rights.[18]

All, however, emphasized the lack of unanimous public opinion in the South before, during, and after Lincoln's election. They also noted the strong feeling of certain southerners to preserve the Union. But, as Ollinger Crenshaw pointed out, Unionism in the South was not the equivalent of unionism in the North. For most southern unionists advocated caution and compromise to secure southern rights and seldom denounced secession as the last, possible course of action.[19]

Many of these authors offered evidence to show that most southerners refused to back secession. Only 384,884 of over eight million southern whites owned slaves, and "only a tiny minority owned more than five Negroes." Few southerners, therefore, represented the planter class which hoped to protect slavery in secession. Since the majority in the South lost little or nothing if slavery were abolished, they hardly destroyed the Union to defend slavery. Other interests, according to William B. Hesseltine and David L. Smiley, served to strengthen southern unionism. Southern bankers with northern connections, politicians with long-standing northern alliances, merchants with Mississippi and Ohio River interests, and Catholics, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians with northern fellow churchmen all stood to lose in a breakup of the Union.[20]

The election of 1860 also revealed southerners backing the Union. Six slave states repudiated Breckinridge, the secessionist candidate. Douglas and Bell, the conservative Union candidates, won 48 per cent of the more than 850,000 southern votes. In Louisiana and in Georgia, conservative candidates won majorities of the total vote. And in all the other cotton states, except Texas, they secured 40 per cent or more of the vote. Bell, moreover, won Tennessee, Kentucky,

[18] Gerald W. Johnson, *The Secession of the Southern States* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1933), 15, 27, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Secession*; George F. Milton, *Conflict: The American Civil War* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1941), 13, hereinafter cited as Milton, *Conflict*; Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 391; Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Changing Interpretations of the Civil War," *The Journal of Southern History*, III (February, 1937), 4, 14, hereinafter cited as Ramsdell, "Changing Interpretations"; Frank M. Anderson, "Review of Dwight L. Dumond's *Southern Editorials on Secession and the Secession Movement*," *The American Historical Review*, XXXVII (July, 1932), 773.

[19] Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 349; Ramsdell, "Changing Interpretations," 19-20; William E. Baringer, *A House Dividing: Lincoln As President Elect* (Springfield, Illinois: The Abraham Lincoln Association, 1945), 44; David M. Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis* (New Haven, Connecticut: The Yale University Press, 1942), 207-214; Ollinger Crenshaw, *The Slave States in the Presidential Election of 1860* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1945), 299-303, hereinafter cited as Crenshaw, *Slave States*; Dumond, *Southern Editorials*, viii.

[20] Johnson, *Secession*, 34-35; Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*, 271, 284.

and Virginia. Douglas won Missouri. And both together won a majority in Maryland. Yet, as James G. Randall pointed out, the election only suggested that southerners opposed secession. Though anti-Lincoln and anti-secessionist, many of these "Unionists" agreed to secede after the election of Lincoln.[21]

Since most southerners did not hold slaves and thus had no interest in seceding to protect slavery, and since the popular vote rejected the advocates of secession, vigorous minorities had really carried the South out of the Union. Well organized and boldly led by such extremists as Robert B. Rhett, C. C. Memminger, and William L. Yancey, they overrode the popular opposition or indifference to secession. Benefiting from the unionists' disorganization, they also profited from the dominance of the planters and from the party machinery of the Breckinridge Democrats, which remained intact and operating after the election. Finally, they used Lincoln's election, Republican rejection of compromise, and Lincoln's call for troops after the firing on Fort Sumter to lead a succession of southern states into the Confederacy.[22]

In analyzing the secession movement and the secession conventions of each southern state, modern historians again questioned the southern support for secession. Hesseltine and Smiley noted that during the secession conventions southern unionists often became co-operationists, advocating delay and sectional agreement rather than separate state action. During the hastily called conventions, they said, unionism was much stronger than shown in the meager votes against the secession ordinances. James G. Randall and Avery O. Craven, writing general studies and "revising" Civil War history, and certain state historians, writing about specific state topics and providing much evidence for Randall and Craven, gave state by state analyses which uncovered the variety of southern opinion on the eve of secession. Randall and Craven questioned the popular support for secession. Some of the state historians thought unionism strong. But others

[21] Milton, *Conflict*, 16; Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*, 264; James G. Randall, *Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1953), 182, hereinafter cited as Randall, *Civil War*.

[22] Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*, 271-272, 284; Avery O. Craven, "Coming of the War Between the States: An Interpretation," *The Journal of Southern History*, II (August, 1936), 322, hereinafter cited as Craven, "War Between the States,"; Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 390; Crenshaw, *Slave States*, 299-300, 303; Dumond, *Southern Editorials*, xx; Milton, *Conflict*, 15-17; Allan Nevins, *The War for Union: The Improvised War* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2 volumes, 1959-1960), I, 10, hereinafter cited as Nevins, *War for Union*; Howard K. Beale, "What Historians Have Said About the Causes of the Civil War," *Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography* (New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin Number 54, 1946), 81, hereinafter cited as Beale, "Causes of the Civil War."

found that the people generally backed secession. In *And The War Came* in 1950, for example, Kenneth Stampp maintained that in the cotton states leading politicians, state convention delegates, and national representatives used propaganda to advertise secession but nonetheless represented the majority of their constituents in opposing compromise and in supporting separation from the Union.[23]

None, however, disputed that majorities for secession existed in Texas and in South Carolina. In Texas, where the farming West, angered by the federal government's failure to stop Indian raids, joined the planting East in secession, the people approved the ordinance of secession by over 31,000 votes. In South Carolina, Laura White, the biographer of Robert B. Rhett, found secessionists representing a minority and most citizens opposing secession, especially conservative merchants in Charleston and farmers in the back country. Yet she finally agreed with the other historians: After the election of Lincoln South Carolinians, wary of a northern threat to slavery and to their economy, became determined to lead secession.[24]

Historians offered differing interpretations of secession in the rest of the Lower South. In Georgia, where strong and well-led unionism persisted, the convention narrowly defeated a co-operationist attempt for delay. In Mississippi, where in the convention election the popular vote was 40 per cent less than the vote in the presidential election and co-operationists nearly won, few advocated outright secession and unionists maintained a noticeable minority. And Florida had one-third of the state convention and an estimated 36 to 43 per cent of popular opinion for co-operation. But state rights advocates and Stephens' co-operationists in Georgia, partisan editors and petty lawyers in Mississippi, and secessionist radicals in control of patronage and propaganda in Florida finally supported secession and forced their states out of the Union. And as William W. Davis said in his study of Florida, no serious, organized opposition to secession ever developed. In Florida, only one legislator opposed the call for the

[23] Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*, 273-274; Nevins, *War for Union*, I, 12; Kenneth M. Stampp, *And the War Came* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 2, 133, 137. Specific citations of Randall, Craven, and the state historians appear in the notes for the following text.

[24] Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Frontier and Secession," *Studies in Southern History and Politics, Inscribed to William Archibald Dunning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), 63-79; Laura A. White, *Robert Barnwell Rhett: Father of Secession* (New York: The Century Company, 1931), 167, 171, 177, 181; Randall, *Civil War*, 183; Charles E. Cauthen, "South Carolina's Decision To Lead the Secession Movement," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (October, 1941), 372; Harold S. Schultz, *Nationalism and Sectionalism in South Carolina, 1852-1860: A Study of the Movement for Southern Independence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1950), viii, 221; John G. Van Deusen, *Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), 330.

secession convention, and only seven convention delegates voted against the ordinance of secession.[25]

Other historians described "vigorous minorities" which opposed secession in Alabama. Representing Alabama's northern counties and urging delay for a convention which represented the whole South, this minority never exhibited its full strength in the light, close vote for the state convention. In the end, however, Alabama conservatives succumbed to an "emotional tide" for secession.[26]

Lewy Dorman and Clarence P. Denman discounted unionism as a force against Alabama's secession. To Dorman, the nationally organized Democratic party had always opposed and blocked Alabama secessionists. With Democrats divided after 1860, he said, secessionists faced no organized opposition and easily enacted their "lawyers' revolution." Denman, on the other hand, considered secession a popular movement in Alabama. According to Denman, such prominent secessionists as William L. Yancey had many "able lieutenants," who in the last phase of the movement acted as the spokesmen rather than the leaders of the people. Despite the divided strength of the unionists in northern Alabama and the comparatively small vote for the state convention, Denman said, both the popular majority in the convention election and the representation in the convention accurately reflected the people's support for secession.[27]

According to Randall and Craven, a large unionist minority in Louisiana, defeated by just over 3,000 votes in the election for the state convention, reluctantly signed a hastily drawn ordinance of secession and "bowed to what was called 'the will of the majority.'" Roger Shugg was more emphatic in denying that the majority in Louisiana backed secession. In his view, a slaveholding minority used

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[25] Randall, *Civil War*, 186, 189; Ulrich B. Phillips, *Georgia and States Rights: A Study of the Political History of Georgia* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 196-198; Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 364, 368-369; Percy L. Rainwater, *Mississippi, Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Otto Claitor, 1938), 218-224; Dorothy Dodd, "The Secession Movement in Florida, 1850-1861," *The Quarterly Periodical of The Florida Historical Society*, XII (July, 1933), 53-62, 65; William W. Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913), 47-68.

[26] See, for example, Randall, *Civil War*, 187; Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 366-367.

[27] Clarence P. Denman, *The Secession Movement in Alabama* (Montgomery, Alabama: Alabama State Department of Archives and History, 1933), vi-viii, 87-91, 115-117, 122, 153, hereinafter cited as Denman, *Alabama*; Austin L. Venable, *The Role of William L. Yancey in the Secession Movement* (Nashville, Tennessee: The Joint University Libraries, 1945), 33; Lewy Dorman, *Party Politics in Alabama From 1850 Through 1860* (Wetumpka, Alabama: Wetumpka Printing Company, 1935), 172-173.

the traditional powers of their planter oligarchy and overcame a majority who were opposed or indifferent to secession.[28]

Willie M. Caskey and James K. Greer, however, felt that most Louisianians backed secession. Caskey minimized the importance of the large Bell-Douglas vote of New Orleans and eastern Louisiana in the presidential election. Though this majority was often cited as proof of the predominant unionism of Louisiana, Caskey said that in the election of 1860 secession was not actually a question. Many of the so-called unionists, who voted for Bell or Douglas, quickly accepted secession (just as Bell himself did) after the failure of the Crittenden compromise. In the vote for the state convention, moreover, New Orleans registered a 397 majority for immediate secession. And, as Greer pointed out, in the state convention secessionists outnumbered co-operationists two to one, and only 19 of 48 parishes elected co-operationist candidates.[29]

Between the election of the convention and the gathering of the delegates, Caskey continued, Senator Judah P. Benjamin's speech to the United States Senate and Governor Thomas O. Moore's message to the state legislature, both defending southern rights and calling for "effective resistance," further undermined what was left of Louisiana unionism. When the convention seceded, the people followed. Louisiana unionism, largely a production of the *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), a conservative paper with many northern readers, never gained strength or importance. Few unionists or co-operationists were willing to submit to the North without concessions, and most voted for secession and supported the Confederacy.[30]

In describing secession in the Upper South, historians noted much opposition to secession, what Randall called "a prevailing pattern of unionist sentiment against a background of Southernism." Virginians differed greatly over secession, but their vote for the state convention registered a unionist majority of 50,000. The voters of Arkansas elected a unionist majority to the state convention, which then adjourned without acting on secession. In eastern Tennessee, most of the people favored the Union, and throughout the rest of the state,

[28] Randall, *Civil War*, 191; Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 373, 375; Shugg's views are cited in Beale, "Causes of the Civil War," 64, 68, 73. See also, Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of the Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers During Slavery and After* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1939), 161-170.

[29] Willie M. Caskey, *Secession and Restoration of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1938), 14-16, 20-25, hereinafter cited as Caskey, *Louisiana;* James K. Greer, "Louisiana Politics, 1845-1861," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIII (July-October, 1930), 627-628, 637.

[30] Caskey, *Louisiana*, 27-29, 35-41.

the majority wanted to wait and to remain neutral in the crises between the federal government and the Lower South. On February 9, 1861, Tennesseans voted against holding a state convention. In North Carolina, moreover, where Breckinridge Democrats had been repudiated in the election of 1860, secessionists represented a minority and the voters defeated the first call for convention.[31]

But after the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter and the Federal call for troops, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina seceded from the Union. Virginia with a chance for increased prosperity as the Confederacy's largest state, Tennessee with a secessionist Governor and a secessionist legislature as its leaders, and North Carolina with seceded states as its neighbors abandoned unionism and opposed federal coercion. Recognizing their predominant social and economic ties with the Lower South, they reluctantly joined the Confederacy.[32]

In 1864 Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina called secession "a revolution of the polite class, not the people." Earlier another North Carolinian, Jonathan Worth, said that "the very women and children are for war." Some historians agreed with Vance, others with Worth. Though most twentieth-century historians have approached secession as a fact and have spent their time describing its causes, they have also tried to evaluate the attitude of the southern people toward secession. Some historians, citing election statistics and convention votes, found the people "in the van" for secession. Others, citing similar kinds of statistics and noting the secrecy and the haste of the seceding conventions, felt that in secession the people had been thwarted or at least misrepresented. And despite the many conflicting interpretations, Randall, Craven, and others maintained that many southern unionists opposed secession. They hinted, therefore, that times were out of joint, that minorities were often in control, and

[31] Randall, *Civil War*, 245-251; Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*, 279-283; Beverly B. Munford, *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession* (Richmond, Virginia: L. H. Jenkins, Edition Book Manufacturer, 1915), 10, hereinafter cited as Munford, *Virginia's Attitude*; Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 382; Mary E. Campbell, *Attitude of Tennesseans Toward Union, 1847-1861* (New York: Vantage Press, 1961), 136-137, 178, hereinafter cited as Campbell, *Tennesseans*; James W. Fertig, *The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1898), 15-23, hereinafter cited as Fertig, *Tennessee*; William K. Boyd, "North Carolina on the Eve of Secession," *Annual Report of The American Historical Association for The Year 1910* (Washington, D. C.: [American Historical Association], 1914), 172, 177.

[32] Johnson, *Secession*, 46; Randall, *Civil War*, 250-252, 254, 258; Campbell, *Tennesseans*, 212; Munford, *Virginia's Attitude*, viii, 301; David Y. Thomas, *Arkansas in War and Reconstruction* (Little Rock, Arkansas: Arkansas Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1926), 83; Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*, 282-283; James W. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 6-7; Fertig, *Tennessee*, 22.

that given time and compromise unionists might have rebelled "against the rebellion." [33]

State dissatisfaction, which during the war often resulted in defiance of the Confederacy, apparently substantiated the view that secession failed to represent the popular will. Yet the Confederate administration of the war rather than the popular love for the Union engendered most of the Confederacy's internal problems. In North Carolina, for example, where Confederate taxes and troop quotas raised a public uproar, few openly followed ex-Whig John Pool in opposing secession and in refusing to co-operate with the Confederate government. Even William Woods Holden, the leader of North Carolina's "peace" movement during the war, had signed his state's ordinance of secession, calling the act the greatest of his life.[34]

Each generation of historians aided in explaining secession. If early writers promulgated the conspiracy thesis and exhibited a partisan bias, they at least set down the chronology and the process of secession. The national historians—Von Holst, Schouler, and Rhodes—gave up the partisan viewpoint and refuted the conspiracy interpretation. And later historians, writing in the twentieth century and offering differing and often conflicting interpretations of secession, described the variety in southern opinion and noted the existence of southern unionism. Yet they seldom gave sufficient attention to the specific economic aspects of the South's withdrawal from the Union.

Though Hesseltine and Smiley and Shugg described the economic forces surrounding the movement, other historians presented little detailed analysis of the local, class, and economic interests behind secession. To make this analysis, historians had to overcome numerous difficulties. In studying Alabama, for example, Denman came across some of these. He had difficulty determining the backgrounds and view-

[33] Zebulon B. Vance to David L. Swain, September 22, 1864, as quoted in Hope S. Chamberlain, *Old Days in Chapel Hill, Being the Life and Letters of Cornelia Phillips Spencer* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1926), 105; Jonathan Worth to Gaius Winningham, May 20, 1861, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1909), I, 149, as quoted in Craven, "War Between the States," 322. Richard N. Current noted that Seward believed "Southerners would rebel against the rebellion." See Richard N. Current, "The Confederates and the First Shot," *Civil War History*, VII (December, 1961), 359. According to David M. Potter, both Seward and Lincoln counted on the resurgence of Southern Unionism after secession. See David M. Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis* (New Haven, Connecticut: The Yale University Press, 1942), 317-318.

[34] Edward McCrady, Jr., and Samuel A. Ashe, *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas of the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, Wisconsin: Brant and Fuller, 2 volumes, 1892), II, 315; William K. Boyd, "William W. Holden," *An Annual Publication of Historical Papers: Published By the Historical Society of Trinity College, Durham, North Carolina,* III (1899), 66.

points of Alabama's convention delegates. In some instances, unionist delegates represented the secessionist South, and secessionists represented certain parts of the unionist North. Other delegates had vague or completely indeterminable backgrounds. But without such information, few can properly understand the popular feeling about secession.[35]

Perhaps in some parts of the South the people backed secession, while in others they opposed it. Perhaps most southerners went on "eating and drinking and making merry, marrying, and giving in marriage" and disregarded the crisis at hand. "Minorities" have also been credited with the work of secession. But in fact this fails to make the movement unique in American politics. Politicians, journalists, and the spokesmen of various interests have always been minorities in human society. And in American history, many decisions have been reached without the approval or the disapproval of the people. Thomas R. R. Cobb, therefore, in refusing "to wait to hear from the cross-roads and the groceries" of South Carolina, pronounced no new, conspiratorial, or undemocratic doctrine. In secession, the agents of the states acted through traditional institutions, the state legislatures and the state conventions. If secession had been voted down, a minority would still have reached the decision.[36]

Many historians yet feel required to pronounce on secession and the popular will, a supposed article of democratic faith. Though the question of the southern support for secession begs a final, single answer, it affects and reflects interpretations of the Civil War and of southern society. But unaided by some criteria for sampling the whole of public opinion—such as opinion polls—historians should leave "the people" out of their arguments. And whether or not the South followed or opposed their leaders' leaving the Union, historians still find that the problem of secession—as in James Russell Lowell's comment on slavery—remains secession itself.[37]

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[35] Denman, *Alabama*, 110.

[36] *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* (Augusta, Georgia), October 2, 1860, as quoted in Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 350. For T. R. R. Cobb's remark, see also Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 370.

[37] James Russell Lowell said "that the difficulty of the slavery question is slavery itself—nothing more, nothing less." See (James Russell Lowell), "The Question of the Hour," *The Atlantic Monthly*, VII (January, 1861), 121, as quoted in Kenneth M. Stampp, "The Historian and Southern Negro Slavery," *The American Historical Review*, LVII (April, 1952), 624.

ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENTS AT "MONTROSE" IN THE 1850'S

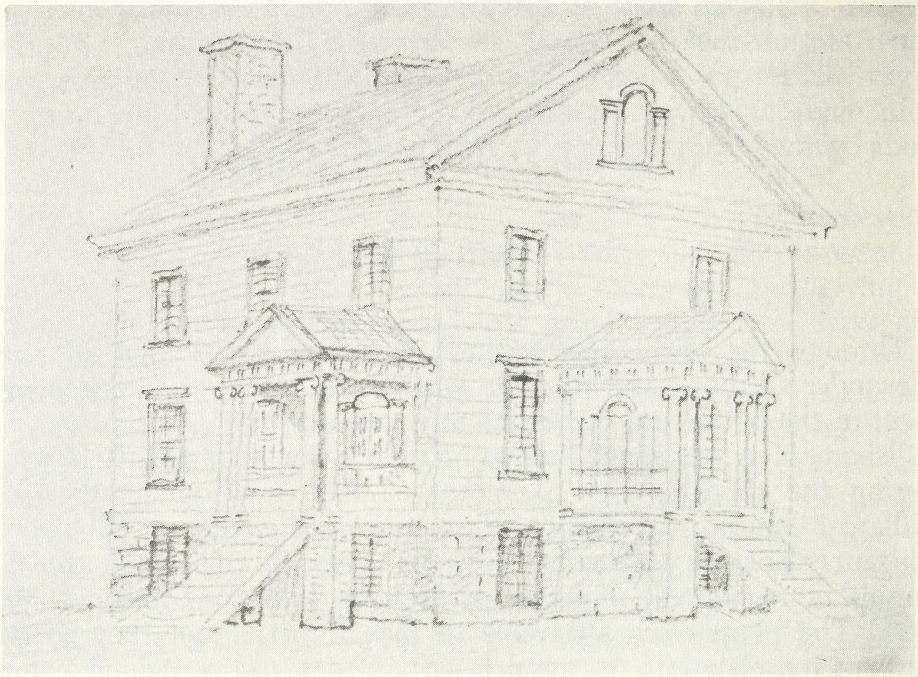
By John V. Allcott *

Through the early 1850's North Carolina's statesman, William Alexander Graham, and his wife were concerned with the improvement of the house and garden of their country estate, "Montrose," at Hillsboro. This was after Graham had been Governor of the state and during the time he was Secretary of the Navy under President Millard Fillmore, a service which interrupted the work at "Montrose." Elegant plans for enlarging the house were prepared by the distinguished American architect, Alexander Jackson Davis, of New York. The plans were attractive to the Grahams, but they seemed perhaps too elaborate or grand in appearance and contained bothersome construction problems. Governor Graham finally gave them up in favor of a simple, direct, and characteristically North Carolina solution.

The present house on the site of "Montrose" is not the one enlarged by Governor Graham; his home was destroyed by fire. But drawings and letters allow one to see and to know the architectural developments at "Montrose" in the 1850's. The story of the developments illuminates the natures of the two men, Graham and Davis. One sees how Graham dealt with a difficult problem close to his heart; and Davis' tactics in dealing with a distinguished and, therefore, a desirable client can be observed. The story also brings out the taste of the fashionable New York architect and of the southern client with strong ties to the architectural customs of his region.

Present-day owners of the property, located near Hillsboro, are Mr. Alexander Hawkins Graham, grandson of Governor Graham, and his wife. Facing the road to Hillsboro is a formal garden with symmetrical, winding roads. (The garden in the 1850's was the special project of the Governor's wife, Susan.) Beyond the garden is the main house built over the foundations of earlier houses on the

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The original "Montrose" was sketched by Alexander Jackson Davis. From plan and perspective sketch in the A. J. Davis Collection II, Avery Library, Columbia University, New York.

property. Behind the main house is the original office of Governor Graham.[1] There were undoubtedly barns and other outbuildings.

"Montrose" was not the first home of the William Alexander Grahams in Hillsboro. After their marriage in 1836, they lived in rented quarters; when Susan Graham visited her parents in New Bern, Graham stayed in rented quarters or at the hotel in Hillsboro.[2] In January, 1838, Graham bought a small house. "I should not expect to keep it," he wrote to his wife, "but it may serve our present purposes."[3] "Montrose" was purchased four years later, in November,

[1] This and other information on the history of "Montrose" is from interviews of the author with, and letters received from, Mrs. A. H. Graham of Hillsboro, from 1960 to May, 1964, and are hereinafter cited as Notes from Mrs. Graham.

[2] These various arrangements are suggested by remarks in a number of letters, around 1837, between Graham and his wife. These letters are found in the W. A. Graham Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers, Raleigh; and W. A. Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers, University.

[3] Graham to his wife, December 30, 1837, and January 9, 1838, Graham Papers, Raleigh.

1842, when Graham was in the United States Senate. The complicated purchase from John U. Kirkland involved a cash payment and the trade of Graham's residence and three lots in Hillsboro.[4]

The house which then stood on the property was sketched by Davis when he visited "Montrose." The house was a small, two-story structure with elegant detail; the simple plan is one that was popular in North Carolina in the early nineteenth century. There were two rooms downstairs with a wide hall at one side containing entrance doors and a stairway to the second floor.[5]

Graham called this place "Montrose," after his ancestor James Graham, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Montrose of Scotland.[6] Governor Graham and his family needed a larger house by 1850; and he wanted a beautiful one.[7] It was natural that, in selecting an architect, he would think of Alexander Jackson Davis, for Davis had been very active in North Carolina. He had dignified the campus of the University at Chapel Hill by adding imposing façades to Old East and Old West buildings, and he had designed a striking home in Greensboro for Graham's friend, Governor John M. Morehead. In 1850 Davis was planning two important North Carolina buildings, Smith Hall (now the Playmakers Theater) at the University, and the State Hospital for the Insane in Raleigh. Governor Graham was familiar with these buildings and, as a member of the Executive Committee of the University's Board of Trustees in charge of buildings on the campus, he knew something of Davis as a person.[8]

As Davis visited North Carolina during the year 1850 on work for the state, Governor Graham hoped to have him come to Hillsboro to study the existing house at "Montrose" and to plan its enlargement. Graham's friends, Governor Morehead and President David L. Swain of the University, were to arrange the visit. During a May, 1850, trip to North Carolina, Davis found himself unable to go to Hillsboro. "He says he is under pressure to get to other points," explained Presi-

[4] Graham items for November 21, 1942, in 1841-1844 day book, John U. Kirkland Account Books, Southern Historical Collection; John Kirkland ledger, 1839-1845; Orange County Deed Books, office of Register of Deeds, Orange County Courthouse, Hillsboro, Deed Book XXX, 115.

[5] Frances Benjamin Johnston and Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 35-36.

[6] Notes from Mrs. Graham.

[7] Graham and his wife, who were married in 1836, had ten children. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *The Papers of William Alexander Graham* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 4 volumes, 1957-1961), I, 126, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Graham Papers.*

[8] See Minutes of the Board of Trustees, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1845-1849, Southern Historical Collection.

dent Swain in a letter which he and Governor Morehead wrote to Graham.[9] But Davis did visit Hillsboro during a second trip to North Carolina in the fall of that year; and doubtless with keen interest, for that summer Governor Graham had been "surprised"[10] by his appointment to serve as Secretary of the United States Navy.

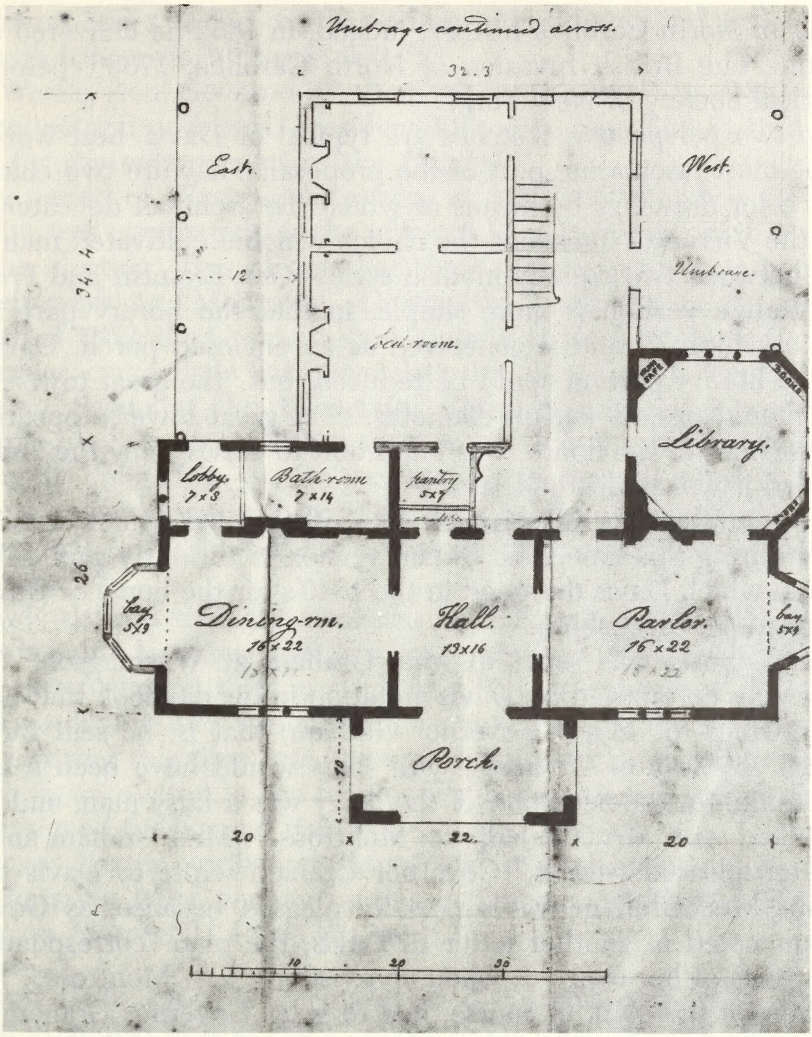
On November 10 Davis made a strenuous night trip from Raleigh to Hillsboro "arriving at 2 A.M. Went up to Graham's to breakfast, and remained until 4 P.M."[11] Governor Graham was in Washington at this time, but Davis talked with Mrs. Graham, who gave him her suggestions for the addition.[12] It is possible that the suggestions of Susan Graham reverberated pleasantly in Davis' ears, sounding very much like his own ideas, for Mrs. Graham owned a book by Davis' friend, A. J. Downing, *Cottage Residences . . . and their Gardens and Grounds,* a book whose text and architectural designs included contributions by Davis.[13]

During his day at "Montrose," Davis must have made pencil sketches of the existing house. The drawings were expertly done freehand sketches which convey essential information about the design and structure of the house.[14]

After returning to New York, Davis undertook a "Study for Gov. W. A. Graham," and on February 4, 1851, "sent him a plan, 1st floor, 2nd floor, and little view perspective," as is recorded in Davis' daybook.[15] The proposal for the enlargement of "Montrose" was very carefully laid out on a horizontal rectangle of paper. A large plan for the first floor was on the left, and a smaller plan for the second floor was shown on the right. At top right were two perspective views, and at lower right was a carefully blocked-out explanation in Davis' beautiful and studied hand, signed "Alex. J. Davis, 93 Exchange, N. Y."

In the plan of the first floor the "Additions are in color"—a dazzling vermillion in the original drawing; "old part in outline." The addition was a massive and grand affair. "Dining-rm, Hall, Parlor" were laid

[9] Swain and Morehead to Graham, May 15, 1850, Graham Papers, University.
[10] Graham to his brother James, July 19, 1850, Graham Papers, University.
[11] Daybook of A. J. Davis, November 10, 1850, A. J. Davis Collection, New York Public Library, New York, hereinafter cited as Davis Collection, New York Public Library.
[12] Graham to Davis, May 11, 1853, Graham Papers, University.
[13] A 1847 edition of this book inscribed "Mrs. W. A. Graham," is in the library at "Montrose," Hillsboro.
[14] Drawings of "Montrose," A. J. Davis Collection II, Avery Library, Columbia University, New York, hereinafter cited as Davis Collection, Columbia University.
[15] Daybook of A. J. Davis, February 4, 1851, Davis Collection, New York Public Library.



The plan for the enlargement of the first floor of "Montrose" was prepared by Alexander Jackson Davis. Photograph from files of Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Graham, Hillsboro.

out in formal symmetry at front. A door from the dining room, through a "lobby," led to the porch and probably to an outside kitchen. Back of the dining room was a "Bath-room"; a porch, called "Umbrage," surrounded the old house on three sides. At the right was an octagonal "Library."[16] A library was appropriate, for Governor Graham was a

[16] Plans and perspective sketch, Library of Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Graham, "Montrose," Hillsboro, hereinafter cited as Plan and perspective, sketch, Graham Library. A study for these plans, with details not completed, exists in Davis' Collection, Columbia University.

scholar of North Carolina history; indeed, in 1852 he delivered a lecture on "The British Invasion of North Carolina, 1780," before the Historical Society of New York.[17]

The two perspective sketches are typical of Davis' best work and are the most fascinating part of the proposal. They are two charming water color drawings by means of which the architect delicately presents the Victorian question—the choice which a cultivated man must make between two equally modish styles—OLD ENGLISH and ITALIAN. "The Italian version is more simple, in that the library part is but one story high," [18] and is conceived as an enclosed porch. Davis felt that the library portion could be reduced, but "the great tower, however, should project its full diameter." [19] A great tower, appearing in both versions of the house, was important to Davis; how the Grahams regarded it will be learned later.

The two sketches were much like other villas which Davis designed during this time. The Italian version is curiously similar to the addition which Davis designed in the 1840's for the home of Governor Morehead in Greensboro.

The proposal was sent "to Mrs. Graham at Washington." [20] The reader may be puzzled by Davis' notation in his daybook that he sent the drawings to "him,"—Governor Graham; that is, he sent the plan to "him" by way of Graham's wife. This would have been a logical thing to do, for the Secretary of the Navy was a busy man, and Davis had talked with Mrs. Graham at "Montrose." "Mrs. Graham and myself were pleased with it," Governor Graham wrote to Davis later.[21] Perhaps Mrs. Graham was especially pleased because, as Governor Graham noted in another letter to Davis, the plan "corresponded to suggestions of her own . . . when you visited . . ." "Montrose." [22]

Action on the plan, of course, had to wait. Governor Graham's primary architectural problem was buying a house in Washington; in April, 1851, he succeeded. He purchased a house

> built by Mr. Rush, of Philadelphia, while Secretary of the treasury, . . . the plan from a French model which obtained a premium from Napoleon . . . who advertised a reward for the best plan of a House 44 by 38, which should combine the most of domestic comfort with Architectural beauty.[23]

[17] Hamilton, *Graham Papers* I, 23-24.
[18] Plan and perspective sketch, Graham Library.
[19] Plan and perspective sketch, Graham Library.
[20] Graham to Davis, May 11, 1853, Graham Papers, University.
[21] Graham to Davis, July 3, 1854, Davis Collection, New York Public Library.
[22] Graham to Davis, May 11, 1853, Graham Papers, University.
[23] Graham to his brother James, April 14, 1851, Graham Papers, University.

The house had a stable, various other outbuildings, and a small garden with fruit trees, all for $8,000.[24]

In Washington, Governor Graham's eyes must have been sharpened to architectural problems; President Fillmore asked him to study new plans for the enlargement of the Capitol.[25]

The period of Washington service ended in 1852, when Governor Graham was nominated for the office of Vice-President, and his party lost the election. This meant that the Grahams were able to return to their work on "Montrose." During the campaign in the summer and fall of 1852, the Grahams were already at work in North Carolina.

Gardens came first. On November 4 Governor Graham wrote to President Swain at the University, "Mrs. Graham and myself are examining our grounds with a view to some improvements, and will be greatly obliged to you to request the gardner at Chapel Hill to make us a visit for consultation. We may be able to furnish him some employment in the line of his profession if he shall feel at liberty to undertake." [26]

It was natural that the Grahams would seek the University gardener, because for some years the University had been much interested in the improvement of its grounds and had thought about the teaching of gardening and agricultural science. The gardener at the University during this time was Thomas Paxton, an Englishman thought to have been related to the famous English gardener, Joseph Paxton, who designed the Crystal Palace in London.[27]

Thomas Paxton worked at "Montrose" several times, as one learns in a charming letter written by Susan Graham. Writing to President Swain on March 21, 1853, she said:

> Will you think me very unreasonable if I crave permission for Mr. Paxton to remain another week? Much of his time has been taken up in "rough work" and another week for "finishing off" would make such an alteration in the present appearance of things that I must beg the indulgence, providing it will not interfere with your arrangements. Mr. Paxton is willing to remain with your approbation and thinks that his business on the Hill will not suffer from his absence at this time. . . . When Mr. Paxton was here in the winter, I paid him $1.60 per day, the amount which, according to his statement, he receives from the Faculty. I understood you to say that he could work for me in Hillsboro upon the same terms.[28]

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[24] Graham to his brother James, April 14, 1851, Graham Papers, University.
[25] Millard Fillmore to Graham, April 29, 1851, Graham Papers, Raleigh.
[26] Graham to Swain, November 4, 1852, D. L. Swain Papers, State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Swain Papers.
[27] Swain to Davis, January 3, 1853, Davis Collection, New York Public Library.
[28] Susan Graham to Swain, March 21, 1853, Swain Papers. The 1853 date on this letter may be read as 1855, but the contents of the letter suggest 1853 as the probable date.

Mrs. Graham's reading doubtless influenced her plans for the gardens. The book which she owned by A. J. Downing contained much information on the design and culture of gardens. And since 1839 she had owned a copy of the popular treatise, *The Young Gardener's Assistant,* by Thomas Bridgeman, purchased in Raleigh for her by her husband.[29] It is believed that during these years the "Montrose" garden took form with the many unusual plantings which later made it well known.[30]

In the winter and spring of 1853 the Grahams turned to the postponed problem of the addition to their home. In studying Davis' proposal they found that it contained many problems. Tormented, Governor Graham discussed these problems in a letter to Davis—a remarkable letter, unfinished and unsent, preserved on a tattered sheet of paper at the University of North Carolina. "Within a few months past we have taken up the subject again," wrote Governor Graham, "and have submitted your drawings to Mr. Conrad . . . and Mr. Williams," two Raleigh builders. "Williams," he continued, "seems at a loss as to the mode of joining the roof of the new to that of the old house on your plan, and both seemed desirous to have working drawings." The Raleigh builders thought the Davis design would be costly to build, and Graham asked Davis about this.

He expressed another doubt about the Davis design. "We do not wish the tower as part of the improvement . . . and in consideration of the exceeding plainness of the buildings of our town, we have thought of abandoning this plan . . ." and of proceeding with a simpler idea. He explained the advantages of this simpler plan, which "would require no change in the roof . . . and the house could be inhabited in comfort during the progress of the work, and would be less expensive . . . by at least $1,000 than the plan now before me, and I therefore am inclined to prefer it." [31]

At this point the letter stops. Having "talked" to Davis, he decided himself what to do. He contracted with Conrad to supervise the construction, and by October 6, had already paid him $500 for services to that date.[32]

The design of the addition which Governor Graham made to "Montrose" was based on ideas which Graham expressed in the above-quoted draft letter to Davis:

[29] Mentioned in a letter from Graham to his wife, February 9, 1839, Graham Papers, Raleigh. This reference book with quaint Victorian title went through many editions between 1832 and the 1860's.

[30] Notes from Mrs. Graham.

[31] Graham to Davis, May 11, 1853, Graham Papers, University.

[32] Receipt from Conrad to Graham, October 6, 1853, Graham Papers, University.

Have a portico or verandah in front . . . extend the house west of the passage or hall. . . . The addition of a room at south, or rear of the present house, a nursery. . . . Would be less expensive even if the nursery room in the rear be raised two stories with a porch extending to the western side on the residue of the south side of the house. . . .[33]

That Governor Graham actually built according to the above intentions seems substantiated by a later passing reference which he made to the enlargements as "adding across the hall on the West side, with verandahs, etc." [34] The description is understood to mean that the Grahams added a bay beyond the hall on the west, verandahs on front and back, and the nursery on the back.

With the additions as enumerated by Graham, the house became a "typical North Carolina farmhouse," friendly, simple, comfortable.[35]

Work on the house seemed slow to Mrs. Graham, who was at home while her husband was frequently away on business. In July, 1853, as she sat watching the workmen doing advance work for the preparation of lumber for the house, she wrote to her husband, "Clark and Jim . . . they are very slow . . . there is but poor prospect of having the house completed before next summer." [36]

She was right. A year later, June 1, 1854, Conrad wrote to Graham from Raleigh, "I am fully aware of the difficulty in doing your plastering as being just what you say it is, and have told Mr. McKnight what to do. He will also have the leak in the roof stopped. I will be in Hillsboro soon and will call, though I am satisfied that all will be right without me." [37]

By July the work was "nearly completed," [38] and Graham remembered that he had never written to Davis about the plan which Davis had so carefully prepared for him. He wrote:

You were kind enough to visit Hillsboro' at my request, and afterwards to furnish a plan and drawings of a proposed addition to my dwelling house. Mrs. Graham and myself were pleased with it, but upon our return home again from Washington, thought we could make a more comfortable house by adding across the hall on the West side, with verandahs, etc. The work is nearly completed . . . and I am reminded that you have

[33] Graham to Davis, May 11, 1853, Graham Papers, University.
[34] Graham to Davis, July 3, 1854, Davis Collection, New York Public Library.
[35] This plan-idea is discussed in John V. Allcott, *Colonial Homes in North Carolina* (Raleigh: The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 60-64.
[36] Susan Graham to her husband, July 18, 1853, Graham Papers, Raleigh.
[37] Conrad to Graham, June 1, 1854, Graham Papers, University; Graham to his wife, January 21, 1854, Graham Papers, Raleigh.
[38] Graham to Davis, July 3, 1854, Davis Collection, New York Public Library.

received no compensation for your trouble in my behalf. I therefore beg that you will accept the enclosed draft for Fifty dollars. . . .[39]

Davis must have been a little sad in learning that his proposal had finally been discarded. He may have been disappointed as an architect; however, as a literary man, he was stimulated to write a high-spirited reply which is fully as remarkable as the letter which Governor Graham drafted but did not send to him. He took a sheet of the special note paper with a headpiece showing one of his larger English-style homes, and wrote:

Your check exceeds the amount of any claim I had against you, my having visited Hillsboro' at the suggestion of President Swain and Governor Morehead, . . . tho' I cannot applaud those most worthy friends of mine for having selected me.

After warming himself up along this line he continued with an ultra-Victorian essay on country villas:

The wisest and best of men have ever received the purest and most unmixed happiness in their rural homes. . . . "From simplest sources purest pleasure flows," sings the great poet of Rome, Lucretius, and therefore are you to be congratulated upon your return to your peaceful grove at Hillsboro', and I shall esteem myself complimented if I can assist you in the smallest matter to make it beautiful, so that Mrs. Graham may from her heart exclaim with Catullus on his return to his beloved Sirmio, "O best of all the scattered spots that lie in Sea or Lake. . . ." [40]

His words, "If I can assist you," referred to his desire to purchase such items as furniture and oil paintings for the Grahams as he had earlier done for Governor Morehead and President Swain.

When Davis' letter arrived the house was still not finished. The leaking roof had not been fixed. The following spring, on April 1, 1855, Governor Graham had to mention the roof in a promissory note to his contractors, Conrad and Williams, "One day after date I promise to pay Conrad and Williams $1,256.04 for work on the house, they are however to make the roof a good one one, as to prevent leakage." Four days later the note was paid; presumably the roof was fixed.[41]

All through the last year there had been various payments to the

[39] Graham to Davis, July 3, 1854, Davis Collection, New York Public Library.
[40] Davis to Graham, July 15, 1854, Graham Papers, University.
[41] Promissory note from Graham to Conrad and Williams, April 1, 1855, Graham Papers, University.

contractors, and payments continued into the fall.[42] By this time, fall 1855, one may guess that the addition was finished—five years after it was started.

The subsequent history of "Montrose" is a tragic one. In 1862 the home was destroyed by fire. At this time the War Between the States was in progress; Governor Graham was serving in the State Senate; he could not rebuild. Instead he bought the William Hooper house in Hillsboro, and the "Montrose" site lay idle. Governor Graham's office, located far enough away from the house to escape fire, was spared; it remains today. In 1874 Major John Washington Graham, son of Governor Graham, built a larger house on the original "Montrose" foundations, but in 1893 this house, too, was destroyed by fire. Major Graham then built the present house a few years later. His son, A. H. Graham, and his wife remodeled the house in 1948; Mrs. Graham developed and enhanced the garden greatly.[43]

[42] Various receipts from Conrad and from Conrad and Williams to Graham, 1854 and 1855, Graham Papers, University.
[43] Notes from Mrs. Graham.

BOOK REVIEWS

Higher Education in North Carolina Before 1860. By William Earle Drake. (New York: Carlton Press. 1964. Notes, bibliography. Pp. vi, 283, $5.00.)

In 1930 the Department of Education at the University of North Carolina accepted a doctoral dissertation by William Earle Drake entitled "Higher Education in North Carolina Before 1860." It was in large measure a history of the University with extended sections on the administration of the young institution. To a much lesser extent there was information on Davidson College, Wake Forest College, Trinity College, and several institutions which have not survived. "Denominationalism" figured in the establishment and operation of these colleges and this subject was explored in some detail. A chapter on "The Curriculum" was based almost entirely on records of the University in Chapel Hill with only an occasional reference to Davidson or Trinity. "Collegiate Interests" and "Manners and Morals" were discussed from a slightly wider range of sources and provided by far the most interesting reading in the dissertation. A chapter on higher education of women consisted of little more than a catalog of academies.

This 1930 dissertation has now been published with hardly a word changed. None of the typical dissertation paraphernalia has been removed. There are summaries at the appropriate places and references to earlier chapters where they should occur. The bibliography has not been brought up to date. No notice is taken of post-1930 changes in names of institutions. The prefatory acknowledgments would lead the unsuspecting reader to believe that many helpful librarians and historians, long since dead, are still active. A study such as this begs for an index but the author provided none.

Still this is better than nothing. Many scholars since 1930 have been indebted to Dr. Drake for his pioneering work, but many more will regret that he did not see fit to do a bit of revising to take advantage of source material which has become available since 1930 and of secondary works published in the meantime.

The book appears in an attractive enough format, but its pages are

marred by a number of typographical errors which any moderately good proofreader should have caught.

William S. Powell

The University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

North Carolina and the Negro. Edited by Capus M. Waynick, John C. Brooks, and Elsie W. Pitts. (Published by the North Carolina Mayors' Co-operating Committee, Raleigh. 1964. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xvii, 309. $3.00, cloth; $2.00, paper.)

The Negro revolution in America, conducted generally along lines of peaceful and legal protest, is the most exciting and most significant social development of today. It is, in the words of General Capus M. Waynick, Special Consultant to the Governor on Race Relations, "the greatest drama of the century." Employing nonviolent sit-ins, sing-ins, and pray-ins, Negroes have taken the leadership in the struggle against segregation and legally-enforced injustices. And in North Carolina, as this book makes abundantly clear, they have received encouragement and assistance from public officials both on the state and local levels of government. The result has been a quiet but profound change in the state's traditional pattern of life.

The purpose of this book is to report racial progress in 55 North Carolina municipalities, and to furnish guidelines from their experiences which may help other communities dealing with the problem of Negro discontent and the Negro petitions for first-class citizenship. The selected communities range from those in which the proportion of the Negro population is large, such as Enfield (50.8 per cent), to those in which the percentage is much less, such as Mt. Airy (4.9 per cent), and from those with no reported demonstrations or petitions (Newport and Roanoke Rapids) to those with extended records of Negro action (Chapel Hill and Williamston). For each of the 55 communities there is a factual report listing city officials, biracial committees, and the municipal response to Negro requests. There are, in addition, a review of the legal status of segregation in North Carolina, sample municipal declarations on racial equality, an extended bibliography of the subject, and well-chosen illustrations.

These reports from the Mayors' Co-operating Committee have contemporary value in describing the continuing effort, in Governor Terry Sanford's words, "based on good will and fair play so imple-

mented as to improve the status of the one-fourth of our people who are of the Negro race." More than that, the book will become a source for future historians of the Negro revolution. It deserves a wide audience among public officials, concerned citizens, and students of the state's affairs.

David L. Smiley

Wake Forest College

The Cape Hatteras Seashore. Photography by Bruce Roberts, text by David Stick. (Charlotte: McNally and Loftin. 1964. Pp. 64. $3.95, cloth; $1.95, paper.)

There is a magic atmosphere about the sea and its shore, and there seems to be a special sort of that magic attached to the Outer Banks. If there is a man on the Banks today who has caught in words some of that special feeling, he is David Stick.

There are not very many words in this little book, but they convey the love many people have for the Outer Banks. David Stick lets his own feelings for the area shine through his words, just as he did in his two previous full length books on the subject, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina* and *Graveyard of the Atlantic.*

Bruce Roberts has caught with his camera much of the feeling for the sea and the sand and the wrecks of the Hatteras area. The double-page endpieces of a sea in anger are both beautiful and terrifying. Roberts is a well known photographer of Charlotte whose work has appeared in *Life.* He has done other photographic essays on North Carolina, and also produced a beautiful mood work on old Harpers Ferry.

Herbert O'Keef

Raleigh

Virginia House of Burgesses, 1750-1774. By Lucille Griffith. (Northport, Alabama: Colonial Press. 1963. Appendixes, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. xii, 245. $10.00.)

Colonial institutional history has not been much in vogue in recent years. The appearance, however, of a number of new and important titles in this area within recent months indicates a continuing interest in the basic institutions of Colonial America. This is quite heartening,

for much solid and useful work can still be done in this area as the study under review clearly demonstrates.

The author has devoted approximately the first third of her volume to an account of the general political structure of Virginia at the mid-eighteenth century, the major political issues of the next quarter of a century, and the provisions and actual implementation of the colony's election laws. This latter topic is by far the most interesting part of this portion of the study. Here the author delves into such topics as election procedure, the extent of suffrage, and electioneering.

Professor Griffith's early chapters, however, serve simply as an introduction to the heart of her study which is an attempt to determine the type of men elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses in the quarter century before the outbreak of the American Revolution. The result is a series of thumbnail sketches which explore the lives and interests of those who served in the Burgesses from seven representative counties. Two of the seven counties studied are in the Tidewater; two are frontier counties; and three are in the general region of the Piedmont. In conscious imitation of the highly successful studies of the English Parliament by the British historians, Namier and Neale, the author presents interesting and at times fascinating accounts of the lives of the Virginia Burgesses. One not only learns of the Burgesses' economic and political interests but also many interesting tidbits of information that tend to make them quite human. For example, Burgess Samuel Duval's wife was, according to a contemporary bard, one

> Whose charms the coolest breast must fire
> As brightest objects must inspire
> Like Beauty's queen a thousand Loves
> Her steps attend wher'e'er she moves.

The conclusions which the author draws from this study of the lives of the Virginia Burgesses will not require a rewriting of the pre-revolutionary history of that colony or even of the House of Burgesses. Professor Griffith's account tends merely to confirm what has already been concluded from less substantial evidence as to the makeup of the Burgesses, but beyond question this work enriches and makes more real the story of America's oldest representative body in one of its most important eras.

The reviewer regrets the necessity of pointing out the very poor proofreading and printing job which was done on this volume. It

tends at times to distract the reader and certainly detracts from the volume.

Herbert R. Paschal, Jr.

East Carolina College

Southern Sketches from Virginia, 1881-1901. By Orra Langhorne, edited by Charles E. Wynes. (Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. ix, 145. $3.75.)

This well edited and readable little volume contains selections from the articles contributed by Orra Gray Langhorne to the *Southern Workman and Hampton School Record* during the period 1881-1901. Mrs. Langhorne (1841-1904) was a native of Rockingham County in the Shenandoah Valley, a region which she loved and never tired of visiting. Her education was exceptional for her day. Bred in a book-loving family, she graduated from Hollins Institute in Roanoke, Virginia; at the age of fifty-six she pioneered in adult education by enrolling as a special student at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg where she lived after her marriage in 1871. Like her father, Algernon Gray, who upheld the Union cause in the Virginia secession convention and freed many of his slaves during the Civil War, Orra Langhorne was an aristocrat of unorthodox leanings. Although the Grays emerged from the conflict in greatly reduced circumstances, Orra, far from displaying the bitterness so common among southerners, "never ceased to marvel, with a mixture of poignancy for the past, pride in the present, and hope for the future, at the social revolution which had taken place." She became a crusading Republican, a suffragette, and a stanch champion of civil rights for Negroes. Even in her marriage she displayed an independent and compassionate spirit, for her husband, Thomas Nelson Langhorne, was blind.

Orra Langhorne's travels which provided the inspiration for many of her perceptive columns published in the *Southern Workman* were largely confined to the Piedmont and Valley of Virginia and were usually made by train. On these excursions she noted with immense satisfaction the slow erosion of racial prejudice during the decades preceding the legalizing of Jim Crow in Virginia. Through her friendly conversations with Negroes she learned about their problems, their hopes and infrequent successes, their emigration to the North and the

mining areas of the West, and their continued exploitation by the whites, particularly in domestic service.

One could wish that Professor Wynes had not taken such generous advantage of the editorial prerogative of cutting. But perhaps it is better to have too little than too much of a good thing.

Elizabeth Cometti

West Virginia University

Rehearsal For Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment. By Willie Lee Rose. (Indianapolis, Indiana, and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1964. Illustrations, appendix, index. Pp. xviii, 442. $6.50.)

In 1861 a Federal naval force seized Port Royal, one of the famous and glamorous Sea Islands of South Carolina. Port Royal, located about halfway between Charleston and Savannah, offered the navy an admirable base from which its ships of the blockade squadron could patrol this section of the southern coast, and the reasons for the occupation had been wholly military. But the Sea Islands immediately presented the Federal government with another opportunity— and a problem that nobody had foreseen. The plantation owners on the islands, where long-staple cotton was the chief crop, fled at the approach of the navy and the soldiers who followed the ships. About 10,000 slaves remained, however, and they obviously intended to stay on the rich lands that had been their ancestral home.

The opportunity was a twofold one. If the Negroes could be persuaded to work the plantations, precious cotton needed in the northern markets could be produced and shipped out. And if the Negroes did this, the experiment would show that the blacks would work as free laborers. Moreover, in the process, northern missionaries could bring to the bondsmen, as degraded as any slave group in the South, the arts of civilization, could, in short, demonstrate the favorite thesis of the abolitionists: that the slaves deserved to be free. The problem was —who should administer the program and control the great experiment?

As any one at all familiar with Civil War administration might suspect, the operation of the occupation was placed in several hands, governmental and private, and the lines of authority were not always clearly defined. At first Secretary of the Treasury Chase, whose department had a natural interest in cotton and who himself was devoted to the concept of free labor, was the dominating power. Later the

administration was handed over to the War Department, but Chase retained a voice in the selection of the army officials and his agents were always on hand to supervise the cotton crop. Private interests were represented by a group of dedicated missionaries of both sexes, from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, who were known collectively as "Gideon's Band" and who had strong support in various agencies in Washington.

The work of all three factions form the substance of Mrs. Rose's book. Quite properly she devotes the major space to the labors of the missionaries, who were closest to the Negroes and who would in the last analysis determine how revolutionary the experiment would be. In the end, it would not turn out to be much of a departure. Port Royal was clearly an early experiment in a kind of collective society sponsored by the government. But nearly all of the people connected with it, including the missionaries, believed in the capitalist ideals of individual ownership of property and in the economics of the free market. The purpose was, in summary, to prepare the former slaves to live in the society of the nineteenth century. Not even this objective was completely realized. At war's end many of the former white owners reappeared and claimed their lands. Still a number of the blacks, a larger number than has been supposed, managed to hold on to their properties.

The real importance of the Port Royal experience is that it foreshadows the confusions and contradictions of the later Reconstruction era. "All the goals, motives, and ironies first seen at Port Royal would be written large in the history of the turbulent years between 1865 and 1877," Mrs. Rose writes. She describes the rehearsal with restraint and sympathy and with a fine eye for the shading in motive of both whites and blacks. Not much has been known about the Sea Islands occupation, and the book is a contribution to both Civil War and Reconstruction history. It is richly deserving of the recognition accorded it in the Allan Nevins History Prize.

T. Harry Williams

Louisiana State University

Joseph Vallence Bevan: Georgia's First Official Historian. By E. Merton Coulter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Wormsloe Foundation Publications Number Seven. Notes, index. Pp. xvii, 157. $5.00.)

This is the biography of an obscure man. Bevan lived but thirty-two years and played no very important role in history.

Bevan was an unusual man. He was the son of a prosperous Georgia planter and lumberman. He attended the Universities of Georgia and South Carolina, and Coulter provides the reader with interesting information about the two schools during the period Bevan attended. Bevan then went to England and Scotland for further study and there met the philosopher William Godwin. Much of the book concerns the correspondence of the prominent Godwin with the young American, and Bevan was the recepient of Godwin's well publicized *Letter of Advice to a Young American on the Course of Study it Might be Most Advantageous for him to Pursue.* Bevan's study was cut short by the death of his father, and the young student returned home. For reasons unclear to Dr. Coulter the young scholar received very little money. In order to earn a living Bevan edited the *Augusta Chronicle,* and Coulter fills a chapter with Bevan's editorial comments. After Bevan sold his paper he became a lawyer, but was more involved in history. A chapter deals with Bevan's involvement in selecting evidence to support the side of Governor Troup during the controversy over removal of the Creek Indians. This is followed by the most interesting chapter in the book, an account of Bevan's problems as he attempted to collect documents and write a massive history of the state. Bevan gave up. The rest of the space is filled with odd facts concerning Bevan's role as state legislator, as editor of the Savannah *Georgian,* and information concerning future developments in collecting and storing state documents.

Dr. Coulter's reputation as one of the nation's outstanding historians is well deserved, but this book adds nothing to it. One suspects that Dr. Coulter has found all the facts that will be uncovered about Bevan, but they are not enough for even a short book. Often one feels that the author is merely including bits of information because he had the notes; one regrets that he could not have written a short article on Bevan and turned his great talent toward a more important subject.

William S. Hoffmann

Delta College

T. Butler King of Georgia. By Edward M. Steel, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Notes, bibliographical note, index. Pp. viii, 204. $5.00.)

If a great wealth of national prominence were prerequisites for being the subject of a biography, Thomas Butler King would never have

had his written. He was frequently on the verge of spectacular financial or political success but never reached the heights for which he seemed destined. Yet, well-told stories of the lives of supporting actors such as he can illumine the times in which they lived, and this one does.

King, a native of Massachusetts, married Anna Page, heiress to a substantial cotton plantation on Saint Simons Island, Georgia. Within a few years after his arrival in Georgia, enough additional lands had been purchased to raise his total holdings to 20,000 acres and the number of his slaves to 355.

Unwilling to limit his career to planting, King ventured into politics and the promotion of a variety of economic schemes. In the 1830's, when his political affiliation was with the state rights party, he represented Glynn County in the Georgia Senate, sought unsuccessfully to develop Brunswick as the leading port of Georgia, and lost heavily on a proposed Brunswick and Florida railroad. The close of the decade, however, found him "the flower of the Georgia delegation" in the national House of Representatives.

Having campaigned hard for the Whig candidates, King fully expected to become Secretary of the Navy in Zachary Taylor's cabinet. Passed over for this appointment, he was instead sent as the President's special agent to California to advise leaders there as they moved toward the formation of a state government. He later opened law offices in San Francisco, invested extensively but fruitlessly in gold mining, and served President Millard Fillmore as Collector of the Port of San Francisco. This position made King "the most powerful federal official on the Pacific Coast."

Still interested in railroads, King worked during the fifties in Texas and Washington as lobbyist for several companies seeking to build a transcontinental road over a southern route. Despite the national character of his earlier interests, he did not hesitate to go with his state down the road of secession. The opening of hostilities found him in France serving as the diplomatic representative of Georgia to the nations of Europe.

Along with the full account of the varied career of T. Butler King, Professor Steel has included a shorter description of the activities of the other members of his family, which he usually left behind during his travels. Mrs. King, nurse to the slaves and hostess to a steady stream of guests, emerges as the heroine. Some readers will find this intimate picture of the home life of two generations of a planter family the most interesting aspect of the book. The volume is based

almost entirely on manuscript materials, including especially the family papers, and is written in a clear, readable style. This reviewer's only complaint is that the 24 pages of footnotes are at the end of the book where they will either slow the reader or be ignored.

Henry S. Stroupe

Wake Forest College

These Men She Gave. By John F. Stegeman. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Notes, index. Pp. viii, 179. $4.75.)

In 1860 Athens, Georgia, was a quiet, prosperous town of 5,000, half white and half black. Among its proud possessions were Franklin College, later the University of Georgia, and the noted Cobb brothers, Howell, then a member of President James Buchanan's cabinet in Washington, and Thomas R. R. Following Abraham Lincoln's election in November, 1860, this town, like countless others in the South, enthusiastically cast its vote for secession. Like others, it suppressed with charges of treason those who preferred to take their chances in the Union. Like many other southern communities, Athens eventually paid an exorbitant price for its involvement in the American Civil War.

This book is a dramatic account of the war's impact on Athens. And the author, through this study of the experience of one community describes in large measure the momentary triumph and ultimate failure of the entire Confederacy. Athens suffered all the problems entailed in fighting an unsuccessful war—shortages in physical equipment and human skills, taxes and inflation, declining discipline and decaying houses, illness and death, and profound material if not human degeneracy. The relocation of Cook and Brother Gun Factory in Athens late in 1862 gave the town's economy a momentary lift but not enough to save it. Early in January, 1864, the Athens *Southern Watchman* recorded what three years of war had wrought: "Nothing disturbs the solemn stillness except now and then a rickety ox-cart whose unlubricated axles make melancholy music. Our great thoroughfare which once was crowded with country wagons laden with the rich products of a generous soil, is now bare and desolate—its stores closed—the noise of trade hushed—nothing to break the stillness. . . ."

As the volume's title suggests, the author emphasizes less the civilian life in wartime Athens than the experience of her soldiers at the front.

Yet only those who might prefer a social or economic history of a Confederate town to a partial description of Lee's campaigns will be disappointed, for the book has been written with care, style, and clarity. Tom Cobb's Legion, which comprised the Athens and Clarke County men, fought as a unit from the Peninsular campaign of 1862 until Tom Cobb's death at Fredericksburg. Thereafter it was broken up, never to be reunited. Eventually, the Athens units lost all their officers and over 100 men from the ranks. Athens itself escaped destruction. Federal cavalry units approached the town in August, 1864, but were driven off. The danger had passed. Yet for the people of Athens the price of defeat came high, and the author, through his effort to balance the disasters on the battlefield with those at home, makes clear the burdens which the Civil War imposed on the people on the South.

Norman A. Graebner

University of Illinois

Johnny Cobb: Confederate Aristocrat. By Horace Montgomery. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, University of Georgia Monographs No. 11. 1964. Illustrations, footnotes, bibliographical notes, index. Pp. vii, 104. $3.00.)

Professor Montgomery of the History Department of the University of Georgia has written a careful account of life among the aristocracy in Confederate Georgia. Johnny Cobb was a son of Howell Cobb, ardent secessionist, and Confederate major-general who had been Secretary of the Treasury in the administration of James Buchanan. When war came the younger Cobb enlisted as a private in Company B, Second Battalion, Georgia Infantry. He later transferred to the Sixteenth Georgia Infantry, after its organization with Howell Cobb as colonel. Johnny served on his father's staff and saw active service in Virginia, although he did not participate in any battles. Instead, his father arranged for him to be sent home as manager of the extensive Cobb plantations in Georgia. Johnny promptly made his headquarters at the "Bear's Den," a large Cobb plantation near Macon.

Johnny Cobb married Lucy Pope Barrow in July, 1863. Their story is sometimes tragic, sometimes gay, always refreshing. Life was often difficult, even for such wealthy planters as the Cobbs. The Confederate government was always attempting to impress their overseers into

the army. The Cobbs and the Barrows had a plentiful food supply and sold their surplus pork to the Confederate government. Confederate taxes were necessarily high and caused much complaint and discomfort.

The thread of approaching disaster is woven throughout the book. The inability of General Joseph E. Johnston's Army of Tennessee to stop Sherman's Armies of the Ohio, the Tennessee, and the Cumberland would eventually open the road into Georgia. The presence of Sherman's troops, their capture of Atlanta, and the March to the Sea would forever destroy the cherished way of life of people like the Cobbs and the Barrows.

This book is a family history of the Cobbs and the Barrows, two important Georgia families, during the Civil War. Professor Montgomery fails to mention the fact that the experiences of Johnny and Lucy Cobb were typical of the experiences of thousands of other young southern aristocrats caught in the cataclysm of the Civil War. Another weakness of the book is the omission of a descriptive chapter giving the background of the Cobb and Barrow families and their proper position in the social system of ante-bellum Georgia. The book is delightful rather than authoritative, but it provides interesting and profitable reading nonetheless.

Richard W. Iobst

State Department of Archives and History

The Mind of the Old South. By Clement Eaton. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Illustrations. Pp. xiii, 271. $6.00.)

For twenty-five years Clement Eaton has been a (perhaps the) recognized authority on southern ante-bellum intellectual and social history. Time and again he has dared to hypothesize in subjective areas where most historians apparently have feared to tread. For this historians will ever be in his debt. In the present volume Professor Eaton has "tried to trace the development of the Southern mind through representative individuals." Actually, he has given 12 stimulating essays on 15 men, on two subjects even he is not at ease with ("The Southern Yeomen: The Humorists' View" and "The Religious Experience: The Evangelical, Calvinistic, and Genteel Traditions"), and on his conclusion, "The Dynamics of the Southern Mind." Although the volume is eminently readable, Clement Eaton's plan and some of his generalizations are confusing and perhaps contradictory.

There is no doubt that southern mores changed appreciably between Jefferson and Jefferson Davis; nor that southerners of the 1850's may be characterized as having an exaggerated sense of honor, as believers in a profound religious orthodoxy, as possessing intense local patriotism, as being extremely conservative and intolerant toward heterodox ideas, and even as possessing a "powerful and mysterious race feeling." Few would deny that the ministry produced no social critic, that after 1830 slavery helped close the southern mind to new and liberal notions, or that the South "blundered into the great tragedy of the Civil War."

But to argue that John Hartwell Cocke is representative of "the liberal mind," or Maunsel White of "the commercial mind," or William Gilmore Simms of "the romantic mind," or Joseph Le Conte of "the scientific mind," or even that such minds exist is something else again. In any case, Mr. Eaton finds it difficult to classify the exact kind of mind exhibited by James Henley Thornwell and Leonidas Polk (conservative? religious? evangelical?) or by Augustus Baldwin Longstreet or Hugh Swinton Legaré, though he warily implies a "status-quo mind" for James H. Hammond, and is willing to concede that the Negrophobic Hinton Rowan Helper and the radical Cassius Marcellus Clay might be described as eccentric. The author could not find adequate source material to depict any sort of "Negro mind," which makes one suspect that his sketches stem primarily from the accessibility of first hand data. It is obvious that the Kentucky professor has searched for his facts from the Athenaeum to the Huntington Library, for on every other page he tells where this or that letter or diary rests today.

Although the reviewer was fascinated by each and every essay, he found it hard to understand why South Carolina planters moved to Mississippi if there were no strong economic reason for them to be dissatisfied with slavery. Or why, if southerners were so emotional about the nullification crisis, no other state supported South Carolina. Or why Mr. Eaton would declare that within two generations of William Tappan Thompson's prophecy (in 1845) that education would make the southern masses a great people, this had come to pass. How can anyone generalize about the South from the life of Legaré, and if Legaré was typical of anything why was he so discontented and alone when he returned to his humdrum America?

Still, this is a fine series of essays which are thoroughly recommended for style and content, especially to those hardy souls who dare venture into the realm of conjecture. What Professor Eaton, who

has spent a long life reading manuscripts in this field, has to say is always worth listening to. If he states that he has found little evidence of a guilt complex among southern people after 1835, one does not question him. It may be difficult, though, to understand the need for quoting Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes on Franklin Roosevelt to explain Hammond, and to blame romanticism for the demand of southerners that they be permitted to take slaves into territory uneconomical for slavery. It could be that these people were just stupid. If romanticism was responsible for southern heroism in the Mexican War, readers would like to know the cause of heroism in the Revolution. Maybe there wasn't any. One thing is clear: It has taken more than Clement Eaton's romanticism to produce his absorbing interpretation of the South.

James W. Silver

University of Mississippi

An Historian and the Civil War. By Avery Craven. (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. 233. $5.95.)

In these essays an eminent historian retraces some of his steps in the search for reasons why the nation drifted apart after 1830 and how at last it slipped into war. Written over a period of thirty-five years and for different audiences, these essays inevitably contain redundancies and an occasional unsupported generalization, but these do not detract from either the basic themes or the trim style of *An Historian and the Civil War.*

Commencing with a look at the agricultural reformers of the antebellum South, the author views the improvements advocated by John Taylor of Caroline and Edmund Ruffin as more than an effort to restore the fertility of the soil. They also, he argues, had in mind the restoration of the South as a section by providing it with the constitutional and agricultural weapons needed in the coming struggle with the industrial North. From here several roads led to Fort Sumter. One was the expansion of local and class issues into sectional ones, which eventually became intensified by the growing interdependence of society caused by industrialization and the revolution in communications. Another was the mounting fury of the abolitionist attack, which began as a part of the "larger humanitarian impulse" in the 1830's and by distortion and indoctrination converted the

"slaveocracy" into a hated and dreaded symbol, in the process triggering every defense—Biblical, historical and constitutional—that the South, growing increasingly conscious and bitter, could employ.

Thus the underlying cause of the Civil War, according to Professor Craven, was emotional. After 1840, when few issues were allowed to stand on their merits, the politicians on both sides "gave an air of reality to the abstractions of those who had evolved the slavery question into a struggle of civilizations." As emotions began to rule, the democratic process broke down, the two sections became engaged in what today would be called a "Cold War," until finally, when the national political parties that for years had worked for sectional agreement and national compromise had yielded to sectional parties, the conflict became "irrepressible."

This is a worthwhile book. In contrast to so many of the water-soaked items that have floated by in the recent flood of Civil War literature, this volume describes a national tragedy rather than "a romantic museum piece." Professor Craven's thoughtful assessment of the appalling cost of the conflict, not only in life and property but also in human values, political conduct, and economic order, gives added emphasis to his thesis that the American Iliad was something to regret rather than glorify.

And in attempting to learn from the "blindness, the blundering, and the helplessness of men" trapped on the verge of conflict, the author presents history as a meaningful dialogue between past and present. As such it is loaded with lessons for today. The struggle between "right" and "rights" is still going on, however one interprets it. The conflict between those who would appeal to the constitution to protect certain rights and interests and those who invoke the "higher law" stressing the abstract rights as stated in the Declaration of Independence has yet to be resolved. And finally, in today's "Cold War" no less than the issues that at present face the nation, is there not a similar danger that concrete issues might be reduced to abstract principles to the point where compromise is difficult, if not impossible. As Professor Craven emphasizes time and again, concrete interests can be adjusted, but when abstract values are in conflict, when everything is seen as being right or wrong, then the solution to men's problems becomes infinitely more difficult.

Jay Luvaas

Allegheny College

Refugee Life in the Confederacy. By Mary Elizabeth Massey. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 327. $8.00.)

Mary Elizabeth Massey, Chairman of the Department of History at Winthrop College, established her reputation as a student of Confederate social history several years ago with the publication of her *Ersatz in the Confederacy*. She has now put students of southern history still further in her debt by her new book, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy*.

Derived from painstaking and wide-ranging research—one has the feeling that she has seen everything that the historical record affords on the subject—this study sets down the poignant story of the harassed victims who were displaced and dislocated by invasion (both real and threatened), and the shocks and attritions of war. One wonders that so moving and so significant a story should so long have lacked a historian. It is gratifying, moreover, to have a book that still has something fresh and important to say about the Civil War theme—most of whose topics, sub-topics, and sub-sub-topics are approaching (if they have not passed) the point of exhaustion.

The North, of course, largely escaped the disasters that Dr. Massey describes, and it is clear that these misfortunes had a very real bearing upon the collapse of civilian and soldier morale which, in the end, doomed the Confederate cause. The author concludes that the South's civilians were psychologically unprepared for a "war on their doorsteps," and, before they could realize the precariousness of their situation, found themselves incredibly and directly and personally involved in war. Her study persuades her, too, that southern leadership showed a surprising lack of interest in the problem (unless it in some way touched the military situation), so that the hapless civilians were, for the most part, left to fend for themselves.

It is an altogether fascinating, if depressing, narrative, and one marvels again at the fortitude of a people who could for so long carry such fearful burdens with so little realistic prospect of success.

The book is well written, handsomely printed and bound. Extensive notes, gathered in the back of the book, assure the reader of the authority of the text, and a bibliography and index add to the scholarly value of the work.

Richard Bardolph

The University of North Carolina
at Greensboro

Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century. By Kenneth K. Bailey. (New York, Evanston, Illinois, and London: Harper and Row. 1964. Preface, notes, bibliographical essay, index. Pp. x, 180. $3.75.)

Recent southern historiography has turned toward the interpretation of the region through social myths or mental pictures of what southerners think they are or what others consider them to be. The plantation myth and the Civil War myth are probably among the best known, but the Bible Belt stereotype and the idea of the benighted South as popularized by H. L. Mencken are also widely accepted. In *Southern White Protestantism*, Kenneth K. Bailey contributes somewhat to the benighted Bible Belt myth, but as a southerner, he writes with more understanding than criticism. He presents evidence in support of the sectional nature of religion as a determining factor in southern history.

The author's purpose is to survey the responses of the white Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians in the South to the challenges of the twentieth century and to portray these denominations in interaction with their culture. Bailey gives an excellent background of nineteenth-century factors which influenced reactions to major twentieth-century problems.

The social gospel movement was significant before World War I, but with post-war disillusionment it declined, giving place to the fundamentalist-modernist controversy and the crusade against Darwinism. The presidential election of 1928 helped to heal the fundamentalist-modernist schism by offering an opportunity for these churchmen to unite in promoting prohibition and Protestantism. Creating common problems, the depression lessened sectionalism and brought denominations closer to national unity.

Since 1940 interest in social reform has increased. The three denominational governing bodies have advocated integration, but many local congregations have been slow to comply. Despite the racial issue, sectionalism declines with the waning of poverty and agrarianism. Still, among the southern denominations there is a continuing influence of the past.

In interpreting these issues Bailey stresses the emotionalism of southern religion; the ecclesiastical isolationism; and the fact that due to regional poverty, a large percentage of religious leaders were semieducated. For a more balanced account, the author should have included examples of liberal thought and practice. In failing to give credit to educated southern churchmen who fought for social re-

form, freedom of teaching in the 1920's, and interracial co-operation before 1940, the author contributes to the myth of the benighted South. Nevertheless, the outspoken liberals were definitely in the minority, and perhaps the author felt that he should emphasize the general reactions of the major denominations.

This book will prove most valuable to historians, clergymen, and others interested in interpreting current problems and reactions of the South. Bailey has written with clarity and insight. The scholarly and well documented book is readable and relevant to present attitudes.

Suzanne Cameron Linder

James A. Gray High School
Winston-Salem

The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith. By Philip L. Barbour. (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin. 1964. Illustrations, commentaries, bibliography, maps, index. Pp. xix, 553. $7.50.)

This volume should be a book to end all books about Captain John Smith: It has nearly 400 pages of text, about 90 pages of commentaries and notes, more than 30 pages of bibliography, a copious index, 15 illustrations of contemporary characters and events, and six maps (not contemporary) of areas discussed. The book is arranged, as suggested in the title, into sections on Smith's early adventures in southeastern Europe, his life in the infant colony of Virginia, and his promotional efforts in England in the last years of his life (largely in the form of writing) to stimulate colonizing interest and activity.

It can almost be said that Barbour attempts a biography of Smith in the grand style of Freeman's *Lee*. The great difficulty in accomplishing a work of this proportion would seem to be the paucity of factual material. The author, however, refuses to be intimidated by this formidable obstacle. He uses the available material, not once but several times, and when authentic material is not available, he postulates, surmises, and imagines with endless prolixity. Barbour, himself, explains his approach in his preface:

In presenting this study of Captain John Smith I have worked on what I believe may be called a scientific basis. To round out the story, I have added hypothetical explanation, without which it would be empty sequences of fact. The *persons* of the action would be but historical puppets. But by

filling in with surmise and hypothesis where necessary, I trust I have explained the facts.

Two fragmented quotations taken almost at random from widely separated portions of the book illustrate the methodology on which much of the work is based. On pages 14 and 15, Barbour writes: "The *possibility* that Smith borrowed his reading material from Lord Willoughby hints at the great *probability*. . . ." On page 354 one finds, "In fact it *may be surmised* without *too much implausibility*. . . ." (The italics are the reviewer's.) The volume is studded with qualifications of this kind which reveal the author's knowledge of the time and area in which Smith lived, and his active imagination, if not the historicity of the result. The notes and commentaries frequently give the author's justification of his surmises.

Though Barbour strives to write with objectivity, Smith is his hero whose virtues, real and imaginary, are extolled, whose faults are glossed over or explained away, and whose opponents are frequently inspired by base motives.

In all fairness, however, it ought to be said that this book is a labor of love for which the author collected material from many sources and over a period of five years. The effort, devotion, dedication, and thought that have gone into its making should not be discounted or minimized. It may be that a less dyspeptic reviewer, more learned in the lore and history of Elizabethan and Stuart England and perhaps less steeped in Von Ranke's sterile *wie es eigenlich gewesen* would have better appreciation for and more understanding of *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith.* The book is a monument to the energy, research, and ingenuity of its author. Readers will probably vary in their responses.

Cecil Johnson

The University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

The Glorious Revolution in America: Documents on the Colonial Crisis of 1689. Edited by Michael G. Hall, Lawrence H. Leder, and Michael G. Kammen. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. 1964. Pp. xv, 216. $2.50.)

This is a useful little book. It is a collection of original documents related to the rebellions of 1689-1690 in Massachusetts, New York,

and Maryland. It does for these three colonies what Charles M. Andrews' *Narratives of the Insurrection's* (New York, 1915) did for these, plus Virginia and North Carolina, but it includes a considerable number of documents not included in the Andrews volume. For each of the three Parts devoted to the three rebellions, the book follows the same general pattern: (a) documents illustrative of the "Seeds of Discontent," (b) documents illustrative of the "Pattern of Revolution," and (c) documents illustrative of "The Consequences of Rebellion." Within each section, however, the sub-topics covered vary according to the local historical realities of the rebellion concerned. There is a general prologue, entitled "The Colonial Crisis of 1689" and an epilogue called "The Revolutionary Settlement in America," and each of the three sections of each of the three parts has its own introduction. There is a brief selected list of "suggested Readings."

The documents presented constitute a fine selection. The introductions to the sections are brief and rather general, almost too sketchy to be very useful. There are no footnotes, and no editorial explanations of specific incidents and ideas in the documents. The book would also be much more valuable and useful if each document had its own headnote.

Some of the titles to the documents are misleading, even inaccurate. For example, document 4, A (p. 20) is entitled "The Magistrates Draft a Bill Recognizing the Authority of Parliament, February 24, 1682." But this title is not accurate: The Massachusetts Magistrates had no intention of recognizing the authority of Parliament in Massachusetts. They re-enacted for Massachusetts the Navigation laws of Parliament. In any case, the bill did not become law because the House of Deputies refused to vote for it.

On the other hand, document 4, B (pp. 21-22), to which the magistrates refused their assent, is entitled "The House of Deputies Denies Parliaments' authority, February 23, 1682." Here, too, the bill refers not at all to Parliaments' authority. It simply re-enacts, in its own words, for Massachusetts, the provisions of the major Navigation Acts then on the English lawbooks.

The fact is that both the Magistrates' bill and the House bill re-enacted English Navigation Acts for Massachusetts. Both houses deliberately avoided any reference to, or admission of "The Authority of Parliament" in Massachusetts. Both houses, recognizing that the colony was under fire because of its evasion of the Navigation Acts, were attempting to make an arrangement that would appease

Edward Randolph and the Crown, while evading any recognition of the "Authority of Parliament" within the colony. The two houses differed only in the method used.

It is the opinion of this reviewer that the editors, in their "Epilogue," exaggerate the importance of the "American Revolutions of 1689" (*sic*) in the history of both the colonies and the British Empire. That the political disturbances in these three colonies—and in others—during these years hastened, or illustrated, a tendency in the colonies toward a more generally uniform system of representative institutions is probably true. But it may be doubted whether they had any significant effect upon English colonial policy; nor is there any convincing evidence to show that had these three colonies "not rebelled when they did, there is every reason to believe that the aggressive centralizing forces of the executive bureaucracy in London would have dominated the constitution of the empire in America" (p. 213). Surely such a guess attributes too much intelligence, consistency, power, and purity of politics to the English bureaucracy and too little to the Americans.

Nor can it be shown that these rebellions really shaped "a set of imperial relationships" or defined "the rights, liberties, and privileges of American subjects," or "made possible the formation of the first British Empire" (p. 214). Such statements all too casually ignore the historical facts and forces at work both in England and in the colonies. These rebellions had their importance in the evolution of the colonies and of the British Empire; but they were not *that* important.

Max Savelle

University of Washington

Conestoga Wagon, 1750-1850: Freight Carrier for 100 Years of America's Westward Expansion. By George Shumway, Edward Durrell, and Howard C. Frey. (York, Pennsylvania: George Shumway and the Early American Industries Association, Inc. 1964. Illustrations, tables, maps, index. Pp. xi, 206. $12.50.)

While the novelist and the cinema have glorified the latter-day "prairie schooner," the granddaddy of the covered wagon, the Conestoga, has been neglected. This volume seeks to enshrine it in its proper historical niche.

This first book-length publication of the Early American Indus-

tries Association illustrates not only the arts and crafts of the carpenter, wheelwright, and the blacksmith of the Colonial Period, but also the tremendous role which Conestogas played in the development of America from the French and Indian War until railroads rendered them obsolete.

German and English settlers in the Conestoga River Valley of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, developed a special wagon and a horse to meet the needs of hauling freight from Philadelphia over the Allegheny Mountains to the Ohio River. The Conestoga wagon was artistically designed and sturdily built of white oak, with red running gear, a light blue box, and ironwork individually unique. Drawn by six Conestoga horses, these wagons could haul up to 8,500 pounds.

The earliest known reference to a "Conestogoe Waggon" is 1717; Benjamin Franklin obtained 150 Conestogas for Braddock's Expedition in 1755. The wagon is also identified with Forbes' Road across Pennsylvania, the Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia to the Yadkin River in North Carolina, and reached its peak use on the National Road in the Westward Movement between 1815 and 1850.

An intriguing folklore developed around Conestoga wagon travel and among the surviving popular expressions is "I'll be there with bells on!" The book is more than a romantic tale, however, and contains over 100 excellent illustrations of surviving Conestoga wagons and accessories. The book is, indeed, what the Conestoga wagon was, a work of art serving a useful purpose, written in loving detail by those who know its nomenclature and appreciate its significance in the development of America. It will interest the general reader and will be indispensable to museums.

Percival Perry

Wake Forest College

The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume III. Presidential Candidate, 1821-1824. Edited by James F. Hopkins. Mary W. M. Hargreaves, Associate Editor. (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press. 1963. Index. Pp. viii, 933. $15.00.)

This is the third of a projected ten-volume publication of the complete papers of Henry Clay. The book covers Clay's career from January 1, 1821, as he was about to take a decisive hand in settling the Missouri question, to December 31, 1824, as he pondered his

next political move after his presidential ambitions had been shattered by the election of 1824. This volume is, of course, primarily a tool for researchers, but the casual history enthusiast interested in getting the sense of a period by reading primary sources will find himself well rewarded. Here one can participate in American culture of the 1820's through the personality of Henry Clay—the impecunious western gentleman attempting to avoid financial chaos by engaging in land speculation and by taking any law case he could find, whether for local interests, for the Jefferson family, or for the Bank of the United States; the "local boy" involved with Kentucky politics, church affairs, and education; the hard-boiled sectionalist politician pushing through his "American System"; the aggressive Democrat supporting revolution in Latin America, Spain, and Greece; the compromising nationalist forging the Missouri Compromise and backing the American Colonization Society.

The dominant theme of the years 1821-1824, however, as the title suggests, is Clay's first attempt to gain the presidency, an attempt which reflects the eternal and the ephemeral in American politics. Such items as Clay's beginning his campaign three years before election day, or the statement "I do not feel myself required to discountenance or repress the exertions which they [his friends] are disposed to make on my behalf," or the imputation of his defeat to a hostile press, government patronage, and "fabrications" all ring a familiar note today. On the other hand, Clay's maneuverings display techniques and attitudes of an era of genteel politics which was already on the wane. For example, there was his practice of eschewing public statements and letting his friends and friendly newspapers spread his views; or, there was his old-fashioned philosophy of government contributing to his decision to support Adams over Jackson in the crucial vote in the House of Representatives: "What . . . should be the distinguishing characteristic of an American Statesman? Should it not be a devotion to civil liberty? Is it then compatible, to elect a man, whose sole recommendation rests on military pretensions?"

As a research tool, this volume continues the major virtues and minor vices of the University of Kentucky enterprise. It is commendably exhaustive, containing all the incidentals of Clay's life as well as the "state papers." (Sometimes these items do as well as any notable letter to mirror a bygone day: *e.g.*, a tuition bill from Transylvania University for $13.33.) The book is set in large, clear type, with well-annotated footnotes which are extensively cross-referenced.

One must necessarily make do with an index of proper names until the final comprehensive index volume appears. While the book is certainly complete enough for any researcher, its usefulness is impaired by the lack of a biographical chronology and a table of contents listing the documents chronologically—techniques found in the Jefferson papers. This publication presents another sound collection of documents, and thus another step toward improving the quality of American historical scholarship.

Richard D. Goff

Michigan State University

Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. Harry S. Truman. Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, January 1 to December 31, 1948. (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, for the National Archives. 1964. Appendixes, index. Pp. ix, 1,079. $9.75.)

This large, handsome volume containing the significant executive documents and public pronouncements of President Harry S. Truman for 1948 is the fourth in a government-sponsored series of presidential papers to deal with the Truman administration. The editor, Warren R. Reid, has demonstrated in this work the same care and skill that marked the earlier volumes. Researchers will find their tasks much simpler as a result of his judicious solutions to problems of arrangement, indexing, and explanatory notes.

The 288 items in the text include a wide variety of materials which, considered collectively, reveal much about the problems and policies of the Truman administration in a crucial year. Although foreign affairs and especially the East-West rivalry occupy an important place, the documents in this volume are focused upon domestic issues such as social security, labor legislation, housing, civil rights, education, rent and price controls, farm questions, medical care, and internal security. In short, these records not only depict the emergence of the Fair Deal as a comprehensive program for social and economic advancement, but also provide glimpses into the tug of war which it provoked between a Democratic president and a Republican congress.

Of particular interest are the numerous items dealing with the presidential campaign of 1948. The verbatim transcripts of the President's news conferences and whistle-stop speeches offer an extra-

ordinary view of Truman the politician. In a hard-hitting campaign that carried him from Skyomish, Washington, to Fall River, Massachusetts, the President assailed the Republican Eightieth Congress as a "do-nothing" body dominated by economic royalists whose philosophy of individualism promised far more raggedness than ruggedness. Skilled in the art of stump-speaking, Truman emphasized civil rights in Harlem, the possible return of "Hoover carts" in North Carolina, flood control in Oklahoma, and labor's welfare in Michigan. His "rear platform remarks" which constitute a sizable portion of this volume capture to a remarkable degree the image of an astute, tough-minded politician who played the odds against a "poll-happy" opposition and won.

Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.

The University of Georgia

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Dr. Charles Crossfield Ware continues a series of monographs with his recent publication, *Coastal Plain Christians.* The five booklets published to date cover the historical development of the Union Meeting Districts and their component churches, which are affiliated with the North Carolina Christian Churches. *Coastal Plain Christians* includes sketches of 14 Disciples of Christ churches located in the east central part of North Carolina. Churches in Durham, Edgecombe, Halifax, Nash, Wake, and Wilson counties are discussed. Persons interested in church history will find this 78-page publication of value. Copies are available for $1.00 each from Dr. Ware at Box 1164, Wilson.

Another recent church history is *A History of the First Presbyterian Church of Mocksville, North Carolina,* by James W. Wall. The church whose history is traced in the book is nearly two hundred years old, and its story is given in a comprehensive study which necessarily includes information about individuals as well as the church itself. Mr. Wall has relied on primary materials collected by a former pastor of the church, on legal records, on interviews with people who recalled the late 1800's and early 1900's, and on materials relating to the history of Mocksville and Davie County but which had a bearing on the history of the First Presbyterian Church. The fact that the publication is carefully documented should be

noted; too often, church histories are not prepared with the care obviously devoted to this study. Statistical data, cemetery records, names of members, and other such matters are given in appendixes. The book is indexed and illustrated. Copies, clothbound, 136 pages, are available for $5.00 each from Mr. Wall, 445 Church Street, Mocksville, or from the First Presbyterian Church, Mocksville.

A History of Old Fourth Creek Congregation, 1764-1964 . . . was published on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the church now known as the First Presbyterian Church of Statesville. Sections giving the history of the women of the church, the youth in the church, the history of the First Presbyterian Church of Statesville, and the Fourth Creek Burying Ground give an indication of the contents of this paper-bound publication. The brochure was planned and edited under the direction of the historical subcommittee of the church. Excellent illustrations add immeasurably to the value of the 29 pages. The price is 50 cents per copy plus 25 cents handling charge. Orders may be sent to the First Presbyterian Church, P. O. Box 467, Statesville, N. C., 28677.

The *Virginia Baptist Register,* Number Three, may be ordered from The Virginia Baptist Historical Society, University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia, 23173. The price is $1.50; the cost to members of the Society is $1.00. Numbers One, 1962, and Two, 1963, are still available at the same price as Number Three.

Volume I, Number 1, of *America: History and Life,* was issued in July, 1964. The editor of this guide to periodical literature, which contains abstracts from articles in leading journals, is Eric H. Boehm. Included are surveys of 500 United States and Canadian periodicals and 1,000 foreign publications. For information about subscription rates to the periodical (issued three times a year) write to American Bibliographical Center, Att.: ASP, 800 East Micheltorena Street, Santa Barbara, California, 93103.

The Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, has recently published *Governor Samuel Bigger: Messages and Papers, 1840-1843,* edited by Gayle Thornbrough. This volume is the seventh in the series of papers and messages of the governors of Indiana. The 669-page book is footnoted and indexed and contains as a frontispiece a picture of Governor Bigger. Copies at $7.50 each may be obtained

from the Director, Hubert H. Hawkins, Indiana Historical Bureau, 140 N. Senate Avenue, Indianapolis 4, Indiana.

English Wills: Probate Records in England and Wales With a Brief Note on Scottish and Irish Wills, by Peter Walne, County Archivist of Hertford, is a special report of the Virginia Colonial Records Project. Persons interested in the probate of English wills will find information concerning the possible locations of American wills which might have been recorded in England as late as 1858. The report was published by the Virginia State Library in Richmond. Copies are available from the publisher at $2.00 a copy; a 25 per cent discount is offered to libraries and dealers.

A 23-page booklet, *Brief Chronological History of Johnson City, Tennessee, and Three Suggested Historical Tours of the Johnson City Area,* is by Mary Hardin McCown and was published with the co-operation of the Johnson City Chamber of Commerce. Johnson City's history goes back to the days just after the American Revolution. The historical sketch concludes with one footnote indicating that the data were obtained from "available records of Johnson City and Washington County, Tennessee." There is no further breakdown. The three tours are outlined in some detail, with descriptions of each point of interest and with accompanying maps. Persons interested in this publication should write to Mrs. L. W. McCown, 512 E. Unaka Avenue, Johnson City, Tennessee. The cost is 50 cents.

Mary Hardin McCown transcribed certain Tennessee records which she, Nancy E. Jones Stickley, and Inez E. Burns then compiled. Published under the title *Washington County, Tennessee Records,* Volume I, a 257-page book, contains Washington County lists of taxables, 1778-1801; the abstract of Washington County minutes of the court of pleas and quarter sessions, 1778-1801; lists of officers of Washington County, 1778-1801; and miscellaneous records in Washington County. The hundreds of names will make this publication of particular value to genealogists, but the lack of an Index is a liability. The price of the book is $13; copies may be ordered from Mrs. L. W. McCown, 512 E. Unaka Avenue, Johnson City, Tennessee.

Inventory of the Mallory Family Papers, 1808-1958, compiled by Charles R. Schultz, Keeper of Manuscripts, Mystic Seaport Library,

is another publication of interest to genealogists. The 24 pages contain a biographical sketch of the Mallory family, a physical description of the papers, box and folder breakdown and list of volumes, and subject tracings. Further information may be obtained from the Mystic Seaport Library, Marine Historical Association, Inc., Mystic, Connecticut.

One of the most interesting recent publications of the National Archives is entitled *Civil War Maps in the National Archives.* The 127-page study describes approximately 8,000 maps, charts, and plans pertaining to the Civil War. There are two distinct parts, one of which is a guide giving brief item descriptions of all Civil War maps and related records located in the Cartographic Branch of the National Archives. A number of exceptionally significant items have been selected for inclusion in the second part which fully describes those maps. A comprehensive Index adds to the value of the publication. Copies of this illustrated book are for sale from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 20402, for 75 cents each.

Another National Archives publication, 24 pages in length, is *National Archives Accessions,* a supplement to the National Archives Guide. Issued in September, 1964, there is a section on the early correspondence filing systems of the office of the Secretary of the Navy, by Kenneth F. Bartlett, and accessions for the year July 1, 1962, through June 30, 1963. The indexed study was published by the Government Printing Office and is free of charge.

Special Lists Number 20, *Papers of the United States Senate Relating to Presidential Nominations, 1789-1901* (Record Group 46), was compiled by George P. Perros, James C. Brown, and Jacqueline A. Wood. Published by the National Archives, this particular publication lists numerous names of presidential appointees presented to the Senate for confirmation. An index of names is included in the back of the 111-page report. This publication is free from the Exhibits and Publications Division, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington, D. C., 20408.

The State Department of Archives and History has recently received two additional National Archives reports in its *Preliminary Inventories* series. Number 161, *Preliminary Inventory of the Records*

of the Bureau of the Census, was compiled by Katherine H. Davidson and Charlotte M. Ashby; Number 162, *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the 1961 Inaugural Committee,* was compiled by Marion M. Johnson. The publication relating to census records contains 141 pages; the inaugural committee report has 18 pages. Both are available free of charge from the Exhibits and Publications Division, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington, D. C., 20408.

A 35-page pamphlet, *Hillsborough and the Regulators,* written by Annie Sutton Cameron, published by the Orange County Historical Museum, contains a chapter on Hillsboro as it appeared in 1768. The booklet, designed for seventh grade North Carolina history students, is available at The Orange County Historical Museum, Hillsboro, at a nominal cost.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Director's Office

The Department's Executive Board met in Raleigh on September 15 with all members present. One of the chief actions taken was approval of a resolution urging that an immediate move be made to check erosion at Fort Fisher. (Subsequently, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, discussed this matter with the Governor and various state agencies, and it appeared that at least a temporary solution would be found shortly.)

The Raleigh Historic Sites Commission, of which Mr. W. H. Trentman is chairman, met regularly every month. One of the meetings was a picnic a few miles south of Raleigh at Penny's Mill, which now belongs to North Carolina State of The University of North Carolina at Raleigh. Initial steps were taken which, it is hoped, will lead to the preservation of the mill.

Dr. Crittenden made many trips to different places in the state and delivered addresses to various groups, including several civic clubs, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and historic site organizations.

A travel information conference for innkeepers, restaurateurs, and those engaged in similar businesses was held at East Carolina College, Greenville, October 27. The program was repeated on succeeding days in Winston-Salem and in Asheville. Since historic sites were involved, the department sent representatives to the first and third conferences.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

The Society of American Archivists' Distinguished Service Award was presented to the State Department of Archives and History October 8 in Austin, Texas. The award, presented for the first time, cited the North Carolina archival-records management program on the following counts: demonstrably contributing to archival theory and developing new archival practices; showing extraordinary ingenuity and resourcefulness in improving efficiency of operations and improving methods of work; serving its constituents in an outstanding fashion; bringing great credit to the archival profession by being a model for other organizations; going beyond the normal performance requirements expected of an archival agency and so being an incentive to others; publishing exemplary and meritorious finding aids and statements of available service; and developing over a period of years an archival program of such depth and scope as to warrant special recognition.

The 32-inch trophy was accepted at Austin on behalf of the department by State Archivist H. G. Jones. Later, on November 23, Dr. Everett O. Alldredge, Assistant Archivist of the United States, and outgoing president of the society, formally presented the trophy to Governor Terry Sanford in a ceremony in the Governor's office in Raleigh. Those attending included Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman of the Executive Board of the department; Dr. Crittenden; and Mr. Jones. The trophy will be displayed in the department until next year's annual meeting of the society, and a smaller cup will be retained permanently.

Mr. Lewis and Dr. Alldredge spoke at a staff meeting in the department prior to the ceremony.

Mr. Jones discussed North Carolina's archival-records management program at a Documents Workshop at the Institute of Government in Chapel Hill, September 11, and the Watauga Club in Raleigh, October 20. His dissertation, "The Public Archives of North Carolina, 1663-1903," was accepted at Duke University on September 22 and the Ph.D. degree will be awarded in June, 1965. He and Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist (Local Records), represented the department at the Society of American Archivists meeting in Austin, Texas, October 6-10.

Mr. Jones attended a meeting of the Governor's Commission on Library Resources in Raleigh, November 16. He wrote a unit titled "Manuscript Collections in North Carolina" which was incorporated in the Commission's report, *Resources of North Carolina Libraries,* edited by Dr. Robert B. Downs of the University of Illinois and published in Raleigh in November.

In the Archives, a restudy of several large record groups resulted in their rearrangement and the preparation of new finding aids. Included were the records of the State Department of Archives and History, the Colonial General Court, the North Carolina Railroad Company, and the North Carolina Memorial Building Commission. An inventory of election returns has been completed and abstracts are being prepared for selected races. A significant accession comprised seven letters written in 1864-1865 by R. H. Bacot, a Confederate naval officer who served on the C.S.S. "Neuse." The letters were a gift of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission.

Registered researchers during the quarter ended September 30 numbered 1,144, and 1,017 letters requiring reference to the Search Room were answered. Copies furnished the public totaled 1,521, plus 11,725 feet of microfilm. During the period 25,490 pages of deteriorating records were restored by the laminating process, and 1,368 reels (135,240 linear feet) of microfilm were processed.

Mr. C. F. W. Coker, Assistant State Archivist (Archives), and Miss Beth Crabtree, Archivist II, recently spoke to several groups in North Carolina.

Mrs. Frances T. Council, Archivist II, resigned effective October 16 prior to her move to Washington, D.C. Mr. Don R. Nichols, a graduate of Lenoir-Rhyne College and a former teacher, joined the staff on temporary assignment October 5.

The Local Records Section has completed the microfilming of the permanently valuable records of Randolph and Richmond counties, the forty-fourth and forty-fifth counties to be completed since the project began in 1959. Section operators are now at work in Buncombe, Guilford, and Mecklenburg counties. The county commissioners of Buncombe County have created the position of records administrator, the first such position in the counties.

Original records, varying in quantity and types, were received recently from Buncombe, Forsyth, Franklin, and Richmond counties. A list of the newly acquired records is available for use in the Search Room. A large group of Tyrrell County records has been arranged and finding aids prepared.

Mr. Nash A. Isenhower resigned as Clerk III (Microfilm Camera Operator) on September 18 to return to college, and he was succeeded on October 12 by Mr. William B. Batton, a graduate of King College.

In the State Records Section, a records retention and disposal schedule was approved for the Department of Community Colleges, and a files reorganization in the Driver Education and Accident Records Division of the Department of Motor Vehicles and a correspondence survey in the same department's Registration Division were completed.

The annual report of records holdings submitted to Governor Sanford revealed that as of June 30, 1964, there were 95,141 cubic feet of records in state agencies in Raleigh, 2,632 cubic feet in the licensing and examining boards, 12,719 cubic feet in the institutions, and 32,891 cubic feet in the Records Center. During the quarter ending September 30, 2,263 cubic feet of records were received in the center and disposition made of 1,225 cubic feet. The staff performed 13,497 references during the same period.

Mr. T. W. Mitchell, Assistant State Archivist (State Records), spoke on records management at the Institute of the Graduate School of Library Science, University of Illinois, at Allerton Park, Illinois, on November 2.

Division of Historic Sites

In 1960 the Richardson Foundation of Greensboro and New York granted $50,000 to the Department of Archives and History for the preservation of historic sites. More than 14 projects received funds from this challenge grant. The foundation recently made another grant of $100,000 to the department to be disbursed in 1965, 1966, and 1967. This sum also will be used as challenge grants to local preservation and restoration projects in North Carolina under specified criteria. Interested local groups may obtain further information from the department.

On October 26 in Greensboro Mr. H. Smith Richardson, Greensboro and New York, Chairman of the Board of the Richardson Foundation, and several other representatives of the foundation met with Dr. Crittenden and other department representatives to discuss general principles and procedures. After the meeting two of the Richardson representatives and several staff members from the Division of Historic Sites toured

historic sites from Winston-Salem and Salisbury in the west to New Bern, Bath, and Edenton in the east.

Mr. Tarlton attended the meetings in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, of the American Association for State and Local History on October 27-28. Mr. Tarlton is a member of the council of the association and is the southeastern representative of the awards committee.

On October 16 the Historical Highway Marker Advisory Committee met in Chapel Hill and approved 13 inscriptions for markers.

The Historical Halifax Restoration Association's Board of Directors met with department representatives in Raleigh on November 4. Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson told of plans for future development, and arrangements were discussed for the observance of Halifax Day in April, 1965. Mr. Fletcher Gregory, Sr., has donated approximately ten acres of land to the historic area of Halifax.

The Historic Sites Advisory Committee met on November 5 in Raleigh. The committee endorsed procedures for administering the recent $100,000 grant to the department by the Richardson Foundation.

The Cherokee Council of the Boy Scouts of America in Alamance County held its annual camporee at Alamance Battleground State Historic Site on October 9-11 with 487 boys attending. Mr. Wayne Smith, Historic Site Assistant, presented a slide-lecture to the group.

Mr. James E. Ivey, Historic Site Assistant at the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace, reports a 100 per cent increase in visitation this year over last year. Work progresses on the stables; and the Fremont Garden Club has planted bulbs at the site.

A chain link fence is to be installed around the Gunboat "Neuse" at the Caswell Memorial Park near Kinston. The "Neuse" was not damaged during the recent flooding in eastern North Carolina, although water reached the bottom of the vessel. Mr. H. C. Casey, caretaker of the "Neuse," will serve as a guide on week ends.

Several patriotic and civic groups visited the Historic Bath State Historic Site. The Historic Bath Commission met in Raleigh on October 6. Work progresses at the Bonner House property with a number of outside improvements.

The Smithfield Herald on September 15 featured pictures and the story of the Visitor Center-Museum, which was opened recently at the Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site. Mr. Jack Rose, Historic Site Assistant, states that the recent publicity has increased visitation greatly. On November 2 Mr. W. K. Dorsey, Travel Supervisor of the Cape Fear Technical Institute, met with a group at Bentonville to prepare a travel film on the Bentonville site.

Nearly 200 persons attended the annual meeting of the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy at the Brunswick Town State Historic Site on October 13. In a dedication ceremony Dr. Crittenden accepted, for the Department of Archives and History, three foot-bridges which had been donated by the above organization. Mr. Stanley A. South, Archaeologist, spoke on "Fort Anderson, 1861-1865." In the afternoon a memorial service was held inside the ruins of St.

Philips Church. The site of the courthouse ruins is being excavated at Brunswick Town by Mr. South and Mr. William G. Faulk, Jr., Historic Site Assistant.

According to Mr. William H. Reid, Historic Site Assistant at the Fort Fisher State Historic Site, approximately 400 feet of the palisade fence has been installed, or about one-third of the total length. With the exception of materials being used, the palisade is an exact replica of the original and is being placed near the original site according to archaeological findings. Bids for the Fort Fisher visitor center-museum were opened on October 13, and contracts will be awarded in the near future. Mr. South attended the fifth annual Conference on Historic Site Archaeology at New Orleans on November 5. He also attended the Southeastern Archaeological Conference while there.

Bids on the construction of a visitor center-museum at the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site were opened October 8, but proved to exceed original estimates of the cost of the building. Architect's plans for the structure were revised and construction work was expected to begin shortly.

After an inspection visit to Fort Defiance, near Lenoir, by Messrs. Tarlton, A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., and Robert O. Conway, of the Division of Historic Sites, the members of the Caldwell County Historical Society voted to restore this historic house, built by General William Lenoir. The society later obtained an option on the property, which includes many of the original furnishings of the Lenoir family.

On October 28 a special committee which met in Asheville voted to incorporate for the purpose of establishing a Museum of the Southern Highlands. The project was suggested by a member of the division staff.

Division of Museums

Correspondence with teachers of North Carolina history resulted in the organization of 50 new Tarheel Junior Historian Clubs. Club memberships are renewed each year and new clubs are invited to join throughout the school term.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, and Mr. Samuel P. Townsend, Administrative Assistant, attended the annual meeting of the Southeastern Museums Conference in Savannah, Georgia, October 21-24.

The Tarheel Junior Historian Association was represented by Mr. Townsend at the Junior Historian Directors Conference in Newark, New Jersey, September 30-October 2.

Mrs. Sue Todd, Registrar, attended the annual meeting of the Early American Industries Association in Wilmington, Delaware, October 8-11.

A new series of programs to be held the fourth Sunday of each month was begun September 27 when Mr. Tony Zurek and Dr. J. Keith Lawson of Chemstrand Research Center, Inc., presented a demonstration and discussion of glass blowing. The second program, October 25, featured Mrs. William J. Newberry who displayed and discussed dolls from four collections. Public response resulted in overflow crowds on both occasions.

New exhibits regarding the Civil War in North Carolina were completed and installed in the Mobile Museum of History. The unit resumed its schedule across the state October 29 after an initial showing at the North Carolina State Fair.

Construction and installation of exhibits were completed at Bentonville Historic Site Visitor Center-Museum.

The building for the future Museum of the Albemarle near Elizabeth City was designed, and drawings were submitted. Meetings were also held concerning the museum.

Items from the 1900 lingerie collection were displayed at the Arts Festival in Smithfield September 17. In connection with the festival two staff members modeled selected costumes on the noon news program of WRAL-TV which promoted the festival through the director of women's activities, Bette Elliott.

Division of Publications

Mrs. Violet W. Quay assumes the responsibility of Editorial Associate with this issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review*. Mrs. Quay was promoted to the position in the division from her former employment on the staff of the Colonial Records Project. She succeeded Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn who received a promotion and transferred to the Division of Historic Sites. Mrs. Nancy S. Bartlett joined the staff of the division in September as an editorial assistant on the Sanford Papers, which are being edited by Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor.

The Editorial Board of the State Department of Archives and History met on September 23 in the office of the editor. All members were present and the entire program of the Division of Publications was reviewed. Following adjournment, the members were given a tour of the new offices and storage areas used by the division.

For the third quarter, total receipts were $5,271 with $3,864 being retained by the department and $1,407 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 762 documentary volumes; 12 copies of the *Index* to *The North Carolina Historical Review*; 47 letter books of governors; 109 small books; 2,651 pamphlets, charts, and maps (including 243 Tercentenary pamphlets); 7,740 leaflets and brochures; and 5,389 copies of the list of publications available from the department. In addition to this total of 16,710 were 2,129 copies of the Autumn, 1964, issue of *The Review*, 2,027 copies of the July issue and 2,269 copies of the September issue of *Carolina Comments*.

Plans are being made to issue *The Papers of John Willis Ellis* in two volumes early in 1965; each volume will be $5 plus the usual handling charge. Orders should be sent to the Division of Publications.

A conference with Bishop Kenneth G. Hamilton, who is editing the *Moravian Records*, and other representatives of the Moravian Archives was held on October 28 in Dr. Crittenden's office. Tentative plans are

being made to publish two additional volumes in this series, making a total of 11, so as to include recently discovered significant records of the Helfer Conferenz.

A new publication is a single sheet showing pictures of the governors of North Carolina with their terms of office. The sheet is available for 50 cents, plus 10 cents handling charge, from the Division of Publications.

Copies of the 1962-1964 *Biennial Report* of the department are available to interested persons. Copies will be sent upon receipt of a 10-cent handling charge; orders should be sent to the Division of Publications.

Colonial Records Project

The inventory of Colonial court records in the custody of the State Department of Archives and History has been completed. All higher court records and substantial samples of lower court records have been inventoried. The data thus obtained will be used in assembling court records to be published and in acquiring the information on the legal system of the colony that is necessary to edit court records.

The inventory of documents pertinent to the project held by the Virginia Historical Society also has been completed. The records reported include correspondence between the governors of the two colonies regarding piracy, Indians, and the boundary line. Depositions of Indians and white settlers relevant to the boundary line, memorandums on preparations for the boundary survey, accounts of travels and explorations in North Carolina, and manuscripts of William Byrd's *History of the Dividing Line* and *Journey to the Land of Eden* also are in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society. The more important records relating to North Carolina are in the Lee-Ludwell Papers, the William Byrd Letter Books, and the Westover Papers.

NORTH CAROLINA CONFEDERATE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

On August 1-2 Mr. Norman Larson, Executive Secretary, met in Charleston with the South Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission to discuss its participation in the Averasboro centennial program. The Harnett County Centennial Committee and representatives from South Carolina's commission met with Mr. Larson on September 24 and again on October 23 to plan for the Averasboro program.

In the re-enactment of the Battle of Jonesboro, Georgia, August 28-30, North Carolina was represented by Mr. Larson, Mr. Robert W. Jones, Public Information Officer, and Colonel W. Cliff Elder, commission member from Burlington.

On October 1 Dr. Crittenden and the staff of the commission held a finance committee meeting in Durham to discuss the Andrew Johnson-Bennett Place commemoration.

On October 13 Mr. Larson participated in a United Daughters of the Confederacy dedication program at Fort Anderson. He addressed the group at its Wrightsville Beach Convention October 14.

At a meeting of the Confederate States Centennial Conference in Montgomery, Alabama, October 15-18, Mr. Larson presented an illustrated talk on the Gunboat "Neuse" and related recovery efforts of the local centennial committee. Several commission members attended the Alabama conference.

The fourteenth plenary meeting of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission was held in Raleigh, October 28.

Mr. Larson met in Asheville with Colonel Paul Rockwell on October 30-31 to discuss motion picture production and centennial plans for the Battle of Asheville.

Mr. Larson and Mr. Jones represented the commission at numerous meetings and special events throughout the state during recent weeks.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, head of the Department of History of Wake Forest College, reports the following faculty changes: Dr. David L. Smiley has been promoted to professor; Dr. Thomas E. Mullen has been promoted to associate professor; Dr. Robert C. Gregory has been granted a leave of absence for the 1964-1965 academic year to participate in the Cooperative Program in the Humanities at Duke University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Mr. Thomas S. Morgan, Jr., instructor, will replace Dr. Gregory for the year.

Dr. W. H. Plemmons of Appalachian State Teachers College announces the promotion of Mr. William Fife Troutman, Jr., from associate professor to professor of political science.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Meredith College, moderated a 30-minute panel, "Election Year, 1964" for TV classes in government and United States history on WUNC-TV October 30 and November 2. She served on a visiting team to Pembroke State College, November 8-11, and was assigned to report on general education and social studies teacher education for the new teacher certification plan of the State Department of Public Instruction. Mr. Thomas C. Parramore has completed his doctoral work at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; the Ph.D. degree will be awarded in June, 1965.

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., chairman of the History Department at Duke University, served as chairman of the program committee for the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Little Rock, Arkansas, November 12-14. Reading papers at the meeting were Dr. Robert I. Crane, "The Military in Independent India"; Dr. Mark Van Aken, "Latin-American Student Movements in Uruguay"; and Dr. Warren Lerner, "Soviet Occupation Policy During the Russo-Polish War, 1920." Dr. Robert F. Durden was a member of the nominating committee.

Dr. Robert H. Woody was elected to the executive council and an alumnus of Duke University, Dr. Hugh T. Lefler of The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, was elected vice-president (to become president in 1965-1966).

The Commonwealth-Studies Center of Duke University, to celebrate its tenth birthday, organized, with the Institute of Commonwealth Studies of the University of London, a conference on "A Decade of the Commonwealth" at Bellagio, Italy, June 28-July 4. Dr. William B. Hamilton read a paper on "The Transfer of Power in Historical Perspective" and is co-editing the papers from the conference for publication in the Duke Center's series.

The Cooperative Program in the Humanities of Duke University and The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has several Fellows from various institutions spending the year at Duke pursuing their own research and writing.

Dr. John S. Curtiss read a paper on "The Diplomacy of the Crimean War" at the Southern Conference on Slavic Studies, New Orleans, October 16; Dr. Warren Lerner was named chairman of the program committee. Dr. Robert I. Crane published "Teaching about India in the High Schools," in *The High School Journal* (May, 1964); "Technique and Method in Social History," in O. P. Bhatnagar (ed.), *Studies in Indian Social History* (Allahabad University Press, 1964); and "Indian History for the Undergraduate," in W. T. de Bary and A. T. Embree (eds.), *Approaches to Asian Civilization* (Columbia University Press, 1964). Dr. Donald G. Gillin had an article, " 'Peasant Nationalism' in the History of Chinese Communism," in *The Journal of Asian Studies,* XXIII (February, 1964), and Dr. Irving B. Holley, Jr., published *Buying Aircraft: Materiel Procurement for the Army Air Forces* (Government Printing Office, 1964). Dr. Anne Firor Scott published "After Suffrage: Southern Women in the Twenties" in *The Journal of Southern History,* XXX (August, 1964), and submitted the report of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women in North Carolina, of which she was chairman, to Governor Terry Sanford November 24. Dr. Alan K. Manchester's *British Preeminence in Brazil* (The University of North Carolina Press, 1933) has been reprinted by Octagon Books, Inc., of New York. Dr. Richard L. Watson's "American History: A Review of Recent Literature" appeared in *Social Education,* XVIII (October, 1964); Dr. Robert F. Durden published "The Battle of the Standards in 1896 and North Carolina's Place in the Mainstream" in *The South Atlantic Quarterly,* LXIII (Summer, 1964).

Dr. William J. Block, Department of History and Political Science, is 1964-1965 chairman of the Faculty Senate at North Carolina State of The University of North Carolina at Raleigh. Dr. Burton F. Beers is serving as chairman of the faculty of the School of General Studies. Dr. Ralph W. Greenlaw directed a summer program in Raleigh training 70 Peace Corps volunteers for community development and forestry projects

in southern Chile. Dr. Abraham Holtzman spoke to the Duke University faculty-graduate student seminar in political science on "Problems Facing Executive Lobbyists in Dealing with the Committee Systems of Congress." He was also a member of a panel on "Politics in the South," at a meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, at Durham, in November.

Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., director of the Department of History, East Carolina College, announces the following changes in the faculty: Mr. Wyatt Brown promoted from instructor to assistant professor; Dr. Charles L. Price from associate professor to professor; Dr. Joseph F. Steelman from associate professor to professor. New faculty members include Professor Loren K. Campion, Central and Eastern European history; Professor Thomas C. Herndon, Ancient and Medieval history; Professor Elaine M. Paul, Modern European history. *Essays in American History,* Volume I of East Carolina College Publications in History, 1964, contains essays by six members of the social studies faculty. Dr. Steelman was chairman of a session on "Progressivism in the South" at the meeting of the Southern Historical Association, Little Rock, Arkansas, November 12-14. Dr. Paul Murray was chairman of the R. D. W. Connor Award Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association for 1964. Professor Thomas C. Herndon wrote a paper, "A Note on Medieval Wound Treatment and Bartholemeo dal Sarasin (fl. 1944)," in the *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences,* 1964. Mr. Herndon and the late Loren C. MacKinney were co-authors of an article "Abnormal Cranial Sutures in Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Anatomical Treaties: The Evolution of the Hippocratic-Aristotelian-Galenic-Vesalian Tradition," in *Storia E Letteratura,* 1964. Professor Kathleen E. Dunlop wrote three articles which appeared in UNESCO, *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences,* in October. Dr. Richard C. Todd was elected national vice-president of Phi Sigma Pi, national honorary and professional fraternity, for 1964-1966.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Executive Committee of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians held a luncheon meeting at Chapel Hill September 13. Plans were made for a tour of Anson County, October 18, and for the annual meeting of the society, December 5, in Raleigh.

The Historical Society of North Carolina met at Duke University on November 6. Papers were presented by Dr. Robert N. Elliott, Jr., Dr. Joseph Morrison, and Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs. Dr. Henry S. Stroupe was elected president; Dr. Stuart Noblin, vice-president; and Dr. H. H. Cunningham, secretary-treasurer.

The Department has received copies of the Report of John R. Woodard, Jr., Director of the North Carolina Baptist Historical Collection, and the

Minutes of the North Carolina Baptist Historical Committee meeting held at Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem, August 18, 1964.

Two copper engravings, dated 1878, of the area west of Morehead City northward along the coast to Ocracoke, covering the outer banks, are on loan to the Beaufort Historical Association. The plates were used by the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Dr. John Costlow, president of the association, is seeking six other engravings used to print charts of the 1850's. Dr. Costlow announced the appointment of Mr. John Mease as chairman of the restoration buildings and grounds committee.

The Carteret County Historical Society re-elected its entire slate of officers on October 17. The officers are: Mr. John R. Gibson, Cedar Point, president; Mr. Grayden Paul, Beaufort, vice-president; Mr. Thomas Respess, Beaufort, secretary; and Mr. F. C. Salisbury, Morehead City, treasurer. Mrs. Margaret Simmons read a paper on Colonial Beaufort prepared in 1963 by Mr. Charles L. Paul. Mr. Salisbury gave a report on the distribution of historical papers throughout the county.

The Pasquotank Historical Society is sponsoring a column, "Albemarle's Historical Genealogy Researcher," in the *Elizabeth City Advance*. Written by Mr. E. O. (Jack) Baum, the column discusses various events in the history of the area. The column for August 10, for example, was about shipwrecks on the North Carolina coast.

The Perquimans County Historical Society met on September 28 in the Perquimans Library.

The Bertie County Historical Association met October 29. Officers elected were: Mrs. M. B. Gillam, Sr., president; Mr. Francis Speight, Miss Stella Phelps and Mr. Wayland Jenkins, Jr., vice-presidents; Mrs. Walter Bond, secretary; Mr. Thomas Norfleet, treasurer; Dr. W. P. Jacocks, executive adviser. Mrs. Gillam gave the program on "The Old Houses of Windsor and Some of the People Who Have Lived in Them."

The New Bern Historical Society met October 8. Plans for 1965 were discussed and the following officers were elected: Mr. R. L. Stallings, Jr., president; Mrs. Clarence Beasley, vice-president; Mrs. Phillip Steiner, secretary; Mr. R. A. (Del) Ipock, treasurer. Mr. John R. Taylor, who has served as president for the past eleven years, will be finance chairman for the coming year.

During the latter part of August, the Tryon Palace Commission reported visitors from 33 states, the District of Columbia, England, Austria, Mexico, and New Zealand. Paid admissions since the formal opening of the palace have totaled 162,407, including 118,000 adults and 43,807 children.

The Catawba County Historical Association re-elected all of its officers at the Newton meeting, October 9. The officers are: Mr. Thomas Warlick, president; Mr. S. Samuel Rowe and Mrs. Rome E. Jones, vice-presidents; Mrs. Roy Smyre, secretary; Mrs. Frances J. Snyder, treasurer; Mrs. Marguerite W. May, custodian; Mr. J. Paul Wagner, historian. Dr. J. E. Hodges presented a short historical talk to the 50 members present.

The Yancey County Historical Association met October 2 at the Library in Burnsville; Mr. O. W. Wilson presided. The purpose of the organization is to gather historical material for a comprehensive history of Yancey County. Persons are asked to send information on such topics as early settlers, nationalities, churches, schools, business, industry, architecture, geology, and Indian wars.

The Mecklenburg Historical Association has re-elected the Reverend John S. Staton president. Other officers elected were Mr. James B. Vogler and Mr. Irwin Belk, vice-presidents; Mrs. Frank Alford, secretary; and the Reverend Leon Adkinson, treasurer. Mr. Victor C. King was appointed historian, and Mr. Adkinson, chaplain. The association will meet the third Monday in January, March, May, and October.

A program and plaque dedication honoring John Berry of Hillsborough, early builder-architect (1798-1870), was presented by the Hillsborough Historical Society September 11. The 32″ x 40″ bronze plaque was presented to Orange County by Mrs. Alfred G. Engstrom, president of the society, and was accepted by Mr. Donald M. Stanford, chairman of the Orange County commissioners. Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, of Wake Forest College, delivered "A Tribute to John Berry," and Professor John V. Allcott, of The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, gave an illustrated lecture on "John Berry's Hillsborough Architecture." The 463-member society held its third annual meeting October 9. Officers were elected; the budget of $5,700 was approved; and reports of officers and committees were heard. The program featured a colored slide lecture by Mrs. George B. Daniel, Jr., of Chapel Hill, on "Early Hillsboro and Orange County Furniture, 1760-1830."

The Davie Poplar Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Chapel Hill, has placed a bronze plaque at Ayr Mount, the one hundred and sixty year-old brick home of the Kirklands in Hillsboro.

The Historic Hillsborough Commission met October 14 at the Colonial Inn in Hillsboro for dinner and a business session. Mrs. Alfred G. Engstrom replaced Dr. Robert J. Murphy as chairman of the commission. Dr. Crittenden spoke briefly, and a discussion followed.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society met October 30. Mr. Lee Adler II spoke on "The Historic Restoration Program in Savannah," and showed

pictures of both interiors and exteriors of many Savannah homes that have been preserved in recent years.

The Bladen County Historical Society meeting of October 30 in the Bladen County courthouse was presided over by President Finley Rogers. Mrs. John D. Beatty, historian, spoke on "Collecting Bladen County Records"; progress reports were given on Harmony Hall and the Bladen County history.

Dr. Julian C. Yoder presided at the Western North Carolina Historical Association's fall quarterly meeting October 24 at the Pack Memorial Library. A film, "The Vanishing Frontier," dealing with changes in the Appalachians, was shown. Mrs. Alan Wallace of Brevard presented a paper on "Naturalists in Western North Carolina."

The Wake County Historical Society met in Raleigh on November 15. The Carolina Charter Tercentenary film, "Road to Carolina," was shown. Announcement was made of a $25 award to be given by the society yearly to the school having the best Junior Historian Club in Wake County.

The Pitt County Historical Society, at its November 5 meeting, elected Dr. Robert Lee Humber president.

The Haywood County Historical Society staged an old-fashioned dress pageant November 10 in the courthouse at Waynesville. Costumes dated back to the Civil War era.

Mrs. Elizabeth H. Hummel, president of the Granville County Historical Society, presided at the meeting October 29 at the courthouse. Projects for 1965 include preparation of plots of all church cemeteries in Granville County, indexing the oldest records in the office of the Granville County Clerk of Superior Court, and obtaining additional historical markers for the county.

The Franklin County Historical Society held an organizational meeting in Louisburg October 29. Mr. C. F. W. Coker, Assistant State Archivist (Archives), spoke on the work of the State Department of Archives and History.

After an expenditure of some $10,500, the McDowell County Historical Society opened the Carson House, near Marion, October 4, at a historic site and county museum. The Carson House was the home of several members of the Carson family who were leaders in the early history of western North Carolina.

The history of Edgecombe County courthouses from Colonial days to the present was interestingly traced by Mr. Don Gilliam, Jr., clerk of

superior court, at the meeting of the Edgecombe Historical Society, November 10, at the new courthouse in Tarboro.

Dr. Colin Spencer presided over the meeting of the Moore County Historical Association, November 24, at the Southern Pines Country Club. Mrs. Jack McPaul's group of costumed singers presented a program of folksongs.

The Brunswick County Historical Society met November 9 at the Sacred Heart Parrish House at Southport. Mrs. M. H. Rourk was re-elected president; Mrs. Ed Driscoll of Southport, vice-president; and Miss Helen Taylor of Winnabow, secretary-treasurer. The celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Brunswick County was observed on November 15.

MISCELLANEOUS

Grants-in-aid are available from the Harry S. Truman Library Institute, up to a limit of $1,000 each, for projects involving the Truman Administration and the history and nature of the presidency of the United States. Applicants should write to Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri, for information and application forms.

The University of Delaware, in co-operation with the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, will award two or more Hagley Museum Fellowships in April, 1965, for the academic years 1965-1967. Recipients of these grants take graduate work in history and related fields at the University of Delaware and will receive training in museum work at the Hagley Museum, Wilmington, Delaware. Each fellowship carries an annual stipend of $2,000, and is renewable upon satisfactory completion of the first year. Applications should be received by March 5, 1965. For further details, address the Chairman, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation will hold a two-week seminar for historic museum associates February 7-20, 1965, at Woodlawn Plantation, Mount Vernon, Virginia. The seminar, which is limited to 14 persons, is being offered for the third year and will include lectures by members of the staffs of the National Trust, Smithsonian Institution, National Park Service, National Gallery of Art, and other organizations in the Washington area. Further information may be obtained from Dr. William J. Murtagh, 815 - 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20006.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW
EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent states. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this state, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for *The Review,* but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, and style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for *The North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook,* which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for *The Review.* Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.

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The North Carolina Historical Review



Spring 1965

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is $4.00 per year. Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., for which the annual dues are $5.00, receive this publication without further payment. Back numbers still in print are available for $1.00 per number. Out-of-print numbers may be obtained on microfilm from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Persons desiring to quote from this publication may do so without special permission from the editors provided full credit is given to The North Carolina Historical Review. The Review is published quarterly by the State Department of Archives and History, Education Building, Corner of Edenton and Salisbury Streets, Raleigh. Second class postage paid at Raleigh, North Carolina.

COVER—Sherman's men are shown advancing under difficulties as they marched from Savannah to Bentonville. From files of State Department of Archives and History. For an article on Sherman's march through North Carolina, see pages 192 to 207.

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COLONIAL BEAUFORT

By Charles L. Paul*

Though the first attempt to plant an English colony in America took place in North Carolina as early as 1585, it was three-quarters of a century before the first permanent white settlers came into the colony. When they did come, they came from Virginia rather than directly from England or the European continent. Just when the first permanent settlers entered what is now North Carolina has not been definitely established. By 1660, however, there were settlers on the Chowan River. After the first settlers arrived, there was, according to R. D. W. Connor, "no cessation in the slow but steady flow of settlers into the Albemarle region."[1] On March 24, 1663, Charles II of England granted a charter for a part of the new world which ultimately included the new settlement on the Chowan River to eight prominent Englishmen who had supported his restoration. By October of the next year, the eight Lords Proprietors had established the settlement as the County of Albemarle.

As years passed, settlement gradually but slowly moved southward, and in 1676 the Lords Proprietors, in an effort to encourage expansion, extended the jurisdiction of the Governor of Albemarle County to include "such settlements as shall bee made upon the rivers Pamleco and Newse."[2] By 1696 the new part of the colony was receiving enough attention and settlement to merit the establishment of the County of Bath, which included the Pamlico and the Neuse areas.[3] In 1705 the Governor's Council, noting that the county had grown populous and was daily increasing, divided it into three precincts, each of which was to be allowed to send two representatives to the General Assembly.[4] One of these precincts, Archdale, contained the

* Mr. Paul is Professor of History at Chowan College, Murfreesboro.

[1] R. D. W. Connor, *The Colonial and Revolutionary Periods, 1584-1783*, Volume I of *History of North Carolina*, by R. D. W. Connor, William K. Boyd, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and Others (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 6 volumes, 1919), 24.

[2] William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), I, 232-233, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

[3] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 472.

[4] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 629.

area which, by 1712, had been renamed Craven Precinct. It was from Craven that Carteret Precinct was made in 1722.[5]

The political division of the southern part of Bath County into Craven and Carteret precincts occurred a number of years after the area had received its first settlers. In fact, it was not more than four years after Bath County had been created in 1696 that settlement reached the north banks of the Neuse River. Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., states that "the colonization of this river must be placed back in the opening year of the eighteenth century and not inconceivably in the last of the 1690's."[6] The Neuse River settlement grew steadily and, by about 1706, settlers had moved from its north banks, the first area settled, and were making their homes on its southern shores.[7] Though these homesites were in what later became Carteret County, they cannot be considered a part of the settlement that became Beaufort. Situated on the Neuse River, they were, throughout the Colonial period, more closely connected with that river and with New Bern than with Beaufort.

The southward expansion of the settlement continued, and within two or three years after the Neuse had been crossed, settlers were making their homes on North and Newport rivers, which form the eastern and western boundaries of the peninsula on which Beaufort is located. Since these two rivers flow into what was then considered a part of Core Sound, settlers in this area were described as being "in Core Sound."[8] The town of Beaufort eventually became the center for the Core Sound settlement.

Farnifold Green obtained the first patent for land in the Core Sound area. The patent was granted December 20, 1707,[9] and although Green did not live in the Core Sound area,[10] other settlers were soon making their homes there. In 1708 John Nelson was granted a patent

[5] David Leroy Corbitt, *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1950), 74.

[6] Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., "Eighteenth Century New Bern: A History of the town and Craven County, 1700-1800," Part I, "Colonization of the Neuse," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (January, 1945), 9, hereinafter cited as Dill, "Colonization of the Neuse."

[7] Dill, "Colonization of the Neuse." 13-14. See also, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, xi.

[8] Carteret County Deed Books, Office of the Register of Deeds, Carteret County Courthouse, Beaufort, Deed Book A, 17, and *passim*, hereinafter cited as Carteret Deed Books; Beaufort County Deed Books, Office of the Register of Deeds, Beaufort County Courthouse, Washington, Deed Book 1, 129-130, and *passim*, hereinafter cited as Beaufort County Deed Books.

[9] The year 1707 is not given, but the patent was recorded in the secretary's office on January 7, 1708, indicating that the date of issue, December 20, was in 1707. Craven County Will Books, Office of the Clerk of Court, Craven County Courthouse, New Bern, Will Book A, 10, hereinafter cited as Craven Will Books.

[10] Dill assigns Green to the area around Lower Broad Creek on the north side of Neuse River. Dill, "Colonization of the Neuse," 8.

for 260 acres "in Core Sound on the north side of North River," [11] and, from that time on, was closely connected with that immediate area.[12] Francis and John Shackleford moved into the area from Essex County, Virginia, sometime after 1705.[13] Francis became active in the affairs of the Core Sound area by 1708,[14] as did John by 1709.[15] Both of these men received numerous patents before 1713[16] but settled on the west side of North River about four miles northeast of the present site of Beaufort.[17] Other names connected with the Core Sound settlement prior to 1713 were John Fulford, Robert Turner, James Keith, William Bartram, Peter Worden (also spelled Wordin), Thomas Blanton, Thomas Lepper, Thomas Sparrow, Lewis Johnson, Richard Graves, Christopher Dawson, Enoch Ward, Thomas Cary, and Thomas Kailoe.[18] Some of these, notably Cary and Lepper, lived

[11] Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 158.

[12] John Nelson was named as one of the first commissioners for the town of Beaufort and a member of the first vestry of St. John's Parish. Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XXV, 206-209, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*. He was also a justice of the peace for Carteret Precinct in 1722, 1724, and 1728. Minutes of the Carteret County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1723-1789, 4 volumes, Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, I, 3, 20-21, hereinafter cited as Carteret Court Minutes; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 459, 526.

The exact site of Nelson's residence is not known. There is no indication that he lived on the tract on North River, as he sold it slightly more than a year after its purchase. Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 157. He owned land near the south bank of Neuse River, and a deed of 1708 referred to him and his wife, Ann, as being of Neuse River. Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 116, 160. Dill maintains, however, that "This does not preclude the likelihood of their being in Core Sound at this time, for the designation 'of Neuse' was often used loosely." Dill, "Colonization of the Neuse," 14*n*. The importance of the location of his residence is minimized by his prominence in the affairs of the area.

[13] Francis Shackleford received patents for land in Essex County, Virginia, in 1705. Land Grant Records of Virginia, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Land Grant Book IX, 695, 712.

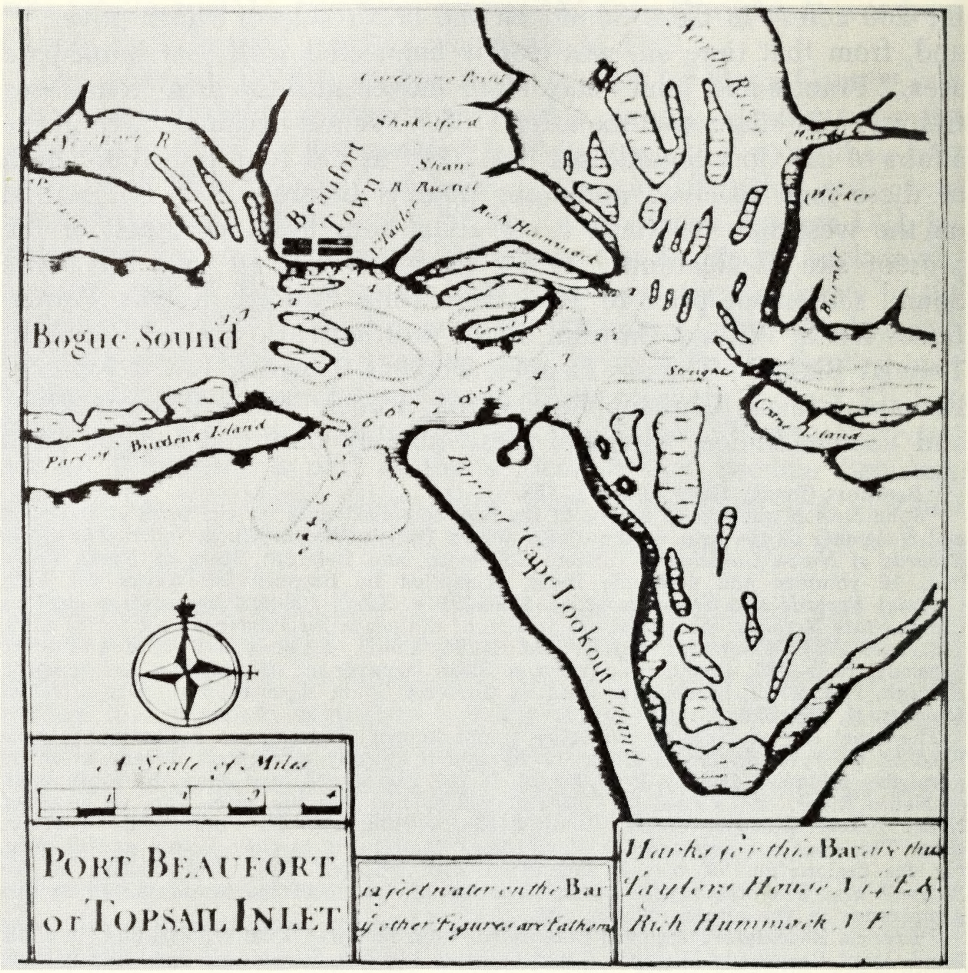
[14] On October 30, 1708, Francis Shackleford and Francis Dawson were witnesses to the transfer of a tract of land which later became the site of Beaufort from Peter Wordin to Farnifold Green. Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 109.

[15] John Shackleford patented land on Newport River on November 14, 1709. Carteret Deed Books, D, 100-103.

[16] Carteret Deed Books, A, 1; B, 50-51; D, 100-103; Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 225; Carteret County Records, Grants, 1717-1724, Archives, Book D, 2, 5-6, hereinafter cited as Carteret Grant Books.

[17] See inset entitled "Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet" on Edward Moseley's "A New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina," in William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps with an Annotated Check List of Printed and Manuscript Regional and Local Maps of Southeastern North America During the Colonial Period* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, c. 1958), Plate 52. The tract of land to which Moseley assigns Shackleford was first surveyed for Francis Shackleford prior to 1713, but his title for it lapsed. John Shackleford obtained a title for it on January 15, 1713/14. Carteret Grant Books, D, 5-6.

[18] John Fulford, Minutes of the Craven County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1712-1715, Archives, Book I, 1, hereinafter cited as Craven Court Minutes; Robert Turner, Craven Will Books, A, 11; James Keith, Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 158; William Bartram, Carteret Deed Books, A, 18-20; Peter Wordin, Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 108-109; Thomas Blanton, Carteret Grant Books, D, 5-6; Thomas Lepper, Craven Will Books, A, 27-28; Thomas Sparrow, Beaufort County



The Beaufort Town inset is from the Edward Moseley map of 1733. The reproduction shown here is from a copy furnished by Dr. W. P. Cumming of Davidson College; the map appears as Plate 52 in Dr. Cumming's *The Southeast in Early Maps*. . . .

elsewhere and were only speculating in land.[19] Fulford, Ward, and Turner, though, were definitely Core Sound residents during that period.[20]

Deed Books, 1, 129-130; Lewis Johnson, Carteret Deed Books, A, 31; Richard Graves, Carteret Deed Books, A, 25; Christopher Dawson, Carteret Grant Books, D, 4-5 and Carteret Deed Books, A, 1, 27; Enoch Ward, Craven Will Books, A, 3, 27-28; Thomas Cary, Carteret Deed Books, A, 17; Thomas Kailoe, Carteret Deed Books, A, 28-29.

[19] Cary lived on Pamlico River. Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., "Eighteenth Century New Bern, A History of the Town and Craven County, 1700-1800," Part III, "Rebellion and Indian warfare," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (July, 1945), 297, hereinafter cited as Dill, "Rebellion and Indian Warfare." Lepper lived on Adam's Creek on the south side of Neuse River. Dill, "Colonization of the Neuse," 13-14.

[20] Fulford lived near "the strait in Core Sound. . . ." Craven Court Minutes, I, 1. Both Ward and Turner gave their names to creeks that bordered land bought by them during this period. Craven Will Books, A, 11, 27-28.

Indications are that the Core Sound settlement had some importance before 1713. A notation on Christoph von Graffenried's map of 1710 described Core Sound as being populated almost entirely by Englishmen who furnished seafood of all kinds to the settlers.[21] In 1712 Captain Edward Adlard owned a sloop named the "Core Sound Merchant,"[22] which indicated trade in the area before that date. A third indication of the importance of the Core Sound settlement before 1713 is that in 1712 in the midst of the Tuscarora War, the General Assembly ordered a garrison stationed at Core Sound.[23] The purpose of the garrison, so Governor Thomas Pollock declared in 1713, was "to guard the people there from some few of the Cores [Indians] that lurk thereabout. . . ."[24]

As soon as settlers moved into the Core Sound area, the port potential of the future site of Beaufort was recognized. December 20, 1707, Farnifold Green obtained a patent for the south end of the peninsula that extends between North River and Newport River.[25] One month later, January 21, 1708, Peter Worden, then of Pamlico River,[26] secured a patent for 640 acres on the west side of North River, part of which was included in Green's patent.[27] By October of that year, Worden recognized Green's ownership, and on October 30, 1708, he cleared Green's title by giving him a deed for "one certain Messuage or tenement of Land situate lying and being on the South side of North River, near to the Point of Land called Newport Town, with all its rights and privileges. . . ."[28] In seeking to acquire the land, evidently the two men had its port potential in mind since Topsail Inlet, now known as Beaufort Inlet, penetrated the barrier of the Outer Banks just two miles south. The site was named Newport Town and the name of the river that flows by it on its west side was changed from Core River to Newport River.[29]

Possibly the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713 delayed the establishment of a town within Topsail Inlet. Within seven months after the power of the Tuscarora Indians had been broken in March, 1713,[30]

[21] Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., *Governor Tryon and His Palace* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, c. 1955), opposite 32.

[22] From a document reprinted in Francis L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina from 1663 to 1729* (Fayetteville: E. J. Hale & Son, 2 volumes, 1858), II, 394, hereinafter cited as Hawks, *History of North Carolina.*

[23] This garrison was stationed at "———— Shackleford's plantation. . . ." Saunders, *Colonial Records,* II, 2.

[24] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* II, 45.

[25] Craven Will Books, A, 10.

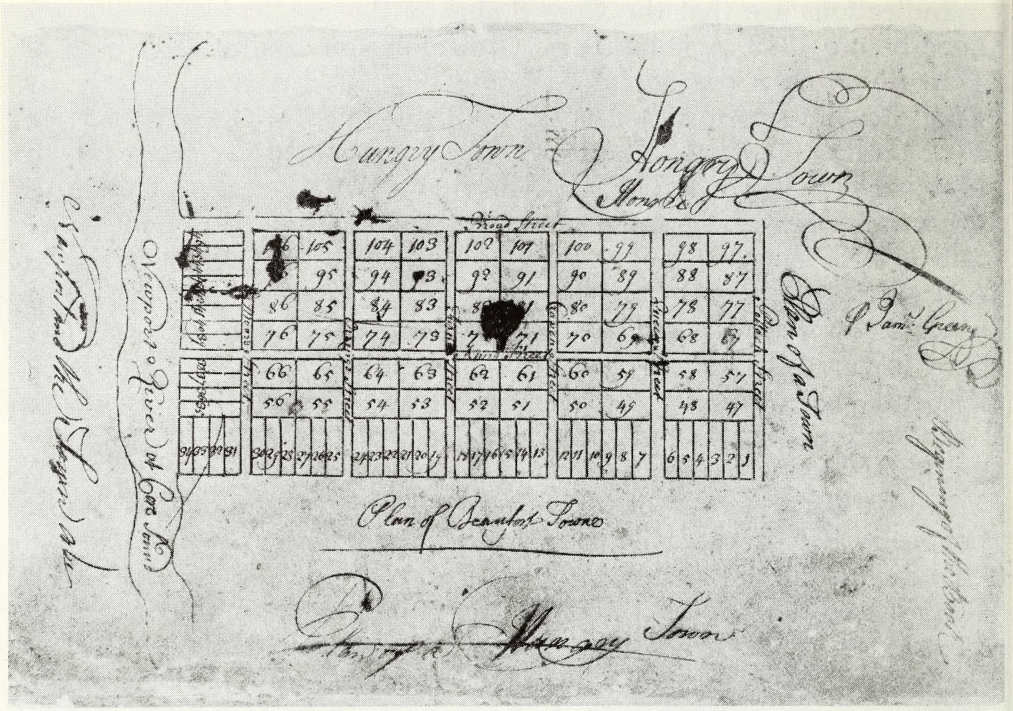
[26] Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 110.

[27] Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 108.

[28] Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 109.

[29] Newport River was first called Core River. Craven Will Books, A, 10. By 1712 it had been given its present name. Craven Will Books, A, 6.

[30] Dill, "Rebellion and Indian Warfare," 316.



This "Plan of Beaufort Towne" is from the Secretary of State's Land Patent Book #7, 1706-1740, in the Archives State Department of Archives and History.

a town was laid out on the southwest corner of the tract of land which Farnifold Green had obtained in 1707. In the meantime, Green had sold the land to Robert Turner, a merchant of Craven Precinct.[31] Sometime prior to the fall of 1713, permission had been obtained from the Lords Proprietors to lay out a town by the name of Beaufort at this site, and on October 2, 1713, Robert Turner had Richard Graves, Deputy Surveyor, lay out the town. A plat was made of the town by Graves and recorded in the office of the secretary of the colony.[32] Streets were named; allotments were provided for a church, a town-house, and a market place;[33] and lots were offered for sale. On that date, October 2, 1713, Beaufort came into existence. Though minor alterations were made throughout the Colonial period, the main characteristics of the plan of the town never changed. The name Beaufort came from Henry Duke of Beaufort, one of the Lords Proprietors, who

[31] Craven Will Books, A, 10-11, 13.

[32] Permission for, the date of, and the men and circumstances connected with the laying out of the town are mentioned in most of the deeds for lots issued before the town was incorporated in 1723. See Carteret Deed Books, D, 91-92, and *passim;* Craven will Books, A, 13-51.

[33] Clark, *State Records,* XXV, 206.

in 1713 was Palatine of Carolina, the chief position among the Proprietors. Turner Street obtained its name from Robert Turner, the father of the town. Moore Street was probably named for Colonel James Moore, who seven months before had brought an end to the Indian war. Pollock Street was named for Thomas Pollock, Acting Governor of the colony from 1712 to 1714. Both Queen and Ann Streets were named in honor of the then reigning monarch of England, while Orange Street honored the memory of William III of Orange who had preceded Queen Anne on the English throne. Craven Street was named in honor of William Lord Craven,[34] another of the Lords Proprietors.[35] When all of these names are considered together, the year 1713 is clearly indicated.

Though the town of Beaufort was laid out in 1713 with the permission of the Lords Proprietors, it was not officially incorporated by the Colonial government until ten years later. In the meantime, on October 19, 1720, Robert Turner had sold the 780 acres, which included the town lands, to Richard Rustull for 150 pound s sterling and had moved to the Pamlico River area,[36] which might indicate that his investment was not yielding satisfactory returns. At least 39 lots were sold during this period,[37] and in 1722, when Carteret Precinct was created, Beaufort was chosen to be the site of its courthouse.[38] The only indication of the size of Beaufort during the period is found in connection with a visit made by the pirates, Edward Teach and Stede Bonnet, to Beaufort harbor in 1718. Charles Johnson, who described this visit in his *History of the Pirates,* spoke of a "poor little village at the upper end of the harbour. . . ." [39] Undoubtedly, this little village was Beaufort.

The act of the General Assembly of November 23, 1723,[40] which officially incorporated Beaufort into a town, was based upon two considerations. The first was the fact that the town had already been laid out.[41] The second was that the Lords Proprietors, upon the peti-

[34] For the distinction between William Earl of Craven and William Lord Craven, see Dill, "Colonization of the Neuse," 6*n*.

[35] For the significance of the names of Beaufort's streets, see *A Brochure Sponsored by The Woman's Club of the Old Port of Beaufort,* in the library of the late F. C. Salisbury, Morehead City.

[36] Carteret Deed Books, B, 42-44.

[37] Lots No. 3, 4, 5, 16, 17, 18, 52, 55, 62, and 65, Carteret Deed Books, A, 65 and D, 121, 277-278; Lots No. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 46, 47, 48, 50, 56, 57, 58, 60, 66, and one unidentified lot owned by Captain John Clark, Craven Will Books, A, 13-20, 23, 28-32, 48-51.

[38] Clark, *State Records,* XXIII, 102.

[39] Arthur L. Haywood (ed.), *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pirates,* by Charles Johnson (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1955), 68-69.

[40] Clark, *State Records,* XXIII, 334.

[41] Clark, *State Records,* XXV, 206.

tion of the inhabitants of Core Sound, had "erected the same, into a Seaport, by the Name of Port-Beaufort . . ." and had invested the same with all privileges and immunities belonging to a seaport.[42] The act of incorporation set up certain guides to the development of the town. For instance, the plan of the town was to be enlarged to 200 acres. The lots already sold were to be reserved to their owners; the places laid out for a church, a townhouse, and a market place were to be reserved. The rest of the land was to be divided into half-acre lots and sold for 30 shillings each with the provision that the buyer must build a house, not less than 15 by 20 feet, within two years. If this condition were not met, the title for the lot was to lapse and it was to be resold at the same price. Of the 30 shillings received for the first sale of the lots, 20 were to go to Richard Rustull, owner of the town land, and the rest to purchase great guns and to fortify the town. The money received for the resale of lots was to be used for the building of a church and for such other uses as the church wardens and the vestry should think fit. To insure that the town would be a suitable place to live, the act of incorporation also stipulated that all lots were to be cleared, that all streets should be at least 66 feet wide, that all nuisances were to be removed from the town, and that no lot was to be enclosed by a "common Stake Fense; but . . . either paled in, or done with Post and Rails set up." Furthermore, anyone caught quarreling or fighting in the town was to pay a fine of ten shillings, or spend 24 hours in the common jail, or sit in the stocks two hours. To encourage the settlement of the town, the act provided that all business affairs of the precinct be carried on there. For the same purpose, it seems, it also stipulated that all liquor made in the precinct could be retailed in the town by any inhabitant of the town without a license. To look after the affairs of the town, five commissioners were appointed who, along with the justices of the precinct court, were given authority to fill any vacancy that might occur among their number because of death. The commissioners were Richard Rustull, Christopher Gale, John Nelson, Joseph Bell, and Richard Bell.[43]

The act of incorporation also provided that Carteret Precinct was to have a church called the Parish of St. John. Twelve men were appointed to compose the first vestry: Christopher Gale, Joseph Bell, John Shaw, John Nelson, Richard Whitehurst, Richard Williamson,

[42] Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206. This action was confirmed by the Governor and his council on April 4, 1722. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 454.
[43] Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206-209.

Richard Rustull, John Shackleford, Thomas Merriday, Enoch Ward, Joseph Fulford, and Charles Cogdail.[44]

The growth of the town of Beaufort proceeded slowly throughout the Colonial period, with the possible exception of the prosperous years after the end of the French and Indian War. Though the records of the sale of lots in Colonial Beaufort are incomplete, they do reveal enough to confirm this general statement. For instance, during the first five years after Beaufort was incorporated in 1723, the sales of only five lots were recorded.[45] All of these occurred in 1723, and all of them lapsed at the end of a two-year period because the owners did not build on them.[46] In December, 1725, Richard Rustull saved the investment that he had made in Beaufort by selling the town lands to Nathaniel Taylor, a resident of Carteret Precinct, for 160 pounds sterling.[47]

The year 1728 marked the beginning of a brief period during which speculation in Beaufort real estate reached a high point. In the four years after 1728, deeds were recorded for at least 21 lots for which there is no record of a previous sale.[48] Sixteen lots which had lapsed because their owners had not met the building requirements were resold by the town commissioners,[49] and five lots were transferred from one individual to another.[50] A spirit of optimism was evident by 1728 when a new section was added to the town, and from that time on, deeds for lots in the town of Beaufort distinguished between Old Town and New Town.[51] Still very few of these lots were saved, and in 1731, Governor Burrington described the town as one of "but little success & scarce any inhabitants."[52]

As years passed, lots in Beaufort were transferred back and forth from one owner to another, but there seems to have been little overall growth. In 1737 John Brickell, writing in his *Natural History of North-Carolina,* described Beaufort as a town with a pleasant pros-

[44] Clark, *State Records,* XXV, 208-209.

[45] Carteret Deed Books, A, 33-37.

[46] All five of these lots (Lots No. 15, 22, 27, 13, and 14) were resold by the town commissioners with the usual stipulation that a house be built on them within two years. Carteret Deed Books, D, 90, 95, 400-401; H, 358-360.

[47] Carteret Deed Books, C, 134-136.

[48] Lots No. 8, 11, 12, 13, 42, 49, 51, 53, 61, 63, and two unidentified lots owned by Richard Rustull, all in Old Town (that part of the town laid out in 1713), and Lots No. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 19, 20, and 29 in New Town (see below note 51), Carteret Deed Books, D, 1, 6-9, 27, 29, 30-31, 38, 45-46, 55-56, 66-67, 85-86, 95, 114-115, 140, 149.

[49] Lots No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 52, 62, and 63 in Old Town, and Lots No. 2 and 20 in New Town, Carteret Deed Books, D, 1, 4, 28, 58, 68, 80-81, 86, 90, 92, 94, 121.

[50] Lots No. 8, 9, and 10 in Old Town, and Lots No. 2 and 20 in New Town, Carteret Deed Books, D, 25-26, 44-45, 47, 58, 82-83, 87, 108, 111-112.

[51] Carteret Deed Books, D, 1, and *passim.*

[52] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* III, 191.

pect, but it was "small and thinly inhabited."[53] Even as late as 1748, the year after the town had been captured and occupied for a brief period by a band of Spanish privateers,[54] the list of taxables for the whole county numbered only 320.[55] Approximately one-tenth of these lived in Beaufort which would set the number of taxables at only 32 in that year.

One of the most vivid accounts of Colonial Beaufort was given by a French traveler who visited the town in 1765. Arriving at Cape Lookout on March 13, he walked down the beach to a whalers' camp and persuaded some of them to take him over to Beaufort on the mainland. A short visit left him with a very unfavorable impression of the town. He described it as "a Small vilage not above 12 houses, the inhabitants seem miserable, they are very lazy and Indolent, they live mostly on fish and oisters, which they have in great plenty."[56] Though the Frenchman's description of the town as a small village is accurate, his estimation of not above 12 houses appears rather conservative.[57]

The twelve years before the Revolutionary War seem to have been a period of substantial settlement in Beaufort. In the six years from 1765 through 1770, at least 37 lots, or pieces of lots, changed hands.[58] Some of them, to be sure, had already been saved and were just being transferred to new owners. At least nine of the 37 lots, or pieces of lots, had buildings erected on them during that period.[59] During this period buildings were first erected on many of the waterfront lots of the west end of the town.[60]

Beaufort grew steadily, and by the spring of 1773, the inhabitants petitioned the government of the colony that Beaufort be allowed

[53] John Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina with an Account of the Trade, Manners, and Customs of the Christian and Indian Inhabitants* (Dublin, Ireland: Printed by James Carson, 1737), 8.

[54] The records yield little information concerning the Spanish occupation of Beaufort. That the town was captured is verified by the caption "Men on Duty when the Town was Taken," which precedes a list of names dated August 26, 1747. Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 263.

[55] William K. Boyd, "Some North Carolina Tracts of the 18th Century: X, XI," Part XI, "A Table of North Carolina Taxes, 1748-1770," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (July, 1926), opposite 476.

[56] "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, Part I," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 733.

[57] By 1765, 23 deeds for lots had been recorded which, by internal evidence, indicated that houses had been erected on these lots. See Carteret Deed Books, D, 44-46, 92, 111-112, 121, 150, 175 and 444, 239-240, 278, 342-343; F, 381-382; G, 132-133; H, 97-98, 328-329, 350-351; I, 248-249.

[58] Carteret Deed Books, G, 167-169, 186-187; H, 236, 269-270, 281-282, 300, 311-313, 315-318, 328-330, 332, 334-335, 350-351, 357-360, 420-421, 442-443, 445-447, 463-464, 480.

[59] Carteret Deed Books, H, 70, 315-316, 332, 357, 445-446, 480; I, 246-247, 331, 354-355, 385.

[60] Lots No. 21, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, and 33 had buildings erected on them between 1765 and 1770. Carteret Deed Books, H, 315-316, 357, 445-446, 480; I, 246-247, 331, 354-355, 385.

representation in the General Assembly.[61] The petition also made it clear that Beaufort could claim such representation as a right since the town had 60 families, the number required for such representation by a law of 1715.[62] Justified as it might have been, Beaufort's petition was not granted, due it seems, to the efforts of Royal Governor Josiah Martin. Writing to Lord Dartmouth on April 20, 1773, he advised against giving Beaufort representation on the grounds that the assembly was already too large and that "though Beaufort is advantageously situated for commerce . . . there are no persons of condition or substance in it, and the Trade that was formerly carried on through that Channel, is now derived almost entirely to this town," that is, to New Bern.[63]

The people who lived in Beaufort during the Colonial period represented a variety of occupations; there were carpenters, tailors, blacksmiths, mariners, merchants, innkeepers, surveyors, joiners, coopers, shipwrights, shoemakers, and fishermen.[64] There were also attorneys and schoolmasters.[65] In 1728 John Clement purchased a lot and described himself as a preacher of the Gospel,[66] but it seems that neither he nor any other minister lived in Beaufort during the Colonial period, and later his name appears in the Craven County records as a schoolmaster.[67] Many of Beaufort's residents held positions in the local and Colonial governments, and those who were qualified to do

[61] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 636-637.
[62] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 73-79.
[63] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 636-637.
[64] Thomas Bedford, John Harris, and Richard Baker described themselves as carpenters. Carteret Deed Books, D, 27, 47, 140. William Owens and Joseph Bell were tailors. Carteret Deed Books, D. 27; H, 447-448. Andrew Frasure and Isaac Negus were blacksmiths. Carteret Deed Books, D, 28, 149. Arthur Mabson described himself as both a mariner and a merchant. Carteret Deed Books, D, 80-81, 89. Other merchants were Robert Turner, James Salter, John Clitherall, John Ronald, James Easton, Benjamin Appleton, and Jacob Shepherd. Carteret Deed Books, D, 58, 91, 330-331, 375; H, 332, 485-486. James Salter was also an innkeeper, as was William Dennis. Carteret Deed Books, D, 156-157; F, 380-381. James Winright was a surveyor. Carteret Deed Books, D, 87. William Mosely was a joiner. Carteret Deed Books, F, 381-382. Richard Rustull and Hector Hancock were both described as coopers. Carteret Court Minutes, I, 39, 41. Lawrence Boore, Robert Pew, and Robert Walpoole were shipwrights. Carteret Deed Books, H, 317-318; I, 135-136, 215. James Jannet was a shoemaker. Carteret Deed Books, I, 136-137. That there were fishermen living in Beaufort in this period is indicated by Governor Martin's description of it as "a small fishing Town. . . ." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 33.
[65] Henry Blurbon and David Handmare described themselves as attorneys at law. Carteret Court Minutes, I, 47, 49. Samuel Leffers was a schoolmaster. Carteret Deed Books, I, 251-252.
[66] Carteret Deed Books, D, 4.
[67] Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., "Eighteenth Century New Bern, A History of the Town and Craven County, 1700-1800," Part IV, "Years of Slow Development," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (October, 1945), 488.

so proudly added "Esquire" to their names.[68] Others were closely connected with the work of the Anglican Church in the county.[69]

As a whole the inhabitants of Beaufort seem to have been a very benevolent people. The vestrymen of the parish were meticulous in their concern for the needy, especially orphans, the sick who had no one to care for them, and the old who could not care for themselves.[70] On at least three occasions old Indians were provided for by the church.[71] Even in their dealings with offenders, the jurymen who convened at Beaufort seem to have shown mercy as in the case of a certain Jane Sims who in 1736 was convicted of adultery. She was sentenced to "be taken to the Whipping post and there upon her Naked Back Receive thirty Nine Lashes well layed on. . . ." However, the court, "upon the humble submission of ye sd Jane Sims . . . Referred the Immediate Execution of ye above Sentence till another opportunity . . ." provided that she leave the precinct.[72]

Another example of the type of justice received in Beaufort's courts is seen in a case involving Ebenezer Harker, a resident of nearby Harker's Island,[73] but a man closely connected with Beaufort's history. In December, 1736, Harker appeared at a meeting of the court and proceeded to call Thomas Lovick, chairman of the court, a scoundrel and a cheat and many other abusive names, declaring that he was not fit to be judge of the court. The justices considered the matter immediately and ordered Harker to be brought before the court on the next day and answer contempt charges. In the meantime, the justices agreed on certain measures for the erection of a jail in Beaufort which was greatly needed. The records do not indicate that these two events were connected, but it is significant to note that on the next day Harker appeared before the court pleading for pardon which the court immediately granted.[74]

The jail which was provided for at this time was to be a heavy wooden structure made of sawed logs not less than four inches thick and dovetailed at the corners. It was to have two small windows

[68] Carteret Deed Books, D, 45, 111; G, 186. Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, Beaufort, 1742-1843, 3 volumes, Archives, I, 9, hereinafter cited as Vestry Books of St. John's Parish.

[69] Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 3, and *passim.*

[70] Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 14, and *passim.*

[71] Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 40, 42, 53.

[72] Carteret Court Minutes, I, 63.

[73] Carteret Deed Books, E, 299-300. In the Colonial period, Harker's Island was called Craney Island. It was first granted to Farnifold Green, who, on January 25, 1708/09, sold it to William Brice. On the same day, Brice sold it to Thomas Sparrow for £10, just double the amount he had paid for it. Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 129-130. From Sparrow it was transferred to Thomas Pollock, who willed it to his son, George Pollock. George Pollock sold it to Ebenezer Harker in 1730. Carteret Deed Books, D, 120, 159-160.

[74] Carteret Court Minutes, I, 64.

with iron bars, a heavy door with a substantial lock, and covered with "good pine shingles well nailed." It was also to be equipped with a "good, Strong Substantial pair of Stocks. . . ." Daniel Rees was appointed to build the structure for £135.[75] The records reveal that construction of this jail was immediately begun, and that it was soon completed.[76]

Beaufort did not have a resident minister during the Colonial period. Neither did it have a church building.[77] In June, 1724, the church wardens bought from the town commissioners a "Lott of land . . . together with the house now erected thereon . . . being at present the house appointed for a Court House. . . ."[78] Evidently, this building was intended to serve both legal and spiritual purposes. Only three months later, though, a hurricane rendered it unusable by destroying its roof,[79] and in the next year it was completely destroyed by fire.[80] When the next courthouse was completed in 1728,[81] the church started holding its services there and did so throughout the Colonial period.[82] Usually, these services were conducted by a layman,[83] but for certain occasions, such as administering the sacraments, ministers from other parts of the colony were employed to come to Beaufort.[84] In 1755 the vestry arranged with the Reverend James Reed of Christ Church in New Bern to come at certain intervals, and from that time to the end of the Colonial period, these visits were rather regular.[85]

Between 1723 and 1728 James Winright, a surveyor from Albemarle County, moved to Beaufort and immediately became prominent in local affairs.[86] In the ensuing years, he invested heavily in

[75] Carteret Court Minutes, I, 64.

[76] It was needing repairs in 1742. Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 1. Provisions were made to replace it with a new one in 1756. Carteret Court Minutes, II, 227, 229, 278.

[77] In 1770 an act was passed for improving the town of Beaufort which stipulated that 10*s.* of every 30 received from the sale of lots in the town were to go "to the Church Wardens of the Parish of St. John's for and towards building a Church in the said Town." Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 806. In 1774 David Lewis willed £100 proclamation money, toward "Building a Church in Beaufort Town. . . ." Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 64. There is no evidence that such a building was erected in the Colonial period.

[78] Carteret Deed Books, A, 97-98.

[79] Carteret Court Minutes, I, 3.

[80] Carteret Court Minutes, I, 9.

[81] Carteret Court Minutes, I, 23.

[82] Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 25, 31, 34, 41.

[83] Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 3, and *passim.*

[84] Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 1, 5.

[85] Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 25, and *passim.* See also, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 265-266, 326, 565, 1,047-1,048; VII, 99; IX, 244.

[86] In 1723 he was described as "of Albemarle County." Carteret Grant Books, D, 3. By 1728 he was a resident of Carteret Precinct. Carteret Deed Books, D, 1. In 1731 he described himself as a surveyor. Carteret Deed Books, D, 87.

real estate in the town[87] and held numerous offices in the local government.[88] An indication of the stature of this citizen of Beaufort is seen in the fact that before he died in late 1744 or early 1745,[89] he made his will stipulating that at the death of his wife all that he owned in Beaufort was to become an endowment for a school. The profits and rents on all of this property were to be used "for The encouragement of a Sober Discreet Quallifyed Man to teach . . . at Least Reading Writing Vulgar & Decimal Arithmetick in the . . . town. . . ." He also gave £50 sterling to be applied toward building a house on some part of his land to serve both as a schoolhouse and as a dwelling for the schoolteacher. He even went so far as to provide for a measure of academic freedom. The schoolmaster, he declared, "Shall not be obliged to teach or take under his Care any Schoolar or Schoolars Imposed on him by the Trustees herein Mentioned or their Succesors or by any other person, But Shall have free Liberty to teach & take under his Care Such and so many Schoolars as he Shall think Convenient. . . ."[90]

The direct results of the gift by James Winright are not known. It is significant, though, that within five years there was a schoolhouse at the Straits, not far from Beaufort,[91] and that by 1765 the vestry had appointed a man to employ three schoolteachers to serve the parish.[92] Before 1776 Samuel Leffers, who described himself as a schoolmaster, was living in Beaufort.[93]

Throughout the Colonial period, Beaufort remained small and played a minor role in the over-all economy and politics of the colony. Though it was one of the colony's few seaports, it was never as important as Edenton. These facts, however, do not detract from its significance. Through Indian attack, the destruction of tropical hurricanes, and the ravages of enemy privateers, the settlement within Topsail Inlet persisted to give Colonial Beaufort a significant place in the history of North Carolina.

[87] Carteret Deed Books, D, 1, and *passim*. In 1742 Winright became the owner of all the town lands not previously sold. Carteret Deed Books, D, 301-302.

[88] He was a town commissioner by virtue of the fact that he was owner of the town lands. He served also as treasurer of Carteret Precinct, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 403-404; vestryman, Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 1; clerk of court, Carteret Court Minutes, I, 73; and coroner, Carteret Court Minutes, I, 104.

[89] Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 5.

[90] Secretary of State Papers, North Carolina Wills, 1663-1789, Archives, XXXV, 18.

[91] Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 13.

[92] Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 48.

[93] Carteret Deed Books, I, 251-252.

REPUBLICANISM IN NORTH CAROLINA: JOHN MOTLEY MOREHEAD'S CAMPAIGN TO REVIVE A MORIBUND PARTY, 1908-1910

By Joseph F. Steelman*

The unanimous nomination of John Motley Morehead by the North Carolina fifth district Republican congressional convention in 1908 was symbolic of a change of party strategy in the state and in the South. Progressive-minded Republicans had long maintained that leaders of questionable caliber, patronage brokers, referees, and the officeholding clique that dominated the party had deliberately thwarted its growth. Whatever gains were registered by Republicans could be credited in part to the apathy that prevailed in the Democratic ranks after 1900. If the party were kept small it was believed that the spoils of office dispensed by a Republican administration could be monopolized by a privileged few. Morehead's candidacy was calculated to reverse this strategy and to revitalize the party.[1]

As a businessman candidate, Morehead solicited votes and financial support from the rising industrial and commercial interests of North Carolina. He lacked previous political experience, and he had not become identified with the bitter factional alignments in the Republican party. He had not served previously as an officeholder nor was he labeled a patronage broker or a professional politician. Morehead was the grandson and namesake of a distinguished Whig leader and governor and was heir to a celebrated family tradition. He was born in Charlotte in 1866, attended the public schools of that city, and later enrolled in the famed Bingham Military School. In 1886 he graduated from The University of North Carolina after which he completed a business course at Bryant and Stratton College in Baltimore.[2]

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[1] Henry W. Miller to J. Elwood Cox, February 4, 1907, and H. Sinclair Williams to J. Elwood Cox, February 12, 1908, J. Elwood Cox Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as Cox Papers; *The Caucasian* (Raleigh), April 9, May 7, August 20, September 10, 1908, hereinafter cited as *The Caucasian; Daily Industrial News* (Greensboro), September 1, 1908, hereinafter cited as *Daily Industrial News.*

[2] *Daily Industrial News,* September 3, 1908.

Morehead's business interests were varied and extensive. He had commenced his business career as collecting teller in the Commercial National Bank of Charlotte. Later he became a buyer and dealer in leaf tobacco in Durham. His farming and real estate interests were located in Mecklenburg, Rockingham, and Cabarrus counties. In 1898 he removed to Leaksville where, as vice-president of the Leaksville Woolen Mills, he became affiliated in business with his father, Colonel John L. Morehead and his uncle, J. Turner Morehead. The Leaksville blankets manufactured by this firm were distributed widely to the hotel trade by the firm of John Wanamaker of Philadelphia.[3]

A combination of circumstances prompted Morehead's decision to enter the congressional race in 1908. The adverse reaction of business interests, particularly railroads, to the liberal legislative measures of North Carolina's 1907 session kindled Republican hopes for victory. Party leaders, mindful of widespread discontent with liberal Democratic legislation, insisted that it was time for the business element in the Republican party to take a more active role in politics.[4] Republicans also appealed to disaffected Democrats who were outspokenly opposed to the candidacy and platform of William Jennings Bryan. A goodly number of Democrats were alienated by the avowedly liberal Democratic gubernatorial nominee William Walton Kitchin.[5] While Republicans did not make an issue of prohibition, they could capitalize upon the discontent of many Democrats who viewed the prohibition referendum as a denial of local self-government and home rule.[6]

In the fifth congressional district, made up of the counties of Alamance, Caswell, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Person, Rockingham, Stokes, and Surry, Republicans highlighted the bitter intraparty factional attack which had been launched against the Democratic congressional candidate, Aubrey Lee Brooks. It was unlikely that Morehead could defeat the incumbent congressman of the fifth district, William Walton Kitchin, but when Kitchin received the gubernatorial nomination and removed himself from congressional

[3] John Motley Morehead III, *The Morehead Family in North Carolina and Virginia* (New York: Privately printed, 1921), 64.

[4] James H. Chadbourn to Benjamin Newton Duke, November 4, 1908, Benjamin Newton Duke Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, hereinafter cited as Duke Papers; *The Caucasian*, September 24, 1908; *Daily Industrial News*, October 31, 1908; *Statesville Landmark*, September 8, 1908.

[5] Marion Butler to J. Elwood Cox, August 1, 12, 1908, Cox Papers.

[6] *New Bern Daily Journal*, February 11, 1908; *Asheville Gazette-News*, May 4, 1908; *Winston-Salem Journal*, May 19, 1908; *The High Point Enterprise*, October 28, 1908.

politics, the way was opened for a contest against Brooks to fill his seat.[7]

Morehead's decision to enter the congressional race was also influenced by the nomination of Jonathan Elwood Cox, High Point furniture manufacturer and banker, as Republican gubernatorial candidate. Cox wired Morehead from the Republican state convention in Charlotte and urged that he enter the race.[8] Earlier the names of Alfred Eugene Holton and William Preston Bynum, Jr., had been mentioned as likely candidates, but the only leader to receive widespread endorsement was John W. Fries, prominent Winston-Salem manufacturer. Fries withdrew his name from nomination and his decision led subsequently to Morehead's selection as candidate.[9]

Morehead planned to solicit the co-operation of "every mill man (official or owner) in the district"; he broadened his campaign to include "mill operatives." He and Cox proposed to rally support from "all classes of manufacturing." [10] The tactics of the campaign involved appeals to those interests, particularly textile interests, that favored protective tariff policies. Morehead was assured of the support of railroad interests that blamed Democrats for the rate legislation of 1907.[11] Substantial contributions to the Republican campaign chest were made with a view to more active party participation in legislation at state and national levels.[12] "While I have no stomach for the job, even if elected," Morehead confided, "I believe a business ticket all around will raise the standard of the party tremendously in the state. . . ." At the same time he assailed the role of the "professional politician and chronic office seeker." [13] The advocates of a businessman's ticket placed especial emphasis upon the need for North Carolina to take a more prominent role in national politics. They concluded that the only way to accomplish this objective was to elect Republican candidates.[14]

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[7] *A Pocket Manual of North Carolina . . .* ([Raleigh]: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1909), 144; John Motley Morehead, *Charges Originated with Eminent Democrats and Are Not Denied* (broadside), North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; *Daily Industrial News*, October 11, 1908; Aubrey Lee Brooks, *A Southern Lawyer, Fifty Years at the Bar* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950), 82-87.

[8] John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, September 11, November 16, 1908; David H. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, November 10, 1908, Cox Papers.

[9] John W. Fries to J. Elwood Cox, August 3, 1908, and David H. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, July 9, September 1, 1908, Cox Papers; *Daily Industrial News*, September 1, 1908.

[10] John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, September 21, 1908, Cox Papers.

[11] Gilliam Grissom to Benjamin Duke, September 29, 1908, Duke Papers; J. S. White to J. Elwood Cox, August 31, 1908, Cox Papers; *Daily Industrial News*, October 9, 1908.

[12] Benjamin Newton Duke to John C. Angier, October 23, 1908, Duke Papers.

[13] John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, August 28, 1908, Cox Papers; *Daily Industrial News*, October 31, 1908.

[14] *The Caucasian*, September 10, 24, 1908.

The campaign of 1908, therefore, involved a more determined effort than heretofore to elect Republican candidates. At the same time, the Republican spokesmen were attempting a complete overhaul and reorientation of the party. For the first time in the history of the party its presidential candidate, William Howard Taft, conducted a campaign tour of the state.[15] The initiative in the state campaign was assumed by Thomas Settle, Marion Butler, Elwood Cox, and Morehead. They were advised about many aspects of party strategy by William Garrott Brown. Nationally prominent as a political essayist and historian, Brown had retired from his lectureship in American history at Harvard University and his writing career to undergo treatment for tuberculosis at Asheville. His articles on Republican party strategy appeared in New York newspapers, the *World's Work*, and *Harper's Weekly*, and his principal theme involved the rebuilding of the Republican party in the South. Brown claimed that he wrote the Republican state platform in North Carolina in 1908.[16]

Morehead and Cox were neophytes in politics and represented the industrial and commercial interests of the Piedmont. Settle was a seasoned politician and former congressman who rallied support for the party from his residence in Asheville. Butler's career in politics as Populist and Republican had been characterized by unending crises. It was anticipated that from his stronghold in Sampson County he would anchor the eastern wing of the party. His strongly worded editorials in *The Caucasian* of Raleigh set the tone of the campaign. For many years Butler had been engaged in a running attack upon patronage brokers in the party. It should be added, however, that he was engaged in a good deal of influence peddling from his law office in the nation's capital.[17]

Since Republicans had abandoned the Negro and contended during the campaign of 1908 that William Jennings Bryan was meeting secretly with Negro delegations, the obvious strategy for them to pursue was to make the party attractive to disaffected Democrats.[18] To accomplish this end a strong appeal was made to industrial leaders,

[15] *Daily Industrial News*, October 18, 1908; *The Caucasian*, October 22, 1908; *The Union Republican* (Winston), October 22, 1908, hereinafter cited as *The Union Republican*.

[16] William Garrott Brown to Thomas Settle, September 1, 1908, Thomas Settle to J. Elwood Cox, September 2, 4, 1908, and William Garrott Brown to J. Elwood Cox, October 7, 16, 1908, Cox Papers; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, September 3, 10, 18, 1908; *World's Work*, XVI (August, 1908), 10,516-10,517.

[17] *The Caucasian*, November 12, 1908.

[18] Iredell Meares to J. Elwood Cox, July 27, 1908, William J. Leary to J. Elwood Cox, September 4, 1908, S. Arthur White to J. Elwood Cox, September 12, 1908, and George E. Butler to J. Elwood Cox, September 30, 1908, Cox Papers; *The Union Republican*, February 13, March 5, July 30, October 29, 1908; *The Caucasian*, July 16, August 13, 1908; *Statesville Landmark*, February 11, 1908.

of whom the most conspicuous was Daniel Augustus Tompkins of Charlotte. Thomas Settle had launched a movement during the summer of 1908 to nominate Tompkins as Republican gubernatorial candidate. Tompkins confided, "I have not seen my way clear to undertake to inaugurate any new movement at the present time."[19] Therefore he declined the Republican nomination. Nonetheless, he assisted Republican gubernatorial candidate Elwood Cox in writing campaign speeches, and he borrowed heavily from ideas he had received from Walter Hines Page.[20] Tompkins publicly supported Taft and he was quoted by the Baltimore *American* to have declared: "Thank heaven the day has gone in North Carolina when to cast a Republican ballot invited censure and ostracism."[21] At about the same time the Democratic state chairman gratefully acknowledged a contribution of $20 from Tompkins toward the state campaign expenses.[22]

In the presidential, gubernatorial, and congressional races of 1908, Republicans of North Carolina made unprecedented gains. In five congressional districts Taft's vote was greater than Bryan's.[23] Morehead's election to Congress from the fifth district and the election of two other Republicans, Charles Holden Cowles in the eighth district and John G. Grant in the tenth district, emboldened party strategists to intensify their campaign to break the "Solid South." The *Daily Industrial News* of Greensboro reported that Taft had written Elwood Cox that the election of Morehead to Congress was the greatest Republican victory in the United States in 1908, and it speculated that Morehead might be Taft's running mate in 1912.[24] It was noted that Morehead's election as a businessman Republican in a strongly Democratic district was the first such victory for the party south of the Potomac.[25] William Preston Bynum, Jr., who served as chairman of Morehead's campaign committee, declared, "he was elected because he ran independent of the machine; otherwise he would not have been elected." Bynum concluded that if Taft wished to make North Caro-

[19] Thomas Settle to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, July 5, 1908; Daniel Augustus Tompkins to W. H. Ragan, July 15, 1908, Daniel Augustus Tompkins Papers, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Tompkins Papers.

[20] Arthur W. Page to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, July 13, 1908; Daniel Augustus Tompkins to Arthur W. Page, July 15, 1908; Walter Hines Page to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, July 28, 1908; Daniel Augustus Tompkins to J. Elwood Cox, December 31, 1908, Tompkins Papers.

[21] Quoted in *Daily Industrial News*, September 30, 1908; see also, Daniel Augustus Tompkins to J. Elwood Cox, December 31, 1908, Tompkins Papers.

[22] Adolphus H. Eller to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, October 19, 1908, Tompkins Papers.

[23] William Howard Taft to J. Elwood Cox, November 30, 1908, Cox Papers; *Daily Industrial News*, November 8, 29, 1908; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, December 6, 1908.

[24] *Daily Industrial News*, November 14, 1908.

[25] *The Caucasian*, January 6, 1910.

lina Republican, he would "find it necessary to use other instrumentalities than what is known as the 'organization.'" [26]

A *New York Times* reporter claimed that Morehead regarded his election as a personal calamity. He had not expected to win, and his only purpose was to cut down the Democratic majority. He did not have the slightest idea of being elected; he did not make speeches; he did not attend meetings; and he refused to meet Aubrey L. Brooks in debate. The reporter quoted Morehead as saying that he had been "badly betrayed" by his warmest friends. "I never went into anything so half-heartedly in all my life. I am a business man; I don't know anything about politics, and care less," Morehead was reported to have said.[27] When this was brought to Morehead's attention he branded it as a lie and remarked that "no interview of any kind has been given and the first article in the Times was as much news to me as any one else...." [28] Newspaper accounts from North Carolina indicated that Morehead spoke extensively during the campaign.

Encouraged by the election of three Republican congressmen from North Carolina, William Garrott Brown recommended that southern Republicans abandon their policy of deliberately stunting the party's growth and catering to delegate-delivering machines of federal office-holders. In order to achieve this purpose Brown urged that Taft make a speech at once and announce his southern policy. Morehead was advised of these plans. When Brown was prevented by illness from visiting Taft in New York, Walter Hines Page took his place and prevailed upon the president-elect to address the North Carolina Society of New York at the Hotel Astor on December 7, 1908.[29] This was considered to be Taft's opening round in a campaign to break the "Solid South." After a flowery introduction by Page, Taft told his southern friends that election laws prevented domination of states, counties, or municipalities by "an ignorant electorate of white or black." The Negro, he declared, should have an equal chance to qualify himself for the franchise, and he denounced proposals to repeal the fifteenth amendment. He proposed agricultural and industrial training for the Negro. The federal government, he added, had nothing to do with social equality and the Civil War amend-

[26] William Preston Bynum, Jr., to Henry Edward Cowan Bryant, June 24, 1909, Henry Edward Cowan Bryant Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Bryant Papers.

[27] *The New York Times*, November 12, 1908.

[28] John Motley Morehead to J. Gilmer Korner, November 17, 1908, Duke Papers; see also, John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, November 16, 1908, Cox Papers.

[29] William Garrott Brown to William R. Thayer, November 13, 1908, William Garrott Brown Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, hereinafter cited as Brown Papers; William Garrott Brown to J. Elwood Cox, November 17, 18, December 5, 1908, and John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, December 1, 1908, Cox Papers.

ments did not declare social equality. With the removal of the race question from politics he maintained there could be a division along economic lines. At the conclusion of this address that was obviously intended to soothe the ears of southerners, Taft remarked "the best friend the Negro can have is the southern white man." [30]

If Taft's southern policy were to be effective, it was necessary to lure Democrats into the Republican camp. The key figure in North Carolina upon whom Republicans lavished attention was Daniel A. Tompkins. Thomas Settle urged that Tompkins accept a cabinet post. "You, Morehead, Cox and myself can by co-operation in the present status of affairs, I think, accomplish a great deal for good results in the general situation," Settle confided.[31] But while Tompkins might be a man of Republican principles when it came to active participation in politics he had feet of clay. His ardor commenced to wane when he was told that Taft was anxious to see him and Joseph P. Caldwell and James Calvin Hemphill during a golfing holiday in Augusta, Georgia.[32] "I have never been in politics and don't want to have the semblance of now actually entering into the political field. I therefore think it best for me not to make any visit to Augusta on my own motion, nor with the committee of a party which is distinctly Republican and political," Tompkins pleaded. Two weeks later he advised that he "particularly wished to avoid any semblance of purely political relations" with Taft, and he begged Elwood Cox to visit in Augusta and "suggest the propriety of letting this whole subject drop for the present." [33]

Taft was eager to meet his southern friends. He suggested a meeting in Augusta on December 21, 22, or 23, and when he found their time was taken up with "previous engagements" he proposed "any time" during the first week of January.[34] When it was revealed that the Augusta meetings were intended to launch Taft or Independent clubs in the South, Joseph P. Caldwell pleaded that he too be excused "from this unfortunate complication without further embarrassment." [35] Tompkins remarked: "It is an exceedingly delicate matter

[30] *The New York Times*, December 8, 1908; see also, *Daily Industrial News*, December 8, 1908.

[31] Thomas Settle to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, November 15, 25, 1908, Tompkins Papers. Marion Butler also suggested that Tompkins be considered for a cabinet position. See Marion Butler to William Howard Taft, January 6, 1909; Marion Butler to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, January 23, 1909, Tompkins Papers.

[32] Joseph Pearson Caldwell to Henry Edward Cowan Bryant, December 14, 1908, Cox Papers; Daniel Augustus Tompkins to Thomas Settle, November 24, 1908, and Richard H. Edmonds to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, November 23, 1908, Tompkins Papers.

[33] Daniel Augustus Tompkins to J. Elwood Cox, December 19, 31, 1908, Cox Papers.

[34] William Howard Taft to J. Elwood Cox, December 19, 23, 1908, Cox Papers.

[35] Joseph Pearson Caldwell to J. Elwood Cox, January 1, 1909, Cox Papers.

to write about, or even talk about, but the southern man who wishes to be at the same time conservative in his loyalty to the people of the South and liberal in his views upon political and economic subjects, cannot bring himself to the appearance of going over bodily to the Republican party." [36]

The much publicized plans of Morehead, Cox, Settle, Butler, and Brown to Republicanize the state and thereby seize the initiative in the South received a jolting setback when Tompkins and Caldwell balked at the prospect of closer affiliation with Taft. Undaunted by Tompkins' vascillating role, Taft conferred with southern leaders in Augusta on December 31, 1908, and it was shortly reported that he had served notice that the party in the South would not be run for the convention votes it would yield. While eating opossum, sweet potatoes, and persimmon sauce Taft announced that he intended to bring the South into closer relationship with national politics, and he indicated that he would appoint men of character, reputation, and ability. He would seek the most eligible candidates for office whether they were Republicans or Democrats.[37]

Long before Morehead was installed in office, he found that his time would be preoccupied with patronage matters. "It is a great misfortune to the Republican Party that there is no job for every man who voted the ticket," he wrote Elwood Cox, "and this business is getting on my nerves." [38] It was evident that Morehead would be opposed by the "organization" leaders in his own party, the state chairman Spencer Bell Adams and the national committeeman Edward Carl Duncan.[39] In matters involving the patronage there had been ample warning that Taft might appoint a Democrat to a lucrative federal post; his address to the Republican state convention in Greensboro in 1906 had served as a forewarning of his intentions.[40]

The appointment of Henry Groves Connor as federal district judge for the eastern North Carolina district following the death of Thomas R. Purnell nonetheless came as a great shock to Morehead and the Republican state organization. A prominent Democrat from Wilson, Connor had served with distinction as associate justice of the state Supreme Court. Morehead supported unsuccessfully the appointment

[36] Daniel Augustus Tompkins to Henry Edward Cowan Bryant, December 30, 1908, Daniel Augustus Tompkins Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Tompkins Papers, Library of Congress.

[37] *The Caucasian*, January 7, 21, 28, 1909.

[38] John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, February 6, 1909, Cox Papers.

[39] William Garrott Brown to A. Piatt Andrew, June 29, 1910, Brown Papers; *The Caucasian*, June 24, 1909.

[40] *The Caucasian*, April 22, 1909; *Times-Mercury* (Hickory), May 19, 1909; *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), May 21, 1909, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer; World's Work*, XVII (March, 1909), 11,299-11,300.

of Thomas Settle to this position. "It is nothing short of a travesty that the most representative man from any and every standpoint and the natural leader and the pack-horse of Republicanism in North Carolina should fail to receive from this administration the reward that he merits," Morehead complained.[41] Taft was adamant that the judge should be a resident of the eastern district and when the names of former Populists were submitted for his consideration, he was reported to have exclaimed that he intended to appoint a *"judge."*[42] Morehead confided to Elwood Cox: "But for the internecine warfare in the Party, which gives me an abiding disgust for politics, we could land Settle over Mr. Taft's objection to residence." And he added "the fact that Pritchard and Duncan have been astraddle of Settle's neck for the past twelve years should cause his friends to rally to him now that Mr. Taft has shot a hole in the machine that permits the passage of not a four-horse team but a man-of-war."[43] Morehead was eager that the business elements in the Republican party rally behind Settle; he recalled "... Taft has said he would not consider any man who has affiliated with the Populists, which practically eliminates all Republicans mentioned for the position within the district."[44] He undertook to persuade the President to go outside the district for a candidate and in this instance he failed. Edward C. Duncan, the national committeeman, was accused of abandoning the Republican candidate who sought this position.[45] Marion Butler's *Caucasian* for months had encouraged the President to assume greater independence in making appointments and it urged him to select the best man, whether a Republican or a Democrat. In the light of Connor's appointment *The Caucasian* sternly observed that Taft had misapplied the principle.[46] While virtually all factions in the Republican party were opposed to Connor's appointment, there were confidential assurances from some Republicans that Taft's selection met with hearty approval.[47]

When Taft called Congress into special session in 1909 to commence work on the tariff, Morehead was anxious to focus his attention

[41] John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, March 30, 1909, Cox Papers.
[42] *World's Work*, XVIII (June, 1909), 11,635; (July, 1909), 11,733; see Taft's comment to a Charlotte audience on May 20, 1909, in *The Caucasian*, May 27, 1909.
[43] John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, April 2, 1909, Cox Papers.
[44] John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, April 2, 1909, Cox Papers.
[45] Edward C. Duncan to J. Elwood Cox, April 23, May 15, 1909, Cox Papers. For information on aspirants to the position, see J. Frank Liles to J. Elwood Cox, March 22, 1909; Herbert F. Seawell to J. Elwood Cox, January 23, April 20, 1909; Harry Skinner to J. Elwood Cox, December 21, 1908; E. W. Timberlake to J. Elwood Cox, December 14, 1908, Cox Papers.
[46] *The Caucasian*, May 13, 1909.
[47] Henry Groves Connor to J. Elwood Cox, May 15, 1909; Joseph M. Dixon to J. Elwood Cox, May 15, 1909, Cox Papers.

upon this question and related economic issues. He believed the industrial interests of North Carolina and the southern states were entitled to protection, and he was greatly interested in a program of ship subsidies that would promote the export trade.[48] From a practical standpoint, however, Morehead found that his time was preoccupied with patronage matters. Increasingly he disagreed with Taft, the postmaster-general, Frank H. Hitchcock, and with "organization" Republicans on the matter of political appointments. Two controversial incidents in particular led to Morehead's disenchantment with party leaders.

The first involved the appointment of William Henry Glasson as director of the census in the fifth congressional district. When Glasson's appointment was announced Morehead exploded in a towering rage: "Mr. Taft's, Mr. Cox's and my votes in the last campaign were predicated upon a new dispensation within our State and a relief from conditions which had long prevailed." He described Glasson as a "quasi-resident" of the state, "being a professor at Trinity College in Durham," whose name was unknown and whose nomination was protested by the Durham County organization.[49] Morehead had recommended his close friend, David H. Blair of Winston-Salem, as census supervisor, and he expostulated to Joseph G. Cannon that Edward C. Duncan had blacklisted Blair.[50] Duncan's personal vendetta against the new industrial leaders among Republicans was inferred. Morehead declared: "The difficulty with the Republican Party in North Carolina is that it . . . is in the hands of an absolute dictatorship, and these dictators have in view nothing but the control of Federal patronage."[51] He had hoped that a new order would be proclaimed after the election of 1908 and to Cannon he confided: "Mr. Taft told me voluntarily and without initiative on my part that he 'would be damned if he stood for the heretofore existing order of affairs in the State.' To date he has failed to put into effect that declaration but a condition of absolute dictatorship is still held by the National Committeeman through his friendship and association with Mr. Hitchcock."[52] Morehead concluded that the best element of the party supported his position.

[48] *Congressional Record*, Sixty-first Congress, Second Session, Volume 45, Part 6, 6,296ff., and Volume 45, Part 8, 8,289-8,294; John Motley Morehead, "The Commerical and Political Evolution of North Carolina," *Editorial Review* (November, 1910), 1,146-1,153.

[49] John Motley Morehead to Joseph M. Dixon, September 18, 1909, Cox Papers.

[50] John Motley Morehead to Joseph G. Cannon, September 18, 1909; see also, David H. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, September 23, 1909; John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, September 18, 1909; Gilliam Grissom to J. Elwood Cox, September 16, 1909, Cox Papers.

[51] John Motley Morehead to Joseph G. Cannon, September 18, 1909, Cox Papers.

[52] John Motley Morehead to Joseph G. Cannon, September 18, 1909, Cox Papers.

"I shall leave no stone unturned," Morehead asserted, "to prevent the confirmation of Dr. Glasson. If the present status is maintained," he added, "my entrance into politics and election will have been worse than meaningless and futile." [53] He was determined to force a showdown. The enlistment of Senator Joseph M. Dixon's support apparently led to the withdrawal of Glasson's name and to Blair's appointment. Dixon remarked that the director of the census, E. Dana Durand, suggested Glasson's name as a compliment to his former college classmate and that factional differences between Duncan and Morehead had no bearing upon the matter.[54] It was reported that Morehead had threatened to resign if Glasson's appointment were confirmed; however, he categorically denied this rumor.[55] The *Asheville Gazette-News* cynically observed that Morehead's campaign for Blair "made efforts of old line professionals seem modest." [56]

The deluge of applications, letters of recommendation, backstage manipulations and influence peddling connected with the spoils of office drove Morehead to distraction. His long and patient efforts to secure for Elwood Cox the post of ambassador to Switzerland ended in failure.[57] Increasingly, Morehead was convinced that his efforts to rebuild the party were betrayed by Frank H. Hitchcock and Edward C. Duncan. As a congressman, Morehead realized that his influence was limited. Gradually the idea took root in his mind that the way to rebuild the party in North Carolina was to gain control of the entire state organization.[58]

Early in 1910 the campaign to remove Spencer B. Adams and Edward C. Duncan was launched in earnest. William Garrott Brown was enlisted to contribute frequent editorial paragraphs to George Harvey of *Harper's Weekly* and to Walter Hines Page, editor of *World's Work*. He projected the party struggle in North Carolina into newspapers and magazines that were read throughout the nation. The principal theme of his editorial comments indicted Hitchcock and the "pie hunting brigades" of machine politicians who had betrayed Taft's southern policy. Brown described Hitchcock as the political manager of the administration; it was he who controlled

[53] John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, September 18, 1909, Cox Papers.
[54] Joseph M. Dixon to J. Elwood Cox, September 29, 1909; Joseph M. Dixon to John Motley Morehead, September 29, 1909; John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, October 7, November 19, 1909, Cox Papers.
[55] *The Caucasian*, November 25, December 2, 1909.
[56] Quoted in *The Caucasian*, December 16, 1909.
[57] John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, March 20, 23, 26, 27, December 4, 13, 1909, Cox Papers.
[58] John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, February 5, June 23, 1910, Cox Papers; John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, May 25, 1910, Brown Papers; *The Caucasian*, November 11, 1909, July 21, 1910.

southern machines which delivered one-third of the delegates to the national conventions of the party. Referring to North Carolina, the historian declared that a movement had been started to fight such an undemocratic system, to repudiate Hitchcock's referees and his servile following, and to replace them with men who commanded the respect of the state.[59]

Alfred Eugene Holton candidly remarked that "those who in the inception of Taft's candidacy were apparently opposed to him appear now to be in the saddle and his friends in this state seem to be getting it in the neck." Holton recalled that in 1907 Theodore Roosevelt called him and Harry Skinner to the White House and advised them that Duncan, Adams, and Hitchcock were attempting to defeat Taft's nomination. At that time Hitchcock was managing George B. Cortelyou's bid for the presidential nomination.[60] Morehead believed that Roosevelt had called a conference with J. Pierpont Morgan and prevailed upon him to switch from Cortelyou to Taft with the understanding that Hitchcock would be "placed in charge of Taft." Apparently this was the reason why Hitchcock took "unprecedented liberties" in dictating appointments and why Taft's friends had been betrayed.[61]

Through Thomas Settle's efforts Brown was introduced to Morehead.[62] Brown's editorial comments projected the congressman's crusade in North Carolina onto the national scene. After reading "The South in National Politics," which Brown published in *The South Atlantic Quarterly,* Morehead commented: "Without 'slopping over' as Joe Caldwell would say, it is a classic, and it is the key note to the political redemption of the South and its reinstatement in the affairs of the Nation and it is along these lines that my feeble efforts are trained."[63] With the appearance of Brown's editorial paragraphs in *Harper's Weekly* he and Morehead commenced a frequent and especially interesting exchange of correspondence on the direction of party strategy.

Newspaper editorials from throughout the state anticipated the

[59] William Garrott Brown to E. S. Martin, January 21, 1909, and John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, March 12, April 16, 1910, Brown Papers; *Harper's Weekly,* LIV (January 15, 1910), 4-5; (February 26, 1910), 5; (March 12, 1910), 4; (May 21, 1910), 4-5; (July 9, 1910), 5.

[60] Alfred Eugene Holton to John Motley Morehead, March 2, 1910, Brown Papers.

[61] John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, April 21, 1910; see also, William Garrott Brown to John Motley Morehead, July 4, 1910; William Garrott Brown to E. S. Martin, July 2, 1910; A. Piatt Andrew to William Garrott Brown, June 23, 1910, Brown Papers.

[62] Thomas Settle to William Garrott Brown, March 4, 1910; John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, March 8, 1910, Brown Papers.

[63] John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, April 27, 1910, Brown Papers.

contest between Morehead and Duncan for the chairmanship of the party in the Republican state convention of 1910. Thomas Settle and Edmond Spencer Blackburn organized support for Morehead in the western counties, and Marion Butler and Harry Skinner rallied delegates in the East. All indications pointed to the largest state convention in the party's history and to a desperate struggle for power. The "old line" Republicans could count upon the leadership of Duncan and support from Spencer B. Adams, Isaac Meekins, Jeter C. Pritchard, Thomas S. Rollins, and Virgil S. Lusk. Morehead's bid for power was opposed strongly by the *Asheville Gazette-News,* the *Greensboro Daily News,* and the *Southern Republican* of Charlotte.[64]

On the eve of the Republican state convention Morehead wrote to William Garrott Brown a full and candid analysis of the situation. In words that frankly revealed his political aspirations he recalled:

> I had a long talk with the President just before leaving Washington with the net result that he expressed great interest in our coming endeavor to reorganize the party at the State Convention . . . and he practically agreed to make *no* recess appointments. This was most important and while he declined to commit himself, he dismissed me with the remark—"Well, Morehead, I think we understand each other."

Morehead was reassured through a "Senatorial medium" that no recess appointments would be made. "I will not stand for renomination to Congress," he added, "and thereby hangs a tale."

> In discussing the North Carolina situation with around two hundred men of more or less political prominence and in corresponding with thousands of the rank and file of the party, this situation has been presented:
>
> A re-organization of the party is essential to success at the polls for the reason (if for no other) that recruits will not come to us as long as the party has for its chief object of existence the control and dispensation of the patronage. It is believed (justly or unjustly) that this one feature constitutes seventy-five percent of the Republican view-point and excuse for existence as the party is to-day.
>
> The balance of power in the State is embodied in a class of men who are the cream of our citizenship — from the mental, social and business standpoint. These men are disgusted with Democratic tendencies and will actively embrace Republicanism as soon as the Republicans demonstrate they place policy above pie. This being the case, it has been pre-

[64] *The Caucasian,* March 3, 10, April 28, May 19, June 9, 23, July 28, 1910; *The News and Observer,* July 24, 1910; *Charlotte Daily Observer,* February 4, March 17, 1910; Marion Butler to James H. Ramsay, July 15, 1910, and John Motley Morehead to James H. Ramsay, August 1, 1910, James Graham Ramsay Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

sented that if the progressive element could elect any chairman at all, they could elect me and if they cannot elect me they can elect nobody — and the net result of all the discussion and correspondence is that I am standing for the chairmanship but not for Congress.[65]

Morehead believed that 90 per cent of the voters in the Republican party would support his decision. He acknowledged that his following was "an untrained host against a thoroughly trained and developed organization, which is fighting for its political life."[66]

In anticipation of the state convention in Greensboro, Morehead and Settle instructed Brown to draft the state platform.[67] It was agreed that the platform "should be the consistent work of one man, rather than the crazy quilt work of a number. . . ." Morehead reviewed Brown's draft and called it "a superb document," although he favored "a little more coloring matter on state matters" which he said Settle could provide.[68] Settle called it "a dandy, a corker, just the thing needed at this time."[69] Brown inserted a plank favoring the Appalachian Forest Preserve which he recalled "got lost in the shuffle." He did not claim authorship for the plank that called for state purchase of public school textbooks. Otherwise the document was his own. It is noteworthy that the newspapers were unaware of Brown's role in formulating party startegy.[70]

Amidst the largest state Republican convention ever to assemble in North Carolina, Morehead emerged as the acknowledged leader of his party. Delegates filled the Greensboro Opera House to overflowing, and the convention was adjourned to the larger city auditorium. Morehead won the first round when his close friend Thomas Settle was elected convention chairman over Hamilton C. Ewart by a vote of 737 to 378. Frank Linney of Boone placed Morehead's name in nomination for chairman of the state executive committee. Herbert F. Seawell of Carthage nominated Edward C. Duncan, and a third candidate, J. E. Alexander of Winston-Salem, was nominated by A. T. Grant of Davie County. The Duncan forces failed to transfer their support to Alexander, whose name was withdrawn, and Morehead was thereupon nominated by acclamation.[71]

[65] John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, July 2, 1910, Brown Papers.
[66] John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, July 2, 1910, Brown Papers.
[67] Thomas Settle to William Garrott Brown, July 27, 1910; Gilliam Grissom to William Garrott Brown, July 23, 1910, Brown Papers.
[68] Thomas Settle to William Garrott Brown, August 3, 1910; John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, August 3, 1910, Brown Papers.
[69] Thomas Settle to William Garrott Brown, August 3, 1910, Brown Papers.
[70] William Garrott Brown to A. Piatt Andrew, September 22, 1910, Brown Papers.
[71] *The Union Republican*, August 11, 1910; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, August 11, 12, 1910; *The News and Observer*, August 11, 1910; *The Caucasian*, August 18, 1910.

The election of Morehead as state chairman obviously met with Taft's approval. In his acceptance speech the new chairman lashed out at the hackneyed issues of Reconstruction, force bills, and Negro voting and officeholding as relics of a past era. He reminded his audience that it did not live in the days of Appomattox and he rebuked Democrats who appealed solely to passion and prejudice. If the Republican party were dominated by one individual or machine, Morehead contended, it could never break the "Solid South" or encourage intelligent and self-respecting voters to assert their independence. He held his own party responsible for the state of affairs which he attacked. His reference to domination of the party by one individual could have been a reflection upon Edward C. Duncan or a repudiation of the charge that the new state chairman would be dominated by Marion Butler. Morehead assured the convention that Republican congressmen should control the patronage in their districts, and he added "such has not been my experience." He offered a greater local autonomy in the management of party affairs. He believed the movement that he represented would regain for the South its rightful influence in national politics.[72]

The convention of 1910 was hailed as an augury of change in Republican party tactics in the South.[73] The hopes of Morehead and his followers, however, proved to be chimerical. The revolt of the Insurgents already raged in the Congress. Taft had shown his political ineptitude on a number of occasions, much to the embarrassment of party leaders. Edward C. Duncan remained national committeeman in North Carolina and his influence would be a thorn in Morehead's side. A goodly number of Republicans in the state still smarted against Connor's appointment as federal district judge. Other Republicans, especially from the western counties, complained that Morehead had favored "commercial" Democrats and newcomers to the party and ignored the faithful of long standing. These disaffected elements counted heavily upon the bitter editorials in Walter Hildebrand's *Asheville Gazette-News*.[74]

It was ironic that the Republican party had made steady gains from 1900 to 1908. Morehead's election to Congress in 1908 was a

[72] John Motley Morehead, *Address Accepting the Unanimous Call of the Republican Convention to the State Chairmanship* (n.p., n.d., imprint of 4 pp.); *The Caucasian*, August 18, 1910.

[73] *Harper's Weekly*, LIV (August 13, 1910), 4; (August 20, 1910), 4; (October 29, 1910), 5.

[74] *The Caucasian*, January 6, 13, 20, February 10, June 16, 1910; *Asheville Gazette-News*, January 14, 1910; *Greensboro Daily News*, July 22, 1910; *Statesville Landmark*, September 27, 1910; *The News and Observer*, July 30, 31, 1910; D. C. Mangum to John Motley Morehead, April 29, 1910, and John Motley Morehead to D. C. Mangum, April 30, 1910, Brown Papers.

reflection of this trend. Yet as the new state chairman he was confronted with decisive Democratic victories in the 1910 election. All Republican congressional candidates were defeated. Morehead's elevation to the state chairmanship obviously did not heal the rift in Republican ranks. Furthermore, while Morehead eschewed the use of patronage as a political weapon he came to depend upon the spoils of office to assert his influence in the party. He claimed to be an amateur in politics but the men upon whom he depended for advice and support were experienced and sophisticated politicians.

Morehead's dynamic leadership and challenge to the Republicans also prompted renewed attacks from the Democrats. Josephus Daniels launched a counteroffensive immediately; in banner headlines his newspaper announced "REPUBLICAN SLOGAN ADOPTED YESTERDAY: BUTLER, BOOZE, BOODLE, BONDS." It was said that Morehead was completely dominated by Marion Butler and would present a respectable front for his sinister schemes. *The News and Observer* thundered, "Who is the leader whom the Republicans will follow in this campaign. He is a pilferer! Pilferer! Contemptible traducer!" Bondholding syndicates financed Butler and Morehead, the newspapers declared, and if Republicans were successful at the polls the state would be forced to pay principal and interest on the repudiated bonds. The local self-government plank was allegedly inserted by the liquor interests bent upon securing local option legislation. But the equivocal plank that was finally inserted in the platform, said the Democrats, betrayed the financial support that had been forthcoming from the liquor lobby. Although Republicans made no outward bid for the support of the Negro, Daniels maintained that later a calculated effort would be made to secure the Negro vote.[75] The intensity of the approaching campaign revealed that Morehead had profoundly stirred both political parties. As a businessman politician without previous experience he had impressed his style of campaigning upon Republicans in the brief span of two years.

[75] *The News and Observer*, August 11, 1910; see also, *The News and Observer*, August 12, 13, 14, 20, 1910.

SERIOUS READING IN HALIFAX COUNTY 1860-1865

By James W. Patton*

A South Carolina poet, more effective in appraising than in improving the literary production of his native section, once wrote:

> Alas for the South,
> Her books are grown fewer,
> She never was much given
> To literature.

That such a characterization would have applied with especial relevance to mid-nineteenth-century North Carolina is abundantly evident from the comments of both unfriendly and friendly contemporaries. Traveling through the South in 1856, Frederick Law Olmsted reported that "North Carolina has a proverbial reputation for the ignorance and torpidity of her people; being, in this respect, at the head of the Slave States."[1] Three years later the *Spirit of the Age* (Raleigh) observed that "according to the Census of 1850, there was more of ignorance in North Carolina, in proportion to population, than in any other state in the Union."[2]

The state's low rank in education was quite naturally reflected in the reading habits of its people, of which there were frequent complaints from newspaper editors and other interested persons during the ante-bellum period. The *Southern Weekly Post* (Raleigh) lamented in January, 1852, that "The spirit of reading is too low among our neighbors. Few, except professional men among us, have libraries that would furnish, separately, a month's reading to a true 'helluo librorum.'"[3]

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[1] Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856), 366.

[2] *Spirit of the Age* (Raleigh), July 20, 1859, quoted in Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 805, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina.*

[3] *Southern Weekly Post* (Raleigh), January 24, 1852, quoted in Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina,* 805.

In addition to factors which affected the population generally, there were special restrictions upon the reading habits of women. The ideal woman was cultivated in the "polite arts" of dancing, music, drawing, and embroidery. She was fond of reading, said the *Leisure Hour* (Oxford), "but whenever she commenced a work without having previously been directed by some judicious and thoughtful friend, she would lay the book aside forever the moment her eyes fell upon an impure thought."[4]

To the conditions thus described there were, of course, notable exceptions, one of which is well represented by Mrs. Catherine Ann (Devereux) Edmondston of Halifax County whose Civil War diary shows its author to have been an avid reader, well acquainted with a wide variety of books and periodical literature.[5] A lineal descendant on her father's side from Jonathan Edwards; and through her mother from Samuel Johnson (1696-1772), a Church of England minister in colonial Connecticut and first president of King's College in New York; from William Samuel Johnson (1727-1819), a member of the Federal Convention of 1787 from Connecticut and first president of Columbia College in New York; and from the Bayard, Livingston, and other old Knickerbocker families, Mrs. Edmondston, according to one theory of genetics, might be thought to have inherited her reading habits from some one or more of her scholarly forebears. It is more probable that she derived an interest in books from associations in her childhood home and from tutors employed for her and her five sisters[6] by her father, Thomas Pollock Devereux, himself a graduate of Yale and master of arts from The University of North Carolina, a well-known Raleigh lawyer, United States district attorney, and reporter for the state Supreme Court, and operator of the family plantations, "Runeroi," "Barrows," "Connecanara," "Montrose" and "Polenta" in Bertie, Northampton, and Halifax counties. All that is known of his daughter's formal education is that for a time in the late 1830's she attended a school for girls conducted at Belmont, the former residence of Ludwell Lee in Loudoun County, Virginia.[7]

Mrs. Edmondston and her husband[8] lived near Scotland Neck at

[4] *Leisure Hour* (Oxford), November 18, 1859 quoted in Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 228.

[5] This diary, in four manuscript volumes running from June, 1860, through July, 1865, with a few additional entries during October-December, 1865, and January, 1866, is preserved in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. It has recently been edited for publication by James W. Patton and Beth Crabtree, hereinafter cited as Diary.

[6] One of these sisters, who appears to have been similarly educated, was Mary Bayard (Devereux) Clarke who became one of North Carolina's best known poets.

[7] See Diary, October 21, 1861, and August 29, 1862.

[8] Patrick Muir Edmondston, a native of Charleston, South Carolina. The Edmondstons were married in 1846 and sometime thereafter went to live at "Barrows," one of

"Looking Glass" and "Hascosea," two plantations which they operated, moving their residence back and forth from one to the other at different seasons of the year. As the mistress of nearly 100 slaves, an enthusiastic gardener, and an armchair strategist following almost daily through the newspapers the military fortunes of the Confederacy on both the eastern and western theaters of war, she enjoyed few leisure moments to record in the diary which she kept throughout the war years. Nevertheless she found time to read constantly in the better types of literature, the results of which, along with excerpts, quotations, and citations from works previously read, she employed in illustrations, descriptions, analyses, and analogies in her own writing.

In a time and place when Bible reading was regarded as an important part of the Plan of Salvation, it was to be expected that ability to quote from the Holy Scriptures would be a distinguishing mark of any reasonably well-read person; and so it was with Mrs. Edmondston. In commenting upon the fact that Major Robert Anderson, though otherwise beleagured in Fort Sumter, was being allowed to buy fresh vegetables in the Charleston market in February, 1861, she wrote that "in place of simply feeding her enemy, South Carolina 'brings forth butter in a lordly dish,' though in better faith than did Jael" (in the Song of Deborah and Barak).[9] In April of the same year when her husband was about to enter the Confederate army, she noted that his absence "will be hard to bear, but courage! 'As thy days, so shall thy strength be,'"[10] and on a Sunday in the following July, after attending church, she was moved to write that "never did I so desire the gift of song that I too, in the words of Deborah the Prophetess, might 'sing unto the Lord.' Non nobis Domine. Non nobis Domine, but unto thy name be the praise."[11]

She taunted Lincoln and Seward with the threat that in retribution for their war of conquest, "conscience must at some time awake and 'thy brother's blood cryeth from the ground.'"[12] When Lincoln made what she considered "so egregious a blunder in the art of king-craft" by ordering the arrest and banishment of Clement L. Vallandigham, she exulted that "Job's wish, 'Oh! that mine enemy had written a book,' comes to us now";[13] when W. W. Holden began to inveigh against President Jefferson Davis in *The North Carolina Standard*

the Devereux plantations in Northampton County, from which they moved prior to 1850 to the Scotland Neck area.

[9] Diary, February 18, 1861, quoting Judges 5:25.

[10] Diary, April 23, 1861, quoting Deuteronomy 33:25.

[11] Diary, July 21, 1861, quoting Judges 5:3 and Psalms 115:1.

[12] Diary, May 8, 1862, quoting Genesis 4:11.

[13] Diary, June 25, 1863, quoting Job 31:35.

(Raleigh), she enjoined him to "'respect the powers that be, for they are ordained of God'";[14] and when Davis persisted in keeping Braxton Bragg in command, "in spite of his repeated failures," she tried "to obey the Psalmist's injunction and 'not exercise myself in great matters, or things too high for me.'"[15] On more joyous occasions she could exclaim like Zechariah that "'We are prisoners of hope,'"[16] and with the Psalmist that "'The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage.'"[17] When enemy attacks were reported as imminent she found refuge in the thought that the Lord "'shall be thy shield and buckler'" and that "'He will not suffer thy foot to be moved and He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep'";[18] when Confederate victories over more strongly entrenched forces were announced, she remembered that "'He giveth not the race to the swift nor the battle to the strong'";[19] and when Federal successes had been registered on the battlefield, she could find consolation in "'Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.'"[20]

A southern Methodist bishop was once quoted as saying, "In my time I used to read Shakespeare and Scott and all those writers. But nowadays I read nothing but the Bible."[21] Not so with Mrs. Edmondston, who not only read but also remembered and quoted from the works of the Bard of Avon. Of Senator John J. Crittenden, whom she considered to "be in his dotage," because "he drivels so about this 'Glorious Union,'" during the Washington Peace Conference in February, 1861, she wrote "'Let me not live after my flame lacks oil to be the snuff of younger spirits,' and his flame lacks it most essentially."[22] With a similar animus on another occasion she likened a junior officer of the Scotland Neck Mounted Riflemen, who had incurred her disfavor, to Monsieur Parolles, "'that gallant militarist who had the whole theorick of war in the knot of his scarf and the practice of it in the chape of his dagger.'"[23]

Though oppressed with "a terrible sense of insecurity" in early 1862, she was thankful to be living "almost as usual 'in piping times of peace.'"[24] In a moralizing vein, she observed that "'Here's that,

[14] Diary, September 11, 1863, quoting Romans 12:21.
[15] Diary, November 29, 1863, quoting Psalms 131:1.
[16] Diary, May 10, 1862, quoting Zechariah 9:12.
[17] Diary, October 6, 1862, quoting Psalms 16:6.
[18] Diary, October 29, 1862, quoting Psalms 91:4; January 2, 1863, quoting Psalms 121:5.
[19] Diary, February 3, 1863, quoting Ecclesiastes 9:11.
[20] Diary, June 20, 1863, quoting Psalms 12:19.
[21] Ernest Gruening (ed.), *These United States* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 2 volumes, 1923), I, 84.
[22] Diary, March 7, 1861, quoting Shakespeare, *All's Well That Ends Well,* Act I, Scene 2.
[23] Diary, quoting Shakespeare, *All's Well That Ends Well,* Act IV, Scene 3.
[24] Diary, quoting, with variation, Shakespeare, *King Richard III,* Act I, Scene 1.

which is too weak to be a sinner, honest water'" is "the same idea which Mad. Malabran (Maria Felicite Garcia) uttered when after drinking a glass of cold water she wished it was 'a sin to give it a zest' ";[25] and when it appeared that General George Gordon Meade had allowed his government to edit one of his dispatches in such a way as to exaggerate the number of men and guns lost at Falling Waters in July, 1863, she warned him that "you were said to be a gentleman, but 'it is hard to touch pitch without being defiled.'"[26] Again, when feeling that her journal was growing too discursive, she feared that she had dwelt too long "'in the alms basket of words' and that like Parolles I have apparently 'been at a great feast of language and stolen the scraps.'"[27]

The great "histories" of Shakespeare furnished many quotations admirably suited to Mrs. Edmondston's descriptions of military operations during the Civil War. Generals French and Milroy will fight General Lee "eight hours 'by Shrewsbury clock.'"[28] "Yankee volunteers will be like Glendower's 'spirits from the vasty deep' and we may well ask Hotspur's question, 'but will they come when you do call for them?'"[29] And when "'there be three Richmonds in the field,' we can sit afar and watch out . . . who outgenerals the other and amuse ourselves with their stratagems."[30]

If, as is sometimes suggested, Sir Walter Scott rivaled St. Paul as a formative influence upon the mind of the Old South,[31] Mrs. Edmondston's reading habits would provide some evidence of the truth of this assertion. Walking with her husband through a part of their grove one day and noting how fast the trees were growing, she "could not but think of Dumbiedyke's advice to his son, to be 'ay slicking down a tree—it'll be growing while you are sleeping.'"[32] In reference to less sylvan surroundings, she wrote in February, 1861, that all South Carolina will consider Major Anderson at Fort Sumter "a brave and Christian gentleman . . . 'a foe man worthy of their steel,'" and of Jeb Stuart she wrote two years later that "'one blast upon his

[25] Diary, May 5, 1862, quoting Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, Act I, Scene 2.
[26] Diary, July 29, 1863, quoting Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act III, Scene 3.
[27] Diary, September 8, 1863, quoting Shakespeare, *Love's Labours Lost*, Act V, Scene 7. The lines were spoken by Costard, not Parolles.
[28] Diary, July 11, 1863, quoting Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act V, Scene 4.
[29] Diary, October 31, 1863, quoting Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act III, Scene 1.
[30] Diary, June 17, 1864, quoting Shakespeare, *King Richard III*, Act V, Scene 3.
[31] See William E. Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1921), 62-63, 81; Holland Thompson, *The New South* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1921), 208-209; Clement Eaton, *The Mind of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 184, 186-187, for suggestions to this effect.
[32] Diary, October 15, 1862, quoting Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian.*

bugle horn were worth ten thousand men.'"[33] Toward the end of the war, when the fortunes of the Confederacy were waning, she heard that "a battle with as yet doubtful results was in progress between Hood and Sherman." She did "not like such doubts"; with Kirkpatrick who thought that Bruce should make certain that he had slain the Red Comyn, she would "like to 'mak siccar.'"[34]

Although the Bible, Shakespeare, and Scott appear to have been read the most purposefully by Mrs. Edmondston, these works account for only a small segment of the literature with which she was familiar. In a religious frame of mind she turned to the English divines and theologians, including Sydney Smith, Isaac Watts, Frederick William Robertson, and Richard Whately.[35] Joseph Butler she "tried for a time" but found his *Fifteen Sermons* on the moral nature of man, preached at Oxford in 1726, to be "not a pabulum for my daily fare."[36] In February, 1861, she read and liked an essay on giddiness in Andrew Kennedy Hutchison Boyd's *Recreations of a Country Parson*;[37] and in June, 1863, she complained of "suffering under one of Hannah More's two ills of life"—biliousness.[38]

She knew and liked Emerson's "American Scholar" well enough to quote with approbation "'whenever McGregor sits, there is the head of the table'";[39] but she characterized the same author's "Self-Reliance" as "a polluted stream and I know not which disgusts me most, his utter want of principle or his depth of folly. Such a tissue of imitative nonsense! Such a very weak tincture of Carlyleism, embodying doctrines and practices that strike at the root of every precept of morality both divine and human. . . . Truly the Yankee nation seems to have followed his teachings, for they lie today, and tomorrow replace the first by a second as false as the first whose only merit is that it contradicts its predecessor."[40]

Mrs. Edmonston shared the contemporary southern dislike of

[33] Diary, February 3, 1861, and May 6, 1863, quoting Scott, *The Lady of the Lake*, Canto V, Stanza 4, and Canto VI, Stanza 18, respectively.

[34] Diary, September 4, 1864, quoting Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, First Series, Chapter VI.

[35] Diary, August 2 and December 12, 1860; February 6, 1861; March 20, 1862.

[36] Diary, January 31, 1863.

[37] Diary, February 6, 1861.

[38] Diary, June 17, 1863. Hannah More (1745-1833), an English religious writer, was subject to successive illnesses of a bilious nature, references to which occur in her letters. William Roberts (ed.), *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 2 volumes, 1834), I, 67; II, 215, 289.

[39] Diary, March 27, 1861. Emerson's sentence was "Wherever MacDonald sits, there is the head of the table," but it is usually quoted with the substitution of "MacGregor" for "MacDonald."

[40] Diary, April 22, 1863. This outburst against Emerson was occasioned by Mrs. Edmondston's concern over the reading habits of her niece, Rachel Jones, "whose mother has unfortunately allowed her to dabble in his polluted stream."

Charles Dickens, considering Wilkie Collins' *No Name*, which she was reading in July, 1863, as "far superior to *Great Expectations*," which she adjudged "should rather be *Great Disappointments*."[41] In common with most southern people of her class and station, she nourished resentment against Harriet Beecher Stowe, even to the extent of expressing a dislike for Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana Leveson-Gower, Duchess of Sutherland at whose London residence, Stafford House, Mrs. Stowe had been entertained at a levee and there presented with a gold bracelet in the form of a slave chain as a gift from the duchess.[42]

In a more charitable mood, she regarded Lucy Hutchison's *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchison*, which she read, "for the second or third time" in 1862, as one of the finest pictures of domestic love and happiness in the language. Noting, however, that Colonel Hutchison's descendants fell from the state and cultivation of their forebears and in all probability no longer "know that they had such an ancestor," she contrasted this situation with that of the "noble house of Stanley," whose blood "runs quicker through their veins as they read the 'Defense of Lathom House' than it does in those of other people, enthusiastic tho they be, who cannot say, as a Stanley can, 'Charlotte de la Tremoille was my grandmother.'"[43]

A list of English poets either quoted or mentioned as having been read by Mrs. Edmondston would include, from an early period, *The Battle of Chevy Chase* ("Like Withrington in doleful dumps" [when his legs were smitten off, he fought upon his stumps]),[44] Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Lie* ("Goe Soul, the body's guest"),[45] and Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queen* ("Dan Chaucer, Well of English Undefyled"),[46] followed by Milton's *Paradise Lost* ("from noon to dewy eve")[47] and Dryden's *Alexander's Feast, or the Power of Music* ("none but the brave deserve the fair");[48] and from a still later

[41] Diary, July 7, 1863.
[42] Diary, December 12, 1860.
[43] Diary, March 20, 1862. Colonel John Hutchison (1615-1664) was an English Puritan solider whose career draws its chief interest from the *Memoirs* written by his wife after the death of her husband but not published until 1806 (afterward often reprinted). Charlotte de la Tremoille (1599-1664), daughter of Claude, duc de Thouars, and granddaughter of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, was the wife of James Stanley (1607-1651), seventh earl of Derby. She defended Lathom House, seat of the earls of Derby, from the Parlimentary forces in 1644. Leslie Stephens, Sidney Lee, and others (eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 29 vols., 1921-1961), XVIII, 935-936, hereinafter cited as *Dictionary of National Biography*.
[44] Diary, July 9, 1863.
[45] Diary, October 20, 1864, also attributed to Joshua Sylvester (1563-1618) and to Sir John Davies (1570-1626).
[46] Diary, July 22, 1862.
[47] Diary, October 8, 1863.
[48] Diary, September 18, 1862.

period, Anna Seward,[49] George Canning, *The Friend of Humanity and and the Knife-Grinder,*[50] Lord Byron, *The Bride of Abydos* ("The gardens of Gul in their bloom"),[51] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* ("a painted ship upon a painted ocean"),[52] William Wordsworth, *Lucy* ("She dwelt among the untrodden ways"),[53] Lord Tennyson, *The Charge of the Light Brigade* ("Someone had blundered," whether like Lord Lucan or Lord Cardigan she could not remember),[54] Mrs. Felicia D. Hemans, "Flowers to strew in the conqueror's path."[55] and Robert Burns, *The Cotter's Saturday Night* ("Auld Clarthes look amaist as weel as new"), "Epistle to a young friend" ("If self the wavering balance shake 'tis rarely right adjusted"), and "Death and Dr. Hornbook" ("Wee sma hours ayout the twal").[56] American poets similarly treated would include John Trumbull, *McFingal* ("No rogue e'er felt the halter draw with good opinion of the law"),[57] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Morituri Salutamus,*[58] and Richard Henry Wilde, "My life is like the summer rose."[59]

Too sophisticated and independent to allow her reading habits to be circumscribed by any pietistic ban on novel reading, Mrs. Edmondston seems, nevertheless, to have been only mildly interested in this type of entertainment. She was disappointed with Bulwer Lytton's *A Strange Story,* characterizing it as "a collection of horrors, unaccountable and mysterious," combining "modern mesmerism and clairvoyance with medieval necromancy and demoniacal domination in a manner at once clumsy and ridiculous" and definitely inferior to the same author's *The Caxtons, My Novel,* and *What Will He Do With It?*"[60] At one and the same time she delineated Victor Hugo as a "sentimental apologist who wrote Fantine from a pair of moral stilts," and Eugene Sue as "a radical, a red republican, and an admirer of the French Revolution and had his impossible theories full sway, heaven would blush at the spectacle presented to it."[61] "Re-

[49] Diary, July 25, 1862.
[50] Diary, July 13, 1862.
[51] Diary, June 1, 1862.
[52] Diary, April 15, 1861.
[53] Diary, April 4, 1864.
[54] Diary, July 10, 1862. George Charles Bingham (1800-1888), third Earl of Lucan, was largely responsible for the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava on October 25, 1854. James Thomas Brudenell (1797-1868), seventh Earl of Cardigan was the commander of the brigade. *Dictionary of National Biography,* III, 136-138.
[55] Diary, April 24, 1861.
[56] Diary, December 3, 1863; February 10, 1861; January 27, 1862.
[57] Diary, May 30, 1864.
[58] Diary, January 21, 1861.
[59] Diary, July 21, 1861.
[60] Diary, February 20, 1863.
[61] Diary, June 12, 1863.

sorting to old *Blackwood's* for light literature," as the war progressed and the supply of new books grew scarcer, she found John Wilson ("Christopher North"), *Dies Borealis; or Christopher under Canvas* most entertaining and instructive." [62] In the summer of 1864 she read and liked Mrs. Mary Elizabeth (Braddon) Maxwell's *Aurora Floyd,* very likely the Confederate edition published in Richmond by West and Johnson in 1863.[63]

"Lord Burleigh's nod," Mrs. Nicely's "clean house and a clean conscience," and "a peculiarly terrible Mrs. Grundy" testify respectively to Mrs. Edmondston's acquaintance with Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *The Critic,* Thomas Morton's *School of Reform,* and the same author's *Speed the Plough.*[64] Barthold Georg Niebuhr (*Roman History*), John Gillies (*A History of Greece*), Edward Gibbon (*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*), John Lothrop Motley, (*Rise of the Dutch Republic*),[65] Thomas Babington Macaulay (*History of England*),[66] and Lord Clarendon (*History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*) are among the historians with whose works she was familiar, the last named of these being the source of one of her favorite quotations, telling how Lord Falkland, "sitting among his friends, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace.*" [67] High adventure she found in Jean Froissart's *Chronicles,*[68] William Walker's *The War in Nicaragua* (whose author she denounced as a "blood thirsty selfish buccaneer"),[69] (Garnet Joseph Wolseley), "A month's visit to the Confederate Headquarters" (published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in January, 1863),[70] and David Flavel Jamison's *Life and Times of Bertrand du Guesclin,*[71] a book of stately figures and stirring episodes of the Hundred Years War which, though bearing a Charleston, South Carolina, imprint of 1864, was actually printed in England and thus twice ran the blockade. In the less spectacular field of cookery, she knew about, though she may not have read, the works of Louis Eustache Ude (*The French Cook*) and Alexis Soyer (*A Shilling Cookery for the People*).[72]

From *Plutarch's Lives* she recalled a passage quoting Aemilius Paulus as saying that "it required more genius to order a feast well

[62] Diary, August 20, 1864.
[63] Diary, August 29, 1864.
[64] Diary, April 1, June 1, 1862; October 15, 1863.
[65] Diary, March 20, 1864; January 9, 1865.
[66] Diary, July 25, 1862; July 14, 1863.
[67] Diary, March 17, 1862; September 4, 1863.
[68] Diary, March 19, 1865.
[69] Diary, March 19, 1865.
[70] Diary, October 19, 1863.
[71] Diary, March 19, 1865.
[72] Diary, December 8, 1860; February 24, 1863.

than to marshal an army,"[73] and from the same author derived a suggestion which led her to write in February, 1862, that she would "not be surprised if the much talked of Currency Bill should make nails a legal tender in imitation of Lycurgus' iron money."[74] Toward the end of August, 1862, she had recently read 120 pages of Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, *Litterature du Midi de l'Europe* (obviously in translation), a "rather dull work, tracing the downward course of the Italian muse just now. From Tasso to Goldoni and Gozzi."[75] Two weeks later she had "got to Calderon in the Spanish literature" in the same book, but her niece having asked for the book to read, she was left with "only Leigh Hunt's *Italian Poets,* and Boiardo, Pulci, Ariosto, Tasso, and even Dante, etc. are run through by him almost as expeditiously as Sismondi dispatches them, so there is not much to be gained there."[76]

Mention of "Undine" and "Rodomonte" would suggest that Mrs. Edmondston knew something at least about Friederich Fouque's principal work[77] and that she may have read or read about Matteo Maria Boiardo's *Orlando Inamorato.*[78] Although she ascribes to herself, "a double portion of that 'Jacobs' Ladder by which Jean Paul says 'men ascend to heaven,'"[79] it is most likely that she was acquainted with Johann Paul Friedrich Richter only through Thomas Carlyle's *German Romance*; and her venture into the literature of Portugal would be more impressive had she not quoted *The Lusiad* of Luiz de Camoens as recounting a meeting of Neptune and "Lope de Vega [instead of Vasco da Gama] off the Southern part of Africa."[80]

Only a few of the many more books and authors referred to in one way or another in the diary upon which this paper is principally based can be mentioned here. Among these would be Francis Bacon, *Essays*; Laurence Sterne ("That hateful moralist");[81] Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*; Edward Young, *Night Thoughts*; John Selden, *Table Talk*; and Gilbert White, *Natural History of Selborne*; along with fugitive references to Samuel Johnson, Lord Chesterfield, and Robert Walpole.

In addition, it should be noted that Mrs. Edmondston was a regular reader of newspapers. From the firing on Fort Sumter to the sur-

[73] Diary, January 21, 1863.
[74] Diary, February 16, 1864.
[75] Diary, August 29, 1862.
[76] Diary, September 11, 1862.
[77] *Undine*, a fairy romance about a water nymph of that name, published in 1811. Mentioned in Diary, January 30, 1862.
[78] Diary, April 18, 1864.
[79] Diary, May 2, 1862.
[80] Diary, January 6, 1863.
[81] Diary, March 28, 1862.

render at Appomattox, she kept up with the progress of the war, entering at frequent intervals in her diary long descriptions of strategy, tactics, and logistics, both Union and Confederate, as these appeared to her in the accounts she read in the papers, all interspersed with denunciations of Yankee villainy and praise or blame for Confederate statesmen, generals, and soldiers as they may have been, or seemed to her to be, responsible for victories or defeats of the southern arms.

Just as "one swallow maketh not summer," so it is that this impressive record of one person's reading does not prove that the level of literacy and literary taste in North Carolina generally was higher than that described by the contemporary commentaries quoted at the beginning of this paper. Nonetheless, it is both interesting and instructive to know that this woman living for long periods of time during the war years, as she once expressed it, "on an island, a kind of Anglo-Saxon Robinson Crusoe with Ethiopians only for companionship,"[82] had both the access to and the inclination to read so much of the literature that must have been beyond the reach and cognizance of most North Carolina women, even those of Mrs. Edmondston's class and station.

[82] Diary, February 27, 1865.

HISTORY, LITERATURE, AND THE PUBLIC AT LARGE

By George V. Taylor*

I am honored by your invitation to speak in place of the distinguished poet and critic, one of your own, who was to have addressed you tonight. His standing, and that of those who have spoken in other years, shows that you are used to hearing worthwhile things. Thank you for calling upon me.

Unfortunately, I am in no position to speak to your main interests, which I take to be the history and literature of the state, or, more broadly, the South. The only country I know well is eighteenth-century France, particularly during that great Revolution which a British historian has recently called the turning point of modern history. (Obviously, none of his ancestors fought on either side in the War Between the States.) Moreover, anyone like myself, raised and educated in another part of the country, having lived only twelve years in the South, does well to leave the interpretation of southern history and literature to those who have a native appreciation of it. Any comments such a person might attempt would be salted with errors and misunderstandings that betray his distant origins. What confirms me in my caution is the memory of an unfortunate review that appeared several years ago in the leading professional historical journal of France. A French historian who writes habitually in my field had spent a rainy week end, as brilliant Frenchmen do, writing a book on American culture. His reviewer, one of two French specialists in American history, praised his work. "Our colleague," he wrote, "knows all the landmarks of American literature. He knows the works of the greatest American writers—Hemingway, Dos Passos, Faulkner. He even knows the writers of second rank, like John O'Hara and Houghton Mifflin." Determined not to commit such a *gaucherie,* I renounce speaking on themes that most of this audience could exploit more authoritatively and capably than I.

* Dr. Taylor, Associate Professor of History, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, presented this paper at the evening session of The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, December 4, 1964. Dr. Allen Tate, who had been scheduled to speak, was unable to appear because of illness.

Instead I want to take up the old question of how history and literature are related. This audience is a fraternal combination of the two professions. Moreover, between southern historians and literary figures there is mutual respect, a common concern with common problems, and a notoriously active working alliance. In the South historians are admitted to literary societies. Faulkner addresses the Southern Historical Association. Professor Woodward dedicates a book to Robert Penn Warren and quotes abundantly from Warren, Tate, Wolfe, Faulkner, and Eudora Welty. This collaboration no doubt exists because, as Tate has said, the southern school of writers produces "a literature conscious of the past in the present." In France there are also writers conscious of the past in the present, but they are not on good terms with historians, and the dissociation of historians and men of letters in France is in an extreme way symptomatic of how these two professions regard one another in other countries. It began in 1866, when Monod, editor of the *Revue historique* and ex officio chieftain of the academic historians, laid it down that historians must be scientists, not only in their research and writing but also in the inmost recesses of their souls. He seems to have looked upon literature as a corruption of the mind. And because positivism was regnant and he had patronage, he had his way. French historians changed themselves into scientists, and one way of declaring one's scientism was to announce a distrust of literature and everything that suggested it. "Never," said the medievalist Fustel de Coulanges at his retirement, "have I permitted an eloquent word to pass my lips." (What a boast!) To this day when French academic historians organize interdisciplinary colloquia they invite only fellow scientists—geographers, demographers, sociologists, economists, and psychologists. The novelists, dramatists, poets, critics, philosophers, and theologians are excluded from the club.

The coldness between history and literature in France has not been thawed by what literary men have written about historians. Many of you know the satire on history and historians written by Anatole France under the title *Penguin Island.* A young man sets out to write the history of the Penguins, a race of birds, astonishingly like Frenchmen, that a medieval hermit converted to Christianity, and then, with God's help, transformed into men. In the preface he repeats the advice of the eminent historians he consulted before starting his research. One of them tells him:

> What is the good, my dear sir, of giving yourself so much trouble, and why compose a history when all you need do is to copy the best-known

ones in the usual way? If you have a fresh view or an original idea, if you present men and things from an unexpected point of view, you will surprise the reader. And the reader does not like being surprised. He never looks in a history for anything but the stupidities that he knows already. If you try to instruct him you only humiliate him and make him angry. Do not try to enlighten him; he will only cry out that you insult his beliefs.

And then, this, which is crushing:

> Historians copy from one another. Thus they spare themselves trouble and avoid the appearance of presumption. Imitate them and do not be original. An original historian is the object of distrust, contempt, and loathing from everybody.
>
> Do you imagine, sir, . . . that I should be respected and honoured as I am if I had put innovations into my historical works? And what are innovations? They are impertinences.

Apparently, what the historian distrusts in the man of letters is the freedom the latter enjoys. The novelist or dramatist takes life as he knows it, projects it in imaginative ways, remolds it for emphasis, creates characters and events as he chooses, and decides for himself how the story will end. He is even free to create a completely fictitious situation, as has been done in some historical novels. In fact, the only limitations on the liberties of writers are those laid down by critics, which may be defied, and those laid down by publishers, which may not. Now the historian works under restrictions. He is the prisoner of his documentation. Where the documentation falls short, he resorts to inference, but in his conscience he knows it is better to suspend judgment, which is very hard to do. His plots and characters are given in the sources, and he must take them as they are, without adding color, altering the sequence, or changing the end of the story. All his training, all his professional experience, teach him to distrust invention, fantasy, and creativity. He is happy to be emancipated from the freedom of an artist, and that is why the claim of being scientific brings him peace of mind.

Despite the historian's distrust of literature, and the literary man's complacency toward the historian, their work has had points of contact. Historical novelists and dramatists supposedly use histories for reference and sometimes read original sources so as to get the background right. C. S. Forester, the creator of that gifted and gallant neurotic, Captain Hornblower, habitually does research in Admiralty papers, and although he takes great liberty with the chronology his description of naval life, combat, and technology is exact. For all its

fantasy, the Hornblower saga is a fine reconstruction of the old British navy, and one may recommend it to students in a history course, although not, of course, for credit. Reciprocally, historians make use of literature. Several years ago a young Frenchman named Jean Chevalier, impressed with the preponderance of crime and poverty in the Paris described by Balzac, Victor Hugo, and Eugène Sue, set out to investigate this side of Parisian history in the original sources. He found that the novelists had not exaggerated the crime and poverty of the 1840's, and he rounded out their view of the Parisian poor people by using administrative records, police interrogations, accounts of trials, records of the criminal courts, and documents on public welfare. Chevalier's book is a frightening one. He shows that the city was overcrowded with immigrants from the country, which was both overpopulated and depressed. Unemployment was chronic. The structure of the family dissolved. The problems of poor relief were insoluble. Utterly desperate, the poor resorted to thefts, holdups, and burglaries that they justified to themselves and to the police by their right to live. Their frustration expressed itself in occasional acts of brutality against the well-to-do, and even against those of their own kind whom they robbed. In the terrible winter of 1845 when an upper-class evening came to an end, those present said prayers because of the dangers of returning home at night, and, not relying entirely on divine aid, carefully loaded their pistols before stepping out into the dark. What Chevalier has done is to document and explain a situation so terrible that it seemed an invention or distortion by novelists, and in so doing he has given us our first systematic analysis of European urban life in the early nineteenth century and helped us to understand in new ways the insurrections of 1848. But we must not forget that his original clues came from literature.

To say that historians and men of letters use the work of one another is not to show that they have much in common. However, one may go further and demonstrate that to some degree the historian, like the man of letters, is dependent on invention, imagination, and even intuition—those occult practices that supposedly belong only to art. It is easier to say that now than it would have been twenty or thirty years ago, when it would have been denied. But for sixty years in Europe and thirty in the United States the identification of history with empirical science has been undermined by inquiries into what the historian actually does with his evidence, and it is now clear that only part of what he does is scientific. The rest is creative, and the creative side of what the historian does is disconcertingly flexible

and determined in large part by his psychological peculiarities as a person. To some extent the historian cannot avoid being a creative artist, cannot avoid incorporating into his work something that no one else could add. What he writes is in some measure an expression of himself.

On what basis can this be said? The key to the problem is to ask how well the historian, with all the science in the world, can approach the vanished reality that we call history-as-actuality. How much can he really *know*? And how much does he *surmise*? After three decades of professional discussion it is clear that what the historian knows about history is a reconstruction that takes shape in his mind as he reads the sources. What he presents to the public, and to himself, is not the actual past, but what may be called the documentary past, the past reflected in the records and other materials at his disposal. How close do the sources come to history-as-actuality? We know that many of them are false, misleading, fraudulent, and that many of our witnesses lie to us and, what is worse, to themselves. This kind of mischief we have learned to deal with by what is called internal and external criticism. But what is disconcerting is the incompleteness of the sources, or the gaps in the evidence. Obviously the evidence that we study is a residue—the preserved part of the recorded part of the remembered part of the observed part of what happened. And the evidence that we put in our books and lectures is only the relevant part of the preserved part of the recorded part of the remembered part of the observed part of what happened. In other words, much of the past is beyond recovery. What demonstrates this is that new sources occasionally come to light. We read them. If they are important we automatically enlarge or correct the reconstruction that we have distilled from records we already know. Therefore, the past with which we deal is not the flesh-and-blood past of living people, but the documentary past. We hope that this documentary past, this reconstruction distilled from sources, corresponds fairly well to the original, but who guarantees that we are right?

The process by which historians distill reconstructions from documents is a mysterious business about which no one talks or thinks a great deal. I have been referring to it, quite without reflection, as distillation, and distillation is a rather good word for describing our idea of what we do with evidence. We let it ferment in our minds until it takes on a congenial form and flavor. Then when we are satisfied with the brew, we bottle it, attach a label, and distribute it in wholesale lots. (Some of it is pungent and heady; some is stale

and flat; a great deal is unfit for public consumption.) But is fermentation what really goes on in our minds? Or is it science? Well science to a certain degree. Using what is called "cold logic," we search out and discard the lies that the witnesses tell, correct their errors, and sort out the events and put them in proper sequence, lest we botch up the narrative and put Gettysburg ahead of Chancellorsville. But there is also a lot of imagination going on. We guess or imagine what is needed to fill the gaps. For example, Lee moves from one place to another. If we don't know by what route he reached his destination we study our mental map of Virginia and trace it out on the simple assumption, usually correct, that, given what we know of Lee's situation he would have been shrewd enough to follow our road. At the same time we are guessing why Lee is making his move, particularly if he fails to tell us in his dispatches what he has in mind. We imagine him considering all that has happened—the casualties, the loss of Jackson, the ruin of Hooker, reports from the cavalry, things happening here and there, and we make his mind explain his next move. Mr. Freeman, who lived with an enormous documentation and treasured every recorded word, intonation, gesture, and facial expression of the Confederate generals, did that with great skill. He re-created for General Lee a mental activity that corresponds with everything that will probably ever be known about him, and what he did not say about Lee's mind he implied in his selection and arrangement of the material, his choice of words, his nuances, and the mood communicated by the rhythm of his sentences. With a superb touch, born of a lifetime spent with Lee and his lieutenants and perfected by his sympathetic identification with these soldiers of the South, Freeman re-created their characters, personalities, strengths, weaknesses, convictions, eccentricities, and their changing moods. This is historical imagination at its best. In the hands of lesser historians it oftens miscarries, particularly, when out of thin air, one creates for historical characters an intelligence appropriate to their achievements. We all know biographies in which historical figures like Bismarck are made to foresee every contingency and every move they will make. Nothing surprises them. But Freeman knew that even the most remarkable men ordinarily move from event to event, reorganizing their estimates and intentions as they go, stumbling often into either ruin or glory. This is partly what gives his work its strong flavor of authenticity. He honored the messages of the documents, even when they detracted from the wisdom of his generals. Still, what he did was highly imaginative and without his imagination it would have been much less remarkable than it is.

In other words, the historian's reconstruction of the past from the documents is an imaginative, creative act. To a serious degree, the writing of history is a creative process, an art. Like art, it is a highly individualized activity. The historian's capacity to understand through imagination is measured in one sense by the fertility of his own imagination and the way he responds to its signals. Working with those mental notations called facts, something in the historian's mind invents reconstructions which he either accepts or rejects. And the kind of reconstruction his mind invents and accepts depends on the peculiar way that he sees men and events, his feeling for human nature, his attitudes toward people, all of which are molded by his personal experience, including that which he acquired when very young. It is well known that in literature different authors invent different kinds of characters. Last Sunday in the *Times* a British critic, reviewing John O'Hara's latest volume of short stories, complained of what he called "these O'Hara people with their stone hearts, bleak conversation and almost total serfdom to money." (Fortunately, he said nothing about Houghton Mifflin.) Are the historian's reconstructions, like O'Hara's inventions, affected by his emotional attitudes toward human beings? If not, why do some historians insist on controlling historical personalities by bringing them under deterministic systems? Why do others revel for page after page in the eccentric misconduct of kings, presidents, cabinet ministers, financiers, and revolutionists? Why do some historians look only for political motives? Or economic motives? And why do others try to avoid the whole business by dodging off into economic or constitutional history? What kind of man habitually interprets history by inventing conspiracies on circumstantial evidence, when things are more easily explained on more obvious grounds? These differences of approach and touch are determined by something deeper than a historian's convictions, interests, or party alignment; they are grounded in his psychological formation. To some extent the imaginative reconstructions generated by his mind are expressions of his own singular personality. That is why the greatest biography of General Lee could have been written only by a man like Freeman.

It is impossible to expel imagination from historical work. It is already there. Nothing shows it better than the way historians deal with cause and effect. When a historian speaks of causes he means the prior happenings or situations that had to exist before an event could occur. His problem is to separate from the hundreds of prior happenings or situations that he knows about those which had causal value. By what hocus pocus does he do this? In his imagination he

rehearses the whole train of events. Would the states have gone to war without John Brown's raid? Or the election of Lincoln? Or the cotton economy of the South? Or the admission of new states? Would there have been a French Revolution if the royal treasury had been solvent? Or the harvest of 1788 abundant? Or Louis XVI married to someone other than Marie Antoinette? Science would settle the matter out of hand by experiment, but experiment is not our privilege, and nothing, not even the Ford Foundation, can make it so. Besides, the kind of experiment we want to perform would be hard on the variables, particularly on John Brown and the unfortunate queen, who would be executed many times before we finished our work. In fact, if actual historical experiments were possible they would, like vivisection, be outlawed as inhumane. Nevertheless, we make these experiments. We make them conjecturally, in our heads, using our imaginations. In effect, we ask ourselves whether the war would have come without Lincoln or John Brown, and we say that it would, but perhaps not in 1861. We ask ourselves whether the Revolution would have come without a bankrupt treasury and a bad harvest and, for the life us, we cannot imagine how it could have happened. In other words, we perform ideal experiments like those that physicists sometimes carry out on the mysterious levels in which they operate. But it is not a very conclusive procedure, and Charles A. Beard was so distrustful of it as to write that no historian should ever use the word "cause," although that stand did not prevent him from publishing two books on President Roosevelt's foreign policy in which he arranged the evidence in such a way as to imply that Roosevelt invited the Japanese to attack Pearl Harbor. He was, however, no hypocrite; you will not find the word "cause" in either volume.

It is still a delicate matter to maintain in public that historians work imaginatively in a creative way. Whatever qualms one has are eased, however, when we recall that the greatest historians, like Freeman, owed much of their greatness to their imaginations. The nineteenth-century historian Leopold von Ranke, often regarded as a model practitioner of historical method, did not hesitate to describe historical personalities with the aid of what he saw, or felt, when studying their portraits. And this same von Ranke, who wrote at the outset of his career that he meant to portray the past "exactly as it happened," was more indebted to intuition than he realized. Herbert Butterfield has pointed out that von Ranke, on the evidence that he had, came to conclusions that a rigorous logician would have rejected. And yet later research has proved him right. It was the "hunch," the subrational decision of a mind closely attuned to political and personal

realities, that sensed in the documents those hints that a sound logician would have ignored.

The reason for emphasizing the historian's dependence on imagination and intuition is to re-establish awareness of the common ground that historians and men of letters once thought they shared. History, after all, began as a branch of literature. It was only for less than a century that it pretended to be a science. Even during that period of imposture, in a secret, underground sort of way that many of them would have denied, historians, never entirely discarded moves and tactics that lay outside their official method. They even tolerated historians who wrote well, although they grumbled at their royalties. And they never completely reduced human nature to the level of uniformized material responding passively to general laws, though some tried hard to do so. They are now involved in efforts to explore human nature at depths once thought inaccessible and irrelevant to their work. In 1959 the president of the American Historical Association, in his presidential address, urged historians to find ways of applying the insights of depth psychology to historical interpretation. Because he spoke with the voice of Harvard, the profession listened with respect. The program he proposed can easily get out of hand, as it did with the writer of a paper, lately referred for my opinion, who argued that the execution of Louis XVI was essentially the killing of the primal father by the Freudian horde. But recently we have received studies of Martin Luther, Anne Hutchinson, and Woodrow Wilson in which the authors, using psychic clues, account more fully and satisfactorily than have other biographers for what they did, and without flagrant violations of sound method.

Historians, then, have more in common with men of letters than they once believed. Their work has always called for decisions that cannot be made by appeals to the evidence alone. Their interpretations express not only their conscious thoughts but also their feelings, and they have begun to grapple with the subrational side of the human past. If they have to recognize a disturbing freedom implicit in the ambiguity of their materials, they are happy to leave to literature the burden of inventing everything. Their plots and characters will still be found in the sources. It would be a false move to reorganize the Department of History under the Curriculum in Comparative Literature.

Nevertheless, we may say that to some extent history and literature are partners in rendering a particular service to society at large. Directly and indirectly they inform public opinion, and their work in this connection is important. If any other proof were needed it

would be found in the fact that totalitarian governments, which survive only by controlling public opinion, find it necessary to control historical scholarship and the entire range of letters as well. In a democracy like ours public opinion is sovereign, absolutely in principle, nearly so in actuality. Our values teach us to leave it free. If it makes errors in judgment the remedy is not to suppress it, mold it, or rigidify it under compulsion, but to give it the means of becoming more realistic and mature. There are within us instinctive modes of thought that lead to unrealism and policy errors. One of these is the impulse to oversimplify and personalize whatever frustrates or angers us and to attack problems as we imagine them rather than as they actually are.

It is impossible to make this clear without an example. There is a law that forbids Communists to speak at publicly supported colleges and universities in North Carolina. It is apparently based on the premise that an important problem facing the state has been created by Communist orators rather than by several decades of tragic history. It objectifies difficulties as a fictitious menace operating out of college lecture halls. The menace is imaginary, but, unlike the problem, it can be visualized and attacked. Those intimately concerned with university life and work know that there is no conspiracy to parade Communist speakers before the students, and, as informed citizens acting on their own initiative and responsibility, they have an obligation to say so. Do universities want Communist speakers? Not particularly. But they are ashamed at having to turn away those, specifically from Iron Curtain countries, who turn up in the normal traffic of academic life. They are ashamed because to turn them away is a confession of intellectual weakness. The unspoken implication of this law is that Communism, or Marxism, is a philosophy so realistic, so convincing, that the young, if they hear it, will embrace it. It tells Communists that intellectually they hold the winning cards, and that no effective rebuttal can be made against what they have to say. It says covertly to the students that if they hear a Communist speech they will have no choice but to believe it, and that their patriotism can be preserved only by shielding them from every expression of the Communist point of view. In this way the law generates in the minds of the young a deep-laid sense of defenselessness and inferiority that can be exploited with real effect if ever they come before a Communist interrogator in a war prison camp.

It is not only a harmful law but a useless one. If the sorry state of Communist doctrine in the twentieth century were understood it would never have been proposed, or, even if proposed, it would not

have been passed. Things that have happened during the last century have thoroughly exploded the ideas of Marx, his predictions, his theory of social classes, and even his analysis of capitalism. In 1946 one of the leading Soviet economists, Professor Varga, said that capitalism had learned how to master its instabilities, and he foresaw no immediate prospects of its collapse. In this, to judge from what has happened in the last eighteen years, he was right. But his estimate was so flagrant a contradiction of the official ideology that he was banished from academic and public life, and we heard nothing further of him until three years ago. Disrespect for Marxism in the Soviet world is widespread. In the universities most students treat their required courses in Marxism with contempt and are glad to leave them behind. It is, in fact, a jerry-built philosophy, held together with shinplasters and baling wire, and to build walls against it is to give it a prestige that it in no way deserves.

This law exists because as a people we are short on knowledge of ideologies and ideological criticism, of what is going on elsewhere, of how people react to despotism, of the multiple currents and cross-currents of ideas. We are confused about the particular strengths and weaknesses of our adversaries and about the tragic and terrible upheavals that have made them what they are. It is doubtful that we really understand ourselves, our problems, the issues of our times, and the way in which they have been shaped by the past. The trouble is that we are all too busy to be exact. Our estimates of reality come too often from scare headlines, rumors, personal antagonism, and the aimless drift of random conversation. This is said not only because it is deplorable, but also because it underscores the value of whatever realism—by which I mean the accurate appreciation of all that is complex and remote, whether cherished or feared—finds its way into public opinion. Seen in this light, the work of novelists, dramatists, essayists, critics, poets, and even historians is of crucial importance. All those who study, think, write, publish, and teach contribute, however indirectly, to the public mind. If I were asked to recommend a book on the Russian Revolution I should not know whether to name Chamberlin's history of it or Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*. If I were asked to recommend something on Stalinism I should not know whether to prefer Isaac Deutscher's exellent biography or Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*. If I were asked to recommend titles on American history and the history of the South to someone who wanted a better understanding of his own country, I should appeal to you, and you would tell me about Stephenson, Coulter, Woodward, Sydnor, and Phillips, along with Faulkner, Wolfe, and Warren, not

to mention the distinguished persons here tonight. If someone unaccustomed to detailed historical works were interested in understanding the enormous struggles that have transformed the Chinese people since 1911 what better beginning could he make than to read *The Sand Pebbles,* that magnificent first and last novel written by one of the most remarkable men ever to live in Chapel Hill, the late Richard McKenna? In all these suggestions, which you would want to multiply, I have freely confounded history and literature because they serve, each in its own way, the same purpose. They bring us into contact with what is remote in space and time. They make clear what happens to people under the impact of historical change, their conflicting loyalties, and the way they readjust to the world in which they have to live. They illuminate the many shades of good and evil, the extremely complex dimensions of guilt, and the subtle impulsions and psychic checks and balances that make up real rather than fictitious human nature. In all these books we should often find ourselves, or persons very like ourselves, caught up in situations not unlike our own. And for all this work, for whatever reasons it may have been undertaken, I would make this justification: that those societies are sane that struggle with *real* problems and *real* enemies rather than wrestling with hobgoblins that exist only in the confusion of their minds.

GENERAL SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH NORTH CAROLINA

By John G. Barrett*

Although William Tecumseh Sherman could not recall saying "War is hell," he did state: "You cannot qualify war in harsher terms than I will. War is cruelty and you cannot refine it."[1] It was in the fall of 1862 that he developed his philosophy of total war which he thought would make conflict "so terrible" that the South would exhaust all peaceful remedies before commencing another struggle.[2] Considering all the people of the South as enemies of the Union,[3] Sherman planned to use his military forces against the civilian population as well as the armies of the enemy. He believed this plan of action would demoralize not only the noncombatants but also the men under arms. Nevertheless, he held out to his enemies the sincere promise of a helping hand if they would lay down their arms and rejoin the Union. It was not a sense of cruelty and barbarism that prompted Sherman to formulate his theory of total war. This conception was the outgrowth of a search for the quickest, surest, and most efficient means to win a conflict.[4]

The full application of this new philosophy of war was to be applied by Sherman in campaigns through Mississippi, Georgia, and the Carolinas. In Mississippi the Federal army destroyed the state's resources and lines of communication and demonstrated to the in-

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* Dr. Barrett, Professor of History at Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Virginia, presented this speech at the luncheon meeting of The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh, December 4, 1964.

[1] Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe (ed.), *Home Letters of General Sherman* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 309, hereinafter cited as Howe, *Home Letters of Sherman;* William Tecumseh Sherman, *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 2 volumes, 1875), II, 126, hereinafter cited as Sherman, *Memoirs.*

[2] R. N. Scott and Others (eds.), *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books, atlases, and index], 1880-1901), Series I, XVII, Part II, 260, hereinafter cited as *Official Records.*

[3] Sherman, *Memoirs,* I, 267. Guerrilla activity and unorganized civilian resistance in the region around Memphis helped to bring Sherman to this conclusion.

[4] An excellent study of Sherman's philosophy of total war is John Bennett Walters, "General William T. Sherman and Total War" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1947); Basil Henry Liddell Hart, *Sherman: Soldier, Realist, American* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1929), 426.

habitants how cruel a matter war could be. In Georgia Sherman was to repeat the Mississippi performance but on a much larger scale.

When the Georgia operations ended at Savannah on December 21, 1864, all the accepted rules of strategy called for the immediate transfer of Sherman's 60,000 veterans from the Georgia coast to Richmond where Ulyssess S. Grant had Robert E. Lee besieged behind fortifications.[5] General Grant was desirous of this move,[6] but much to his dismay Sherman voiced strong objections to such a plan. He hoped, instead, to march to Richmond by way of Columbia and Raleigh in the Carolinas.[7] Every step northward from Savannah, Sherman felt, was as much a direct attack on Lee as though he were operating within sound of the artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia. He was firmly convinced that an application of total war in the Carolinas would have a direct bearing on the outcome of Grant's struggle around Richmond.[8]

The combination of Sherman's persistence and the news of George H. Thomas' devastating victory over J. B. Hood at Nashville[9] persuaded the reluctant commanding general to grant permission for the move through the Carolinas.[10]

Sherman's plan of campaign called for feints on both Augusta and Charleston and a march directly on Columbia and thence to Goldsboro by way of Fayetteville on the Cape Fear. Goldsboro was chosen as the destination because that city was connected to the North Carolina coast by two railroads running respectively from Morehead City (via New Bern) and Wilmington. By this circuit the Federal force could destroy the chief railroads of the Carolinas and devastate the heart of the two states.[11]

Sherman planned to cut himself off completely from his base in Savannah; hence he could expect no government supplies until he

[5] Colin R. Ballard, *The Military Genius of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1952), 223. Because of the heavy demands on ocean transportation it probably would have taken two months to have moved Sherman's entire army to Richmond. Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 224.

[6] Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 206.

[7] Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 209.

[8] Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 213, 227.

[9] Before departing for his "March to the Sea" Sherman dispatched Thomas to Tennessee to deal with Hood.

[10] Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 223-224.

[11] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 154. "The subsidiary operations which were intended to co-operate with Sherman's March northward from Savannah were two. First, the capture of Fort Fisher at the mouth of the Cape Fear River in North Carolina, and second, the transfer of Schofield from Middle Tennessee to the Carolina coast, where with the Tenth Corps under Major General A. H. Terry and the Twenty-third under Major General [Jacob] Cox, he was to reduce Wilmington and advance upon two lines from that city and from Newbern to Goldsboro, at which place it was expected a junction with Sherman would be made." Jacob D. Cox, *The March to the Sea* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886), 137, hereinafter cited as Cox, *March to the Sea.*



James E. Taylor drew the picture in 1888 of Sherman's men foraging for food. From files of State Department of Archives and History.

reached the Cape Fear River. His wagons could carry only limited provisions; thus the army would have to "forage liberally on the country during the march." To regulate the foraging parties, very strict orders were issued.[12]

These instructions were in complete compliance with the accepted rules of warfare. Yet there was wide discrepancy between the orders and the actions of some of the men. In Georgia many of the foraging parties had degenerated into marauding bands of mounted robbers which operated not under the supervision of an officer but on their own. These groups committed every sort of outrage. Most of the pillage and wanton destruction of private property in the two Carolinas was the work of the "bummers," "smoke house rangers," or "doboys," as this peripheral minority of self-constituted foragers was called.[13]

[12] Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 175-176.

[13] Manning Ferguson Force, "Marching Across Carolina," in *Sketches of War History, 1861-1865. Papers Read before the Ohio Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States* (Cincinnati, Ohio: R. Clarke and Company, 6 volumes, 1888-1908), I, 15. On most occasions these self-constituted foragers were referred to as "bummers." The origin of the term is obscure but it was in use at the

When Sherman commenced his march through the Carolinas the latter part of January, 1865, the meager Confederate forces that could possibly be brought to oppose him were scattered from Virginia to Mississippi.[14] Only Joe Wheeler's cavalry stood in the path of Sherman's veterans as they moved northward. By March 3 the Federal army had reached Cheraw, its last stop in South Carolina. Here the general learned that his former opponent, Joseph E. Johnston, had replaced (Pierre) Gustave Toutant Beauregard as commander of the Confederate forces in North and South Carolina. He now concluded that Johnston would unite his widely scattered forces and at a place of his own choosing strike one of the Federal columns on the move. Fully aware that the battle he wished to avoid now seemed unavoidable, Sherman put his army in motion for Fayetteville, some 70 miles northeast.[15]

South Carolina was now free of this army, which had applied total war in its severest terms within her borders. Lieutenant Charles S. Brown of the Twenty-first Michigan never spoke truer words than when he said: "South Carolina may have been the cause of the whole thing, but she has had an awful punishment." [16]

As early as January, 1865, the North Carolina newspapers had begun to prepare the people of the state for invasion.[17] But with the fall of Fort Fisher on January 15, and the occupation of Wilmington a week later, the people of North Carolina almost surrendered themselves to a wave of despondency. Late in February General Lee declared that the despair of the North Carolinians was destroying his army. He wrote to Governor Zebulon B. Vance: "Desertings are becoming very frequent and there is reason to believe that they are occasioned to considerable extent by letters written to the soldiers by their friends at home." [18]

General Sherman entered North Carolina with the confident ex-

time of the "March to the Sea." A member of Sherman's staff termed the "bummer" as "a raider on his own account, a man who temporarily deserts his place in the ranks and starts upon an independent foraging mission." Henry Steele Commager (ed.), *The Blue and the Gray: The Story of the Civil War as Told by Participants* (Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 2 volumes, 1950), II, 952.

[14] Gustave Joseph Fieberger, *Campaigns of the American Civil War* (West Point, New York: United States Military Academy Printing Office, 1914), 401-414; Alfred Roman, *The Military Operations of General Beauregard in the War between the States, 1861-1865, Including a Brief Sketch and Narrative of his Services in the War with Mexico* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 2 volumes, 1884), II, 337-341.

[15] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 1,247.

[16] Charles S. Brown to Etta (Brown?), April 26, 1865, Charles S. Brown Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as Brown Papers.

[17] Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman: Fighting Prophet* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932), 499, quoting *Daily Progress* (Raleigh), January 21, 1865.

[18] Robert E. Lee to Zebulon B. Vance, February 24, 1865, Zebulon B. Vance Letter Book, Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

pectation of receiving a welcome from its supposedly large number of pro-Union citizens.[19] Thus he had his officers issue orders for the gentler treatment of the inhabitants and, when the state line was crossed, circulate new instructions regulating foraging activities.[20] But no orders were drafted prohibiting the burning of the great pine forests within the state. North Carolina's turpentine woods blazed in fantastic "splendor as 'bummers' touched matches to congealed sap in notches on tree trunks." Seldom did the soldiers pass up an opportunity to fire these pine forests for burning rosin and tar created a spectacle of flame and smoke that surpassed in grandeur anything they had ever seen before. One Federal soldier wrote: "Among the curiosities of our march the burning of these factories was the most curious.[21] Another remarked that oftentimes the smoke could hardly escape through the green canopy above and being like a pall, it created a feeling of awe as though one were within the precincts of a grand old cathedral.[22]

On March 8 North Carolina for the first time felt the full weight of the Federal army, the right wing having crossed the state line on this date. General Sherman, traveling with the Fifteenth Corps, made his headquarters near Laurel Hill Presbyterian Church, a region his soldiers thought looked "real Northern like. Small farms and nice white, tidy dwellings."[23] However, the torrential rains which set in on that date soon turned the roads into a sea of mud and water, making them almost impassable for troops and trains.[24] The most formidable obstacle in the path of the army lay in the dark, swirling waters of the Lumber River and its adjacent swamps. This region brought from Sherman the remark: "It was the damnest marching I ever saw."[25] The wagons and artillery could only be dragged along by the mules with the assistance of soldiers who either tugged at

[19] George W. Nichols, *The Story of the Great March* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1865), 222, hereinafter cited as Nichols, *Great March.*

[20] *Official Records,* Series I, XLVII, Part II, 719.

[21] John R. Kinnear, *History of the Eighty-Sixth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry. During Its Term of Service* (Chicago, Illinois: Tribune Company's Book and Job-Printing Office, 1866), 101, hereinafter cited as Kinnear, *History of Eighty-Sixth Regiment.* The Confederate soldiers also fired these great pine forests. Bell Irvin Wiley (ed.), *Rebel Private Front and Rear,* by William A. Fletcher (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1954), 140.

[22] William D. Hamilton, *Recollections of a Cavalryman of the Civil War after Fifty Years* (Columbia, South Carolina: F. J. Heer Printing Company, 1915), 195-196, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Recollections.*

[23] Charles W. Wills, *Army Life of an Illinois Soldier: Letters and Diary of the Late Charles W. Wills* (Washington, D.C.: Globe Printing Company, 1906), 357, hereinafter cited as Wills, *Army Life.*

[24] Elijah P. Burton, *Diary of E. P. Burton, Surgeon Seventh Regiment Illinois* (Des Moines, Iowa: The Historical Records Survey, 2 volumes, 1939), II, 68.

[25] William W. Calkins, *The History of the One Hundred and Fourth Regiment of Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Chicago, Illinois: Donahue and Hennebery, 1895), 294.

ropes out ahead of the teams or put their hands to the wheels.[26] The teamsters, reins in one hand, constantly punctuated the air with a dexterous whip lash to remind the poor mules of their "black military heart" and endless faults. Every sentence was ordained with an oath.[27] "Such a wild scene of splashing and yelling and swearing and braying has rarely greated mortal eyes and ears" wrote one Ohioan of Sherman's army. After darkness the work was carried on in the eerie light of thousands of torches and blazing pine trees.[28]

The Federal cavalry under General Judson Kilpatrick crossed the Lumber River on March 8. Here Kilpatrick learned that the Confederate cavalry under Wade Hampton was only a few miles in the rear and moving rapidly on Fayetteville. Hoping to intercept the enemy, he set a trap for them only to have his own camp surprised and put to flight on the morning of March 10 by the Confederate horsemen. To make his escape Kilpatrick, clad only in his underclothes, had to spring from the warm bed of a lady companion, mount the nearest saddleless horse, and disappear into a neighboring swamp.[29]

Kilpatrick's escape on the morning of the surprise attack is as controversial a subject as the number of casualties suffered on each side. General Kilpatrick told an acquaintance after the war that on this particular morning he walked out of his headquarters in his slippers about daylight, as was his usual custom, to see that his horses were fed.[30] Such a habit was certainly the exception rather than the rule for most high ranking officers. A Confederate soldier in on this surprise attack presumed Kilpatrick to be the only example from Joshua to the nineteenth century of a major general who would walk out of a warm room in cold weather only partially dressed to see horses fed 100 yards away.[31]

Since the Federal cavalrymen eventually drove the Confederates out of their camp, there is still disagreement over who actually got the better of the fighting at Monroe's Cross-Roads, contemptuously tag-

[26] Wilbur F. Hinman, *Story of the Sherman Brigade* (Privately printed, 1897), 918, hereinafter cited as Hinman, *Sherman Brigade.*

[27] Daniel Oakey, "Marching Through Georgia and the Carolinas," in Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel (eds.,) *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York: The Century Company, 4 volumes. 1888), IV, 677.

[28] Hinman, *Sherman Brigade,* 918.

[29] John G. Barrett, *Sherman's March Through the Carolinas* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 125-129, hereinafter cited as Barrett, *Sherman's March.*

[30] Matthew C. Butler, "General Kilpatrick's Narrow Escape," in Ulysses R. Brooks, *Butler and His Cavalry in the War of Secession, 1861-1865* (Columbia, South Carolina: The State Company, 1909), 446-447.

[31] J. W. DuBose to M. C. Butler, February 12, 1908, U. R. Brooks Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection.

ged by the Federal infantry as "Kilpatrick's Shirt-tail Skedaddle."[32] Yet the fact stands that by engaging Kilpatrick in battle, Hampton was able to open the road to Fayetteville which the Federal camp blocked. The Confederate cavalry joined General W. J. Hardee near Fayetteville that night. Hardee's small force, after evacuating Charleston on February 18, had been moving north just ahead of Sherman's army.

The Confederate forces withdrew across the Cape Fear on March 11, burning the bridge behind them. At the same time the Federal advance entered the city from the south. Sherman especially wanted to reach this river port in order that he could retake the arsenal located there. At the outbreak of war the Confederates had taken over the United States Arsenal in the city and for four years this valuable goverment property had served the South.

Fayetteville suffered a great deal as a result of the Federal occupancy. Besides the destruction of numerous public buildings, including the arsenal,[33] there was considerable pillaging by the "bummers," but this plundering of private property was done, for the most part, before General Absolom Baird took command of the city and garrisoned it with his three brigades.[34]

While at Fayetteville, Sherman took the opportunity to replace all rejected animals of his trains with those taken from the local citizens and to clear his columns of the vast crowd of white refugees and Negroes that followed the Federal army. He called these followers "twenty to thirty thousand useless mouths."[35] To General A. H. Terry at Wilmington he wrote: "They are dead weight to me and consume our supplies."[36] At the same time he complained to Grant that he could leave Fayetteville the next day were it not for the large crowd of refugees that encumbered his army.[37]

By the middle of March, Sherman had his entire force across the Cape Fear, and the move on Goldsboro had begun. The general was in a happy frame of mind as he watched his troops march by. The campaign was running like clockwork. Goldsboro, he felt sure, would be his in a few days.

From Savannah to Fayetteville, Sherman had moved his army in flawless fashion, but from this latter place to Goldsboro his operations were definitely characterized by carelessness in the management of

[32] Hamilton, *Recollections*, 199.
[33] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 763.
[34] Wills, *Army Life*, 360; Charles S. Brown to Etta (Brown), April 26, 1865, Brown Papers.
[35] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 803.
[36] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 817.
[37] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 795.

a large army. He placed little importance on William J. Hardee's delaying action at Averasboro on March 16.[38] Also, he allowed his columns to become strung out to such extent that Johnston came close to crushing one of the Federal corps at Bentonville. At this small town west of Goldsboro, Johnston had skillfully managed, on March 19, to concentrate his scattered forces. Completely ignorant of this Confederate move, Sherman allowed his Fourteenth Corps to be surprised by Johnston. For a while it looked as though the Confederates would carry the day, but Federal reinforcements late in the afternoon blunted the Confederate offensive. More Union troops reached the field during the day of March 20, and by the next day Sherman had his entire army in the vicinity of Bentonville. That night Johnston withdrew his forces to Smithfield.[39]

General Sherman claimed victory at Bentonville, the largest battle of the war in North Carolina, on the grounds that he was in possession of the battlefield when the fighting closed, and that Johnston had failed in his attempt to crush the Federal left wing.[40] Still the general had little of which to boast. His force was more than twice the size of his opponent's. Yet on March 19, the Federals tottered on the brink of a resounding defeat. Sherman's conduct at Bentonville bears out the truth of one of his subordinate's statements: "Strategy was his strongest point. Take him in battle and he did not seem to be the equal of Thomas or Grant."[41]

Furthermore, Sherman failed to follow up his success by pursuing the enemy. Instead, he moved his army into Goldsboro. Awaiting him there were the forces of Generals Terry and Jacob D. Cox of John M. Schofield's command which had marched up from Wilmington and New Bern.

The general's explanation to Grant as to why he pushed on to Goldsboro rather than after Johnston leaves something to be desired.[42] In this communication he does not claim that his men were short of food or ammunition, "the only adequate excuse" for halting. He seemed to consider shoes, which were noticeably absent among the men, his most essential need. But the scarcity of footwear did not warrant a delay at this time. The Confederate soldiers were also without shoes.[43]

[38] Barrett, *Sherman's March*, 148-158.
[39] Barrett, *Sherman's March*, 159-185.
[40] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part I, 27.
[41] T. C. Fletcher (ed.), *Life and Reminisences of General William T. Sherman by Distinguished Men of His Time* (Baltimore, Maryland: R. H. Woodward Company, 1891), 292.
[42] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part I, 950.
[43] Although Sherman did not claim a shortage of food, he did tell Grant that he planned to pick up rations in Goldsboro. *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part I,

At Goldsboro Sherman was disturbed to find neither of the two railroads from the coast fully repaired and no supplies awaiting him. Nevertheless, he decided to change the foraging system. All foragers were ordered dismounted and placed in the ranks. Their horses and mules were turned over to the quartermaster corps, which meant quite a few animals.[44] "About half of this army are mounted," wrote a Federal soldier before this order went into effect. "It rather don't care to do much more walking. Nearly everyone has his own coach, cab, buggy, cart or wagon, drawn by horses or mules—blind or lame—colts or old worn out horses or mules. . . . General Sherman could now advertise a livery stable extensive enough to supply the whole country, provided they were not choice as to rigs."[45]

Still, the "corn-crib" and "fodder-stack" commandoes could look back upon a plentiful harvest between Fayetteville and Goldsboro. The countryside had supplied them with more forage, in some instances, than they could carry away. Meat and meal had been found in abundance. So skillfully had the "bummers" covered this region that the rooster no longer crowed in the morning because he no longer existed. Had the rooster escaped with his life there would have been no fence rail for him to perch on. At least, such was the opinion of one newspaper correspondent.[46]

As vital as the forager had been to the success of the campaign, General James D. Morgan of the Federal Fourteenth Corps regretted that he had to exclude him from praise and credit. He wrote: "I have some men in my command . . . who have mistaken the name and meaning of the term foragers, and have become under that name highwaymen, with all of their cruelty and ferocity and none of their courage. . . ."[47]

Sherman's arrival in Goldsboro had been announced by the columns of smoke which rose from burning farmhouses on the south side of the Neuse,[48] but within the town itself the "bummers" had little chance to pillage and destroy because Schofield had occupied the place two days before they arrived and had stationed guards to prevent outrages.[49]

950; Alfred H. Burne, *Lee, Grant and Sherman. A Study in Leadership in the 1864-65 Campaign* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), 179.

[44] *Official Records* Series I, XLVII, Part I, 424, 972.

[45] Edmund N. Hatcher, *The Last Four Weeks of the War* (Columbus, Ohio: Edmund N. Hatcher, 1891), 67-68, hereinafter cited as Hatcher, *The Last Four Weeks.*

[46] Hatcher, *The Last Four Weeks,* 36.

[47] *Official Records,* Series I, XLVII, Part I, 487.

[48] Cornelia P. Spencer, *The Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina* (New York: Watchman Publishing Company, 1866), 94, hereinafter cited as Spencer, *Ninety Days*; Elizabeth Collier Diary, April 20, 1865, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[49] *Daily Conservative* (Raleigh), March 27, 1865.

Goldsboro was entirely too small to hold much interest for the Federal soldiers. A trooper of the One Hundred and Third Illinois wrote in his diary that the "Town don't amount to anything" [50] while Lieutenant Charles S. Brown of Michigan referred to it as "a little 7 x 9 sort of a hole about as large as Bentonville was once." [51] Despite what they said, these men along with the great majority of Sherman's soldiers enjoyed, as one of them put it, "luxuriating in the delicious spring weather." [52]

By March 25, repairs on the railroad from New Bern were finished, and the first train from the coast arrived in Goldsboro.[53] This completed the task Sherman had set out to do upon leaving Savannah. His army was now united with the armies of Schofield and Terry. Large supply bases on the North Carolina coast were available by rail, and the countryside from Savannah to Goldsboro, for an average breadth of 40 miles, had been laid waste.

The general now decided it was time to discuss with Grant the plans for a junction of their armies around Richmond. He hoped to share with the Army of the Potomac the glory of capturing the Confederate capital. Late in the afternoon of March 25, Sherman boarded a train for City Point, Virginia, Grant's headquarters. The visit proved futile as the commanding general was not disposed to delay his own push against Lee until the troops at Goldsboro could join him.[54] So in five days Sherman was back in eastern North Carolina, busily addressing himself to the task of the reorganization of his army and the replenishment of stores.

On April 10 he broke camp and started his march on Raleigh. When Sherman's move was reported to Johnston at Smithfield, he also put his small Confederate force in motion for the North Carolina capital.

During the night of April 11, Sherman learned of Lee's surrender at Appomattox. The announcement of this momentous news the next day put the Federal soldiers in a hilarious mood, even as the march went forward.[55] Toward this capering army was coming a Confeder-

[50] H. H. Orendorff and Others (eds.), *Reminiscences of the Civil War from Diaries of Members of the One Hundred and Third Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Chicago, Illinois: J. F. Learning and Company, 1905), 203.

[51] Charles S. Brown to "his folks and anyone else," no date, Brown Papers.

[52] James M. Drake, *The History of the Ninth New Jersey Veteran Volunteers* (Elizabeth, New Jersey: Journal Printing House, 1889), 364.

[53] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part I, 28.

[54] Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York: Charles L. Webster and Company, 2 volumes, 1886), II, 460.

[55] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III, 177, 180; Henry J. Aten, *History of the Eighty-fifth Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Hiawatha, Kansas: Regimental Association, 1901), 303.

ate locomotive. Inside the car were peace commissioners out of Raleigh. That night at Sherman's headquarters these emissaries unsuccessfully conferred with the general about a "suspension of hostilities." They did get from him, however, a promise of protection for both the state and municipal officials in the capital city.[56]

In the meantime the Confederate forces, along with Governor Vance, had evacuated Raleigh and Johnston had reported to President Jefferson Davis at Greensboro. While there, Johnston learned of Lee's capitulation. The news of this disaster fully convinced the general that the Confederacy was doomed. He realized that his small army, its ranks growing thinner by the day, was no match for Sherman.

In Johnston's opinion, President Davis now had only one governmental power left, that of terminating the war, and he thought this power should be exercised immediately. In a conference with the President, he was able to get the chief executive, after much discussion, to authorize him to send Sherman, who was at Raleigh, a communication asking for a suspension of hostilities.[57]

That Sherman would arrive in Raleigh in the course of his march had been anticipated since the day he entered the state.[58] The local papers had kept the citizens posted on the progress of his march. This fact plus wild stories of Federal atrocities circulated by Lieutenant General Joe Wheeler's men were not very conforting thoughts for the local inhabitants.[59] Following the general practice of those Carolinians caught in Sherman's path, the citizens of Raleigh hid their possessions in an effort to save them. Former Governor Charles Manly placed a portion of his possessions in a heavy wooden box and buried it three miles from the city. "It was a terrible job," he declared. "I laid on the ground perfectly exhausted before I could gain strength to mount my horse."[60] Soon after the Federal occupation of Fayetteville, Governor Vance began the transfer of state records and huge military stores he had accumulated. To Graham, Greensboro, and

[56] For an interesting account of the surrender of Raleigh to the Federal forces, see Richard E. Yates, "Governor Vance and the End of the War in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (October, 1941), 315-338.

[57] Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 346-347; Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations, Directed, During the Late War Between the States, by Joseph E. Johnston, General, C.S.A.* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1874), 397-398, hereinafter cited as Johnston, *Narrative*.

[58] R. H. Battle to Cornelia P. Spencer, February 26, 1866, David L. Swain Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Swain Papers; Spencer, *Ninety Days*, 145.

[59] Andrew J. Boies, *Record of the Thirty-third Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry from August 1862-August 1865* (Fitchburg, Massachusetts: Sentinel Printing Company, 1880), 126.

[60] Charles Manly to David L. Swain, April 8, 1865, Swain Papers.



The James Bennett house, near Durham, was the scene of negotiations between Generals Sherman and Johnston, April 18, 1865. From files of State Department of Archives and History, reproduced from Frank Leslie's illustration in *The American Soldier in the Civil War.*

Salisbury were transferred 40,000 blankets, overcoats, and clothes; English cloth for about 100,000 uniforms; shoes, and leather for 10,000 other pairs; 150,000 pounds of bacon; 40,000 bushels of corn, 6,000 scythe blades; and large quantities of cotton cloth, yarns, cotton cards, and imported medical stores.[61] The last train out of Raleigh with supplies, records, and state officials aborad left the depot shortly before 9:00 P.M. on April 12.[62]

Sherman arrived in Raleigh early the next morning and immediately set up headquarters in the governor's mansion which a member of his staff called "a musty old brick building . . . in derision called the 'palace.'"[63]

Johnston's message asking for a suspension of hostilities reached the general on April 14. His immediate reply led to a meeting with Johnston at Daniel Bennett's farm house a few miles west of Durham. There on April 17 and 18 Sherman granted terms to his adversary

[61] Zebulon B. Vance to Cornelia P. Spencer, February 17, 1866, Swain Papers.
[62] R. H. Battle to Cornelia P. Spencer, February 26, 1866, Swain Papers.
[63] Nichols, *Great March,* 296-297.

that restored to the South a large measure of its "status quo" antebellum condition. This generous agreement clearly shows that with Sherman, total war was a strategic not a vindictive matter.[64]

While these negotiations with Johnston were in progress, Sherman had the unpleasant task of announcing to his army the news of President Lincoln's death. In order to prevent any serious disorders, he delayed releasing the announcement until precautionary measures could be taken to insure the safety of the city.[65] This move in all probability spared Raleigh a fate similar to that of Atlanta or Columbia.

The general assumed that his peace terms would be acceptable to the administration in Washington and for several days all went well for him. Raleigh, unmarred by the ravages of war, made an impression on both Sherman and his soldiers. The men, with but few exceptions, acclaimed the city's lovely trees, stately public buildings, fine residences, wide streets, and well-kept lawns. To the members of the Eighty-sixth Illinois, "Raleigh was the handsomest city in Famous Dixie, it being neat and clean and its situation grand. . . ."[66]

The rural population of Wake and adjoining counties where Federal troops encamped did not fare as well as the citizens of the capital. George W. Mordecai wrote David L. Swain that farms in Wake, Orange, and Granville counties were "completely dispoiled of everything in the shape of provisions and forage." In addition many houses were either burned or torn down.[67] At Charles Manly's plantation three miles from Raleigh, the devastation was "thorough and unsparing." Manly listed as lost all weatherboarding, flooring, windows, and furniture in his dwelling houses. Barns, sheds, and cotton houses were stripped of siding; fences were burned; gear was broken up. All hogs and poultry were either driven off or killed. Medicine, "excellent brandy," whiskey, wine, and 200 gallons of vinegar was taken. Federal wagon trains came out every day until 150 bushels of corn, 15,000 pounds of fodder, 12,000 pounds of hay, and a few bushels of peas and wheat were hauled off.[68]

Approximately 30 miles west of Raleigh at the small university town of Chapel Hill, a division of Kilpatrick's cavalry was encamped.

[64] Barrett, *Sherman's March*, 226-244; Raoul S. Naroll, "Lincoln and the Sherman Peace Fiasco—Another Fable?" *The Journal of Southern History*, XX (November, 1954), 459-483.

[65] Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 351; Jacob D. Cox, *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2 volumes, 1900), II, 465.

[66] Kinnear, *History of the Eighty-Sixth Regiment*, 110.

[67] George W. Mordecai to David L. Swain, May 15, 1865, Walter Clark Papers, Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Clark Papers.

[68] Charles Manly to David L. Swain, May 16, 1865, Clark Papers.

Those cavalrymen, however, resorted to very little pillaging and whiled away their time in much the same manner as the troops in Raleigh. Their commanding officer, General Smith D. Atkins, certainly was not interested in robbing the countryside. He was too busy courting President Swain's daughter, Ellie.[69]

While the troops were encamped in Chapel Hill, one could only speculate as to the outcome of this romance. Eleanor's parents certainly did not know, having refrained from questioning her on the subject. It was not until after Atkins' departure on May 3 that the long awaited announcement came. In a short note addressed to her parents "Miss Ellie" stated that she intended to marry General Atkins. She reminded her parents that she was twenty-one years old and capable of judging for herself. In the face of the furor caused by her decision, the strong-willed Eleanor wrote a friend that "but one voice can prevent this affair, and that is higher than man."[70] The Almighty did not see fit to intervene and the couple was married August 23, 1865. It was a victory for "true love," wrote Cornelia Spencer.[71]

Surely Atkins, as he led his troops out of Chapel Hill in early May, felt that war is not altogether hell.

Sherman's confidence that the war was over received a rude jolt on the morning of April 24 when Grant arrived at his headquarters with the news that the surrender terms were not acceptable in Washington. So once again Sherman met with Johnston. This time he offered, and the Confederate general accepted per force, the terms Lee had received at Appomattox.

Rebuffed in his efforts to befriend the South politically, Sherman did what he could to alleviate the economic distresses in the region around Raleigh. Army commanders were ordered to "loan" the inhabitants at once all the captured horses, mules, wagons, and vehicles that could be spared from immediate use. Generals were encouraged to issue provisions, animals, and any public supplies that could be spared "to relieve present wants and to encourage the inhabitants to renew their peaceful pursuits and to restore relations of friendship among our fellow citizens and countrymen." Foraging was to cease and all provisions acquired were to be paid for on the spot.[72]

To Johnston, Sherman expressed the hope that the animals "loaned" the farmers would be enough to insure a crop. In closing, he repeated

[69] David L. Swain was president of the University.

[70] Hope S. Chamberlain, *Old Days in Chapel Hill, Being the Life and Letters of Cornelia Phillips Spencer* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1926), 95.

[71] Cornelia P. Spencer Notebook, August 23-25, 1865, Southern Historical Collection. Cornelia Spencer was the daughter of Professor James Phillips.

[72] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III, 322.

the familiar promise: "Now that the war is over, I am willing to risk my person and reputation as heretofore to heal the wounds made by the past war. . . ." [73] He went on to say that he thought his feeling was shared by his army and that of Johnston also. In his reply the Confederate general informed Sherman that in all of their interviews he had been impressed by his sincere desire "to heal the wounds made by the (past) war." The most amazing line in this letter was the usually impassive Johnston's confession that the misfortune of his life was that of having had to encounter Sherman in the field.[74]

Sherman's plans for departure were temporarily interrupted with the arrival in Raleigh of the New York newspapers of April 24. These papers carried over Secretary Edwin M. Stanton's signature a War Department bulletin implying that Sherman had deliberately disobeyed Lincoln's orders concerning surrender negotiations and that for "bankers gold" he might allow Jefferson Davis, who was fleeing south at the time, to escape.[75]

The publication of this bulletin made Sherman angry. Reacting as if he were a caged lion, the general, before members of his staff, lashed out at Stanton as a "mean, scheming, vindictive politician who made it his business to rob military men of their credit earned by exposing their lives in the service of their country. He berated the people who blamed him for what he had done as a mass of fools, not worth fighting for, who did not know when a thing was well done. He railed at the press . . . which had become the engine of villification. . . ." [76]

Bitter at northern politicians and the press, Sherman now considered as his best friends the defeated Confederates and the soldiers of his own army. In a letter to Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, Sherman voiced a strong feeling for the people of the South. He told the judge that in case of war against a foreign foe he "would not hesitate" to mingle with the southerners and lead them in battle.[77] In the same temper he wrote his wife, Ellen: "The mass of people south will never trouble us again. They have suffered terribly, and I now feel disposed to befriend them—of course not the leaders and lawyers, but the armies who have fought and manifested their sincerity though misled by risking their persons." [78]

[73] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III, 320.
[74] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III, 336-337.
[75] *The New York Times*, April 24, 1865; Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 365.
[76] Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz with a Sketch of His Life and Public Services from 1869 to 1906 by Frederick Bancroft and William A. Dunning* (New York: The McClure Company, 3 volumes, 1908), III, 116-118.
[77] *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III, 411.
[78] Howe, *Home Letters of Sherman*, 350.

On April 28 Sherman summoned to his headquarters in the Governor's mansion all corps and army commanders. He explained to them their duties after his departure. The necessary orders were completed and on April 29, Sherman departed by rail for Wilmington. He could leave Raleigh knowing he had honestly endeavored to shorten the road to reunion. If the terms first offered Johnston had been accepted, the southern people would have resumed the place they held in the Union in 1860, and the evils of congressional reconstruction might have been forestalled.

REVIEW OF NORTH CAROLINA NONFICTION, 1963-1964

By H. C. Bradshaw*

North Carolina writers published more than 30 books of nonfiction during the year July 1, 1963-June 30, 1964; this is an impressive total. While some of the books contribute only to the numerical total, there are some of a quality which merit more than passing notice. Some may be accurately evaluated as scholarly, some as popular, and the classifications are not, in this case, mutually exclusive.

While most titles in the nonfiction category are either history or biography, one concerns law, *Foreign Divorce,* by James H. Boykin; another prisoner rehabilitation, *Work-Earn and Save,* by Allen H. Gwyn; still another reports a European trip, *European Report, 1963,* by Mr. and Mrs. Holt McPherson; and a fourth portrays the ever-alluring Cape Hatteras, *The Cape Hatteras Seashore,* by David Stick and Bruce Roberts. A collection of nostalgic essays, *Light and Rest,* by Thad Stem, Jr., and a work of literary analysis and criticism, *Elizabethan Drama and Shakespeare's Early Plays,* by Ernest William Talbert, add still more variety.

Four titles deal with the Negro, past and present: Harry Golden's *Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes;* Frenise A. Logan's *The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894; In Quest of Freedom,* by Virgil A. Stroud; and *E-Qual-Ity Education in North Carolina Among the Negroes,* by Hugh Victor Brown.

Among the seven biographies on the list, two are about Baptist ministers: *The Cullom Lantern,* by James H. Blackmore, and *Papa Wore No Halo,* by Susan H. Jefferies. Other biographical subjects include an educator, *Blanford Barnard Dougherty,* by O. Lester Brown; a physician, *Mountain Doctor,* by LeGette Blythe; an editor, *My First Eighty Years,* by Clarence Poe; a botanist, *John Clayton, Pioneer of American Botany,* by Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley; and a racketeer, *God's Gambler,* by R. Frederick West.

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* Mr. Bradshaw, editor of the editorial page of *The Durham Morning Herald,* delivered this paper at the morning session of The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, December 4, 1964.

If an output of two county histories—*Ashe County, A History,* by Arthur L. Fletcher and *History of Tyrrell County,* by David E. Davis —seems a small addition to the county history shelf, six works on college history—if we may include in this category the Dougherty biography as a history of Appalachian State College, the Cullom biography as a picture of Wake Forest College, and Chancellor Robert B. House's reminiscences of college life, *The Light That Shines,* as a view of The University of North Carolina—plus three other titles make up for any deficiency in the local history category. The three college histories are *The History of Western Carolina College,* by William Ernest Bird; *A History of Chowan College,* by Edgar V. McKnight and Oscar Creech; and *The University of North Carolina Under Consolidation 1931-63: History and Appraisal,* by Louis Round Wilson. To these we may add one local church history, that of Mocksville's First Presbyterian Church by James W. Wall; one boarding school history, *Ladies in the Making,* by Ann Strudwick Nash; and the account of a local enterprise, a hotel begun and never finished, *The Fleetwood Story,* by James H. Toms.

Other histories in the year's output take us much farther afield. Glenn Tucker's *Dawn Like Thunder,* a history of the Barbary Wars, is set largely in the Mediterranean world, with Americans, of course, playing major roles. *Political Factions in Aleppo, 1760-1826,* by Herbert L. Bodman, Jr., is a narrowly specialized study in detail of a limited period in the history of Aleppo, a Syrian city of great antiquity. Page Shamburger's *Tracks Across the Sky,* which takes us not quite so far away and not so far back in time, relates the beginning of the air mail service in this country.

In the list is some good, even fascinating reading; let us consider first some of the biographies.

Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley's biography of John Clayton is an important contribution to the history of American science. Clayton was a remarkable figure. Native of England, planter in Virginia, clerk of the Gloucester County Court, Clayton assembled and cataloged data on the flora of his section and made several trips to the more remote parts of Virginia for specimens of plant life. He corresponded with and sent specimens to leading contemporary botanists at home and abroad, as John Bartram of Pennsylvania, Carolus Linnaeus of Sweden, Johann Friedrich Gronovius of Holland, and Peter Collinson of England.

The Berkeleys have carried on exhaustive research concerning this unusual man. Because of gaps in the discoverable data, they have not been able to record the full account of Clayton's life. But

they have used to advantage the material they have been able to find, and the result is a significant work. The authors merit commendation for making available the life story of a man, who though distant from fellows of kindred spirit and similar botanical interests nevertheless carried on scientific labors which contemporary scholars in the field recognized as valuable. Isolated in life, John Clayton has been happily rescued from an undeserved obscurity in history by the Berkeleys.

One of the most important contributions in the entire range of Tarheel biography was made during the year in Clarence Poe's autobiography, *My First Eighty Years.* Dr. Poe, whose lamented death took place only two months ago, richly deserved the accolade of North Carolina's first citizen. Editor of *The Progressive Farmer,* his interests, like those of Chremes in Terence's *Heauton Timorumenos,* touched every area of concern to humanity. He campaigned no less indefatigably for better farm living than for better farming methods. His advocacy of the crepe myrtle is responsible for its planting by the hundreds of thousands on lawns and driveways. Clarence Poe, who was largely self-educated though brilliantly so, was a stanch friend of education at both the public school and higher education levels. His work in promoting better health, notably in bringing into being the North Carolina Medical and Hospital Care Commission, has contributed immeasurably toward the expansion of health care facilities in the state. A continuing concern was the enrichment of spiritual life in better churches and a vital ministry on their part. Of his life and work, this native of Chatham County and longtime resident of Raleigh writes with characteristic charm. A rich content is enlivened by an easily readable style. The intimate insights and important events and developments in twentieth-century North Carolina history make the Poe autobiography a helpful source book as well as an absorbing personal story. It must be added, though, that we could wish for a fuller relation at some points. What Clarence Poe meant to the spirit and the pursuit of progress in North Carolina has been incalculable. We are fortunate that he has recorded his story in his distinctive way.

A story of extraordinary dedication is contained in the biography of Dr. Gaine Cannon—*Mountain Doctor*—by LeGette Blythe. Seeking rest from his medical practice in Pickens, South Carolina, Cannon went to his farm at Balsam Grove. Using his leisure to catch up on his reading about his favorite hero, Albert Schweitzer, he saw in Balsam Grove the opportunity to apply the Schweitzer philosophy of service. From then on, he was a mountain doctor.

Mr. Blythe has told the story with insight; the personalities of

doctor and patients come alive in the sure and sympathetic presentation. His account is vital, direct, and intimate, rich in human interest, abounding in delightful stories of that inimitable breed, the old-time southern mountaineer. Copious illustrations of Gaine Cannon at work supplement the text. In summary, *Mountain Doctor* is more than the biography of a physician working in the southwestern North Carolina mountains. It is a picture of medical practice among a people whose remoteness has kept alive a primitive way of life. It is a contribution to social understanding as well as an inspiration for service.

An entertaining book to read, *Papa Wore No Halo,* by Susan Herring Jefferies, was in places disappointing. Papa, David Wells Herring, Baptist preacher and missionary to China, emerges in clear enough relief. But some of the situations which were crucial in Papa's career appear in something of a haze. His controversy with the Baptist Foreign Mission Board, for example, needs a background explanation which by its absence leaves the reader with unanswered questions about the place of the disagreement in missionary history and its significance in missionary practice. One gets the impression that this book was written largely from personal memories and family reminiscences. Had these been supplemented by research in mission records and history, the biography of David Wells Herring would have been a much more valuable contribution to missionary history. As it is, *Papa Wore No Halo* is the portrayal of a man and his personality—as undoubtedly the author intended it to be—rather than a portrait of the missionary set in the frame of missionary history of his generation. Mrs. Jefferies gives vivid pictures of missionary life in China and momentous and thrilling experiences in the family's life there.

If the county history offering this year is small in volume, one of the books in the field, Colonel Arthur L. Fletcher's history of Ashe County, more than makes up for lack of quantity in its exceptional merit. Comprehensive and adequately detailed, without becoming monotonous or tedious, this history of Ashe County deals with various aspects of its life: political and governmental; military; religious; educational; agricultural, mining, and industrial; financial; utilities; transportation; fraternal; medical; and legal. One chapter is devoted to the depression of the 1930's—all too many county histories cut off before that period. The most distinctive chapter concerns the folklore of the county with special emphasis on home remedies used in illnesses, including treatment of "cansers." For all its comprehensive coverage, the book is weak in its presentation of social history. One gets only glimpses, instead of a clear full picture, of the way Ashe County people have lived through the years. While the history is not

documented, it is obviously based in large measure on records, other source material, and secondary sources which can be regarded as dependable. Conspicuously and happily lacking is reliance on exaggerated recollections of old-timers. Colonel Fletcher's account of Ashe County is one of the better county histories. It shows research in the assembling of data, judgment in evaluation of sources, and care in the selection of material.

Two of the books dealing with the Negro—one with his past, the other with his present—merit mention. The significance of the period 1876-1894 which Frenise A. Logan selected for his study of the Negro in Tarheelia is that it was the era in which the political influence of the Negro began to decline, the seeds of the white supremacy doctrine were sown, and the pattern of racial segregation as this generation knew it prior to the contemporary removal of barriers took form. The section on the Negro in politics is a fitting prologue to Helen G. Edmunds' *The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1895-1901.* Dr. Logan's and Dr. Edmunds' works provide an exceptionally thorough survey of the Negro in North Carolina between the end of Reconstruction and the triumph of white supremacy in the election of 1900. In addition to political history, Dr. Logan treats economic and social history to give a well-rounded picture of Negro life and the Negro's role in the life of North Carolina.

Harry Golden's *Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes,* while relating the current desegregation process to the late President, extends well beyond the limits of the title. In addition to detailing the removal of legal barriers separating the races, Mr. Golden shows some of the obstacles in public opinion to desegregation. The content of *Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes* is not an original contribution to the history of racial desegregation. That topic has been well covered in books, magazine articles, and newspaper features. In tying the subject to President John F. Kennedy and making him something of a symbol for the civil rights movement, Mr. Golden found a new lead for a familiar story. He has selected from the mass of available data a representative sampling which makes his book a good study of this troubled era. To history Mr. Golden adds his interpretations both of the order of Negro society—he stresses the fact that it has been a matriarchy—and of the effect of desegregation on the southern white and Negro. In brief, Mr. Golden, essaying the role of prophet, foresees that desegregation will emancipate the southern white and require the Negro to work the harder to achieve in the larger competition he will face.

One of the most valuable of the year's nonfiction offering, in giving

information, is *The Peanut Story*, by F. Roy Johnson. Its packaging does not attract—in fact is deceptive of the true worth of the book, which is a comprehensive, documented history of peanut production. It constitutes a worthwhile reference work on this staple of northeastern North Carolina's agricultural economy.

Of the history titles on the list, the most significant in its contribution to the preservation of the nation's history is Glenn Tucker's *Dawn Like Thunder*. Detailing the record of the Barbary Wars, it corrects the popular, textbook-fostered misconceptions of what actually took place, particularly in the settlement, in the conflict between the United States and the Barbary States of North Africa. Exhaustive research made possible definitive treatment of a neglected episode in American history. It includes the account of one of the most memorable, but for most people forgotten, exploits in American military annals, the thousand-mile march across North Africa led by William Eaton and Lieutenant Presley Neville O'Bannon of the Marines, of which the high point was the capture of Derna—and its fruitlessness. Mr. Tucker is quite effective in showing that the peace which brought the fighting to an end was less a confirmation of the victory American exploits gained than a compromise with the Bashaw of Tripoli. The significance of the Barbary Wars, as Tucker sees it, is not so much a crushing of the Barbary States and stopping their piratical depredations and the payment of tribute to them, which continued another decade, as in giving the Navy "a glorious beginning" and providing Navy officers with preparatory training for the War of 1812.

The Cape Hatteras Seashore is distinguished for superb photography by Bruce Roberts and vividly descriptive text by David Stick.

As *The Peanut Story* merits a more pleasing typographical vehicle, so does Judge Allen H. Gwyn's *Work-Earn and Save*. The merit of the book is its significance for programs of prisoner rehabilitation. More than a vindication of one judge's experiment in helping humans who have taken the wrong track to find a better way, it is a source book to justify the extension of this experiment and a constructive prisoner rehabilitation program.

The one volume of literary criticism concerns one of the most productive and original eras in the history of English literature, the Elizabethan, and what was probably its most vital form, the drama. A general analysis of early Elizabethan drama gives Ernest William Talbert a springboard to the more specialized waters of the era's foremost figure, Shakespeare, the four hundredth anniversary of whose birth has been observed this year. Professor Talbert limits his study to the earlier plays of the master, comedies and historical dramas.

Designed essentially for the scholar, *Elizabethan Drama and Shakespeare's Early Plays* makes a definitive contribution to the study of English drama.

Three books in the list should be read for sheer enjoyment. They contain information, but their entertainment value transcends their other values. Chancellor Robert B. House's collection of reminiscences of university life and, in larger measure, of university personalities in his student days a half-century ago, is, to be sure, a valuable contribution to the history of The University of North Carolina. But its nostalgic charm has appeal for every old graduate, not only of Chapel Hill, but also of any other institution of distinction and tradition. Its greatest weakness is Chancellor House's compulsive tendency to apotheosis. My own knowledge of other garden spots—there are a few, you know—assures me that there were serpents in the Edens of even our idealized boyhoods, as there were in the first Eden. And I am sure that there were serpents in the Chapel Hill paradise of 1912-1916, although Chancellor House has scrupulously omitted mention of all save the hazing tragedy of 1912. But if apotheosis is a weakness, a tower of strength in *The Light That Shines* is the reminder of great teaching and its power to enlighten and enliven the lives of students through the subsequent years.

Thad Stem, Jr.'s, *Light and Rest* is a collection of brief essays, largely nostalgic, with the avowed purpose of entertaining through calling to mind the pleasant life of a day now gone, but within the memory of those who have reached the middle years. As they entertain, they preserve episodes in social history which the future historian of the Tarheel scene cannot afford to overlook. For us who are Mr. Stem's contemporaries and share similar memories, though, the merit of his work is its capacity to divert and entertain. The style possesses a lyric quality—not unexpected in a man who is also a poet—and there is a specificity which creates the atmosphere of reality. Though many of the essays take the reader back in memory, the over-all effect is appreciation of human kind and human worth—an ever contemporary lesson.

These last three works discussed in this review constitute its dessert course. If Chancellor House's *The Light That Shines* is the sweet potato pudding (grated, of course) and Thad Stem's *Light and Rest* the homemade ice cream (eaten from the dasher), Ann Strudwick Nash's *Ladies in the Making* is the plum pudding with hard sauce. This is the story of the Nash-Kollock School in Hillsboro—the school for girls conducted by Sally and Maria Nash (daughters of Chief Justice Frederick Nash and granddaughters of Governor Abner

Nash) and their cousin, Sarah Kollock. It is a fine water color—if I may change the metaphor used a sentence or two ago—of a genteel school for genteel young ladies of genteel families. The aim of the school is succinctly expressed in the title of the book; and the school was symbolic of an educational ideal which held that the purpose of schooling is to produce a lady or a gentleman and that book learning is secondary and supplementary to that objective. It was, in its simplified way and under prevailing circumstances, an application of John Witherspoon's profound and valid dictum, "Truth is in order to goodness."

As social history, *Ladies in the Making* is fascinating. The merit of its style is love for the subject. It portrays with tender grace a day that is dead. And though the day is dead, it possessed qualities which would make life in the alive today more pleasant and more enjoyable. The blend of formality and courtesy—and now I mix my metaphors with abandon and without apology—oils the wheels of human contact and smooths the rough roads of the day's demands in family living, work, and civic activity.

More than any other book in this nonfiction offering, *Ladies in the Making* is representative of the new interest in preserving North Carolina history and of the reminders that Tarheelia too has a fine tradition and heritage of gracious living and high thinking.

THE CONFEDERATE CENTENNIAL: A REPORT

BY NORMAN C. LARSON*

It is extremely difficult to stand before a group of people with whom I have become quite familiar over the past several years, and realize that, in all probability, this will be my final performance of this nature. It is also very difficult to realize that it *actually was* four years ago that I stood in this same spot and outlined the proposed activities of the then-forthcoming centennial.

But time *has* passed, and this *is* my final appearance, and these two facts cannot be altered. And the centennial anniversary of the War Between the States *has* virtually ended.

This morning, however, I am not here to bemoan the addition of a few more gray hairs or lament over extra girth where it is most apparent. Neither shall I regret that with the end of the centennial comes also the end of my employment, nor do I plan to memorialize or eulogize the activities of the commission I represent.

I could say, and honestly so, that our commission is the finest of the 44 similar groups throughout the nation, but I won't. I will not say that our staff, in spite of its many changes, has remained one of the most loyal and productive in state government; without these dedicated people the progress we have made would not have been possible. I will not mention the co-operation extended to us by the State Department of Archives and History, from the director on down, which has been one of our mainstays during the past four years and say that, without it, we would long since have collapsed.

No, I'll not say these things because they don't need to be said. You know them; I know them; so also does the centennial-minded nation.

Rather than eulogize or memorialize them, I should like to utilize the brief time allotted me to do exactly as is suggested in your program—give you a report of centennial activity in and about North Carolina, and perhaps, at the same time, evaluate what it has all meant to this state and to the country.

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* Mr. Larson, Executive Secretary of The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, presented this speech at the morning session of The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh on December 4, 1964.

As you are aware, the past four years have seen North Carolina and, indeed, the entire nation gripped in what can only be called "the throes of a minor miracle." This "minor miracle," of course, is the Civil War Centennial, that greatest of all commemorative events which has been with us since February, 1961. This singularly-American phenomenon has made itself felt from Maine to Florida, and from New York to California. It has caused some historians to shudder; others, to jump with glee. It has caused archivists to cringe (especially some I know), newspaper editors to rant, and members of reactivated Confederate and Union regiments and ladies of the United Daughters of the Confederacy to ascend to a special "Seventh Heaven."

In Mississippi one could find 10,000 Confederate colonels, complete with sash and saber, sideburns and sidearms. In Pennsylvania, a real-live, dyed-in-the-wool J. E. B. Stuart has thrilled children of all ages by posturing himself atop his strutting steed. In a New Jersey schoolroom, a "Blue and Gray" history section daily has fought the war. And in Columbus, Ohio, a Polynesian restaurant has flown a Confederate flag.

We have refought the battles of Philippi, Manassas, Front Royal, Winchester, Antietam, Gettysburg, and many others—fought all, fortunately, with a minimum of casualties.

We have staged parades, written books, held balls, and arranged cake sales and special displays. We have microfilmed old records and compiled rosters.

In North Carolina we have salvaged blockade-runners, raised sunken ships, dedicated monuments, staged pageants, and even commemorated the capture of a single piece of artillery (a twelve-pound Whitworth cannon).

And now we should pause and ask ourselves, "Has it all been worth it?" To me, the answer is quite obvious: Yes! For out of the hullabaloo and pageantry, the serious research and writing, there has come and there will come a better understanding of this most crucial period in the history of our nation.

It is true that not all of us will have garnered a more intensified knowledge of the Battle of Antietam because we have seen it reenacted; we will not remember the abortive peace attempt of February, 1861, because a commemorative program was held; but at least we will be aware of the existence of these events. Our publications have reached thousands of school children and *will* reach more. And remember, this figure is increased many times when we consider that there are some 44 additional centennial commissions in the country that also distribute publications. These books and pamphlets have

also made the job of teaching just a little bit easier by proving to be the supplemental materials so much needed in our classrooms.

Many of the commissions have published serious, *good* histories of their home states in the war—publications which otherwise might not have been produced. Commissions, such as those in New York and Ohio, have published series of booklets on various subjects, all of which have found a definite place in the over-all story of the period. Other state commissions have undertaken intensive research projects, which, in years to come, will aid the scholar and historian.

Each of the 45 Civil War centennial commissions in the United States has conducted its own program as it has seen fit. No specific master plan was developed and no specific direction given, so the centennial has evolved as a varied and all-inclusive event. To give you some idea of this variety, I should like briefly to outline our program of the past four years; for it includes most of the techniques utilized by other states, and it is indicative of centennial activities throughout the country.

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission has been one of the largest and most productive of the nation's commemorative groups. Our membership has consisted of 25 appointed and three ex officio members. While the commission is political in origin, we have never become political in purpose, and we have managed to keep our approach at the historical level, where it belongs.

Our staff has been one of the best, and consists at the present time of two professional historians, an editorial assistant, a public information officer, two stenographers, and an executive secretary. Our budget, which has been utilized mainly for staff maintenance and publications, has remained constant at approximately $60,000 a year and is surpassed only by Virginia's.

We began our operation in April, 1960, in a somewhat dingy corner of the State Archives and History Department with a staff consisting of a jack-of-all-trades assistant and me. Our initial problem was to work out a program and draw up an estimated budget for the first year of the centennial. Having done this, we presented the suggested program and budget to the commission members at our first plenary meeting. With a few minor changes, the program was accepted and we were in business.

One of our first thoughts was that our plans were too ambitious to be carried out by staff alone. We therefore asked Governor Luther H. Hodges to request that each county's board of commissioners appoint a group to work with us in planning and conducting the centennial program at a local level. Governor Hodges did this and commissioners

in 77 of North Carolina's 100 counties complied with his request. Organizational and instructional materials were then mailed to committee members and work was commenced.

The commission itself was organized into committees, with each member assuming a committee role best suited to his or her abilities. In addition to commission members, selected outsiders (specialists in their fields) were invited to participate with us. Eleven committees were formed, covering such areas as drama; audio-visual aid; school education; publications; graves and markers; special events; legislation; documents, manuscripts, and museum items; re-enactments; the Confederate Museum; and the Confederate Festival. In the beginning each committee met as needed to work out a program for the staff to follow. The result of this work may be seen in our accomplishments to date.

In 1961 and 1962 we were extremely active in the field of drama. A group of outstanding North Carolina writers was prevailed upon to combine its talents and, under the direction of playwright Paul Green, to produce three one-act plays for high school, college, and community theater use. Betty Smith (of *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* fame), Manly Wade Wellman, and George Brenholtz were our authors.

The potential development of a new and up-to-date Confederate Museum in Richmond, long a personal dream of mine, was the result of initial planning by our Confederate Museum Committee. At our suggestion, the Confederate States Centennial Conference adopted this as a major project. Another request from this group, to the city of Richmond, resulted in the donation of a building and badly-needed land to the Confederate Literary and Memorial Society, custodians of the old White House of the Confederacy which is now the Confederate Museum. We hope that the White House will eventually be restored to its 1861-1865 appearance and that the additional buildings and land will be better utilized to tell the story of the Confederacy.

Of our many activities, our most productive work, perhaps, has been in the field of publications. We have published the aforementioned one-act plays; promotional literature; pamphlets on the battles of Fort Macon, New Bern, and Gettysburg; the booklet, *A Guide to Military Organizations and Installations, North Carolina, 1861-1865; Front Rank,* a book telling the story of North Carolina in the Civil War, by Glenn Tucker; and *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem,* the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band history, by Harry H. Hall. We have also reprinted a 1929 offering, *North Carolina Women of the Confederacy.* We are currently preparing for publication an index to

Civil War materials in the State Department of Archives and History and a history of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment. Consideration is being given at the present time to the publication of a history of Fort Fisher and the two major battles associated with it.

The commission's most monumental effort to date is the compiling and editing of a new roster of North Carolina troops, 1861-1865. The first volume of this estimated twenty- to thirty-volume work is now ready for the printer and is scheduled to be published in the spring of 1965. A second volume should appear shortly thereafter. Publication of subsequent volumes will cover an estimated span of three or four years and will be carried out by the State Department of Archives and History. This project, the largest of its kind undertaken by a state commission, has been recognized nationally as the most outstanding contribution of any centennial commission. Much inspiration for this effort has come from State Archivist H. G. Jones; without his constant assistance, the project would not have been possible.

Early in the centennial, we undertook the marking of the North Carolina Civil War sites not already adequately indicated as such, and the ones not scheduled for treatment as state historic sites or parks. New Bern, Roanoke Island, and Averasboro Battlefield are a few of these. A new-type highway marker was developed by the commission and has been adopted by the State Department of Archives and History for use in its marker program.

One of the most successful phases of our program has been that of audio-visual education. With the co-operation of key personnel from leading radio and television stations in the state, we have seen the production of two television dramas, five half-hour documentaries, one hour-long musical program, and numerous interview and short feature programs. These shows were produced at little or no cost to the commission. All of North Carolina's major centennial events have received radio and television coverage, and we feel that through the broadcasting media we have succeeded in reaching a maximum number of Tarheels with the centennial message.

A by-product of our audio-visual committee work is in the infant stage and has yet to be given public exposure. This is a radio and television broadcasters' historical association, which we hope will evolve from this committee and eventually lead to a new technique in the preservation of North Carolina's records.

Re-enactments have also been handled by this commission; and, while approached with trepidation by many, they have all been of a satisfactory nature. At our suggestion, the Alamance County Confederate Centennial Committee undertook the organization, or rather,

reactivation, of one of the state's most outstanding fighting units—the Sixth North Carolina Regiment. The regiment has a current strength of approximately 150 men and can produce a minimum of 50 participants for any program or re-enactment. Commanded by Burlington industrialist and commission member, W. Cliff Elder, the regiment has participated in all major re-enactments to date and is preparing for the battle re-enactment at Averasboro in March, 1965.

In the field of in-school education we have had perhaps the least amount of success. While we have provided many illustrated lectures for individual classes and placed literature in the hands of the pupils themselves, we did not, until 1963, succeed in making what might be termed a mass "pitch" to the students or teachers. In that year, however, we placed our publication *Front Rank* in virtually all school libraries, where it is now used as a supplementary teaching device for seventh- and eighth-grade classes.

Commemorative programs have been many and varied. These have ranged from a simple ceremony in February, 1961, marking the one hundredth aniversary of the last time that the "Stars and Stripes" was flown in Wilmington (incidentally, this brought about the return of that very same flag to Wilmington), to the gala Confederate Festival in May, 1961, which served as a kickoff for our program. Coming in between and since these events have been literally hundreds of programs, not only on a state-wide scale, but also at the local level; most of these have been conducted by the county committees. Outstanding among these programs have been the anniversary programs noting the battles of Roanoke Island, New Bern, and Fort Macon; Colonel William Lamb Day, held in July, 1962, at Fort Fisher; and a Civil War musicale held in Winston-Salem. We have also participated in the commemorations of events at the national level, such as those at Manassas, Sharpsburg, Gettysburg, Kennesaw Mountain, and many others.

Many of our committees have collected documents and manuscripts of the Civil War period and have insured their preservation either by photostating or depositing them in state or local archives. The best example of such may be seen in the work of our Forsyth County committee, which has prevailed upon the Wake Forest College Library to establish a Civil War documents section. This committee has also been instrumental in collecting many historically important records and manuscripts which are kept by the college.

We could go on mentioning other aspects of our program, but since time is limited I must now bring this talk to a close. In doing so, however, I should like to mention one or two of our "pet" projects—pro-

jects which have really not been completed, but which have been our biggest "attention-getters" to date. These are the salvage operations conducted off the coast of North Carolina and the resurrection and restoration of the Confederate gunboat "Neuse."

In March, 1962, a fierce coastal storm laid waste much of eastern North Carolina. In the Fort Fisher area, however, it worked to our advantage; or, more specifically, to the advantage of the State Department of Archives and History. Rather than causing great destruction, the storm revealed the remains of a sunken British steamer, "Modern Greece." United States Naval divers, while on a sort of "busman's holiday," discovered the wreck. They reported this discovery to officials of the department and this commission, who were soon off on a crash salvage program which lasted approximately a year and a half.

Under our direction, naval and civilian divers have recovered thousands of artifacts including rifles, bayonets, medical equipment, Bowie knives, and three large cannons (each weighing in excess of 6,000 pounds). The commission has been instrumental in procuring funds to conduct these operations and has assisted considerably in the establishment of an Archives and History preservation laboratory to process materials recovered from the sea. Incidentally, the work being done at the Fort Fisher laboratory is receiving not only state and national attention, but also world-wide recognition. We are quite proud of this aspect of the program and of all the people who have worked with us to bring it about.

The second of our "pet" projects has been the resurrection of the Confederate gunboat "Neuse" from the Neuse River, near Kinston, Under the direction of the Lenoir County Confederate Centennial Committee, the project has been underway for approximately three years and at last seems on the way to completion. Some $25,000 has been raised at the local level and put into salvage work. The gunboat is now out of the water and permanently situated at the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial just a few miles upstream from the spot where it had lain for 100 years. Plans now are to construct housing for the "Neuse" and a nearby museum to display artifacts recovered from it. Two fund-raising projects are currently being carried on by the Lenoir County committee along with this commission: the selling of commemorative medals of silver, silver oxidize, and bronze, which depict the "Neuse" on one side and the original Confederate Naval Seal on the other; and the issuing of commissions in the Confederate Navy to those who wish to contribute.

In conclusion, I am reminded of an article which appeared in some scholarly publication at the onset of the centennial and was entitled "The Civil War Centennial—Cerebration or Celebration?" My contention has long been that both of these are needed in a program of this magnitude, and I strongly feel that we have succeeded in providing some degree of contentment for the scholar *and* the layman. If this be true, then I feel that the purpose of The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission has been fulfilled.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Southern Savory. By Bernice Kelly Harris. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Pp. 256. $5.00.)

The countless readers who have enjoyed the homely flavor of *Purslane, Portulaca, Janey Jeems, Wild Cherry Tree Road,* and other writings of Bernice Kelly Harris will find especial delight in *Southern Savory,* a series of impressions and reminiscences. The tar is as thick on the heels of the writer whose fame has spread beyond the bounds of the state and nation as it was when she was a little girl in Wake County in the early years of the century.

The little country girl whose experiences and emotions are recorded in Part One of the book was destined to be a writer. For her, Rocky Branch tumbling over rocks became Niagara Falls; the mud puddle in the hog lot was transformed into the river which Christiana had to cross over into the New Jerusalem; and a sapling served as a steed which she rode to Astolat. Even without a steed that shining city of romance could be reached, for she writes: "I rode to Astolat even when I churned and sloshed buttermilk and dreamed." She became a part of all that she read or dreamed. Though she was oftenest the Lily Maid, others took their turn, among them Scott's Rebecca, the Biblical Ruth, and Queen Victoria.

The enchantment of Astolat did not blind the little girl to the absorbing interests to be found in Poole's Siding. There was Grandpa Kelly, whose Republican bias was a source of embarrassment to his kin; Grandpa Poole, who "talked to the Lord as though He were on the bench by him"; Aunt Martha, who "moved in cool sweet dignity," and who "praised everything, including the Psalms and cornbread"; and Cousin Will, who "made a career of visiting." One of the neighbors was a figure of comedy and pathos—Mr. Claude, a scholarly minister who did not abandon his necktie, his standup white collar, and his derby hat even when he was forced into farming because "he had run out of churches." The Latin with which he addressed his livestock did not keep them out of other people's fields nor discourage the grass from growing in his own.

These and many more observations the child saw with clear, keen eyes and the mature woman remembered and re-created with sympathetic candor in *Southern Savory.*

Part Two introduces the reader to Seaboard, the small town in Eastern Carolina in which Mrs. Harris has lived more than forty years—first as teacher, then as wife, and always as writer. Here she became a vital part of the life of the small place. She organized some of her friends into a playwriting group, which was unique while it lasted. "Scenarios split time with Rhode Island Reds; expository devices, with salad combinations; and kings who paid the wages of sin, with casseroles." From these and other neighbors, as from her kith and kin in Poole's Siding, she drew characters and situations which appear in her plays and novels.

Because she has Wordsworth's "exquisite regard for common things," Mrs. Harris does not find life in a small town flat, stale and unprofitable; nor is it tainted with the dregs of evil. Her Seaboard is not *Main Street* or *Peyton Place*. Rather, she sees it as did Edgar Lee Masters when he wrote:

> Life all around me here in the village:
> Tragedy, comedy, valor, and truth,
> Courage, constancy, heroism, failure —
> All in the loom, and oh what patterns!

"Small towns," Mrs. Harris writes, "cannot be generalized or poured from one mold any more than human being can. . . . Along with its general faults, each has its individual virtues." Seaboard's kindness she characterizes as "comprehensive and warm and spontaneous . . . creative kindness to humanity." While surveying farming conditions for the Federal Writers' Project, she found, as she talked with hunger-bitten sharecroppers and tenant farmers, "beauty among penury and want and despair."

Mary Lynch Johnson

Meredith College

Folk, Region, and Society: Selected Papers of Howard W. Odum. Edited by Guy B. Johnson, Rupert B. Vance, George L. Simpson, and Katharine Jocher. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Introductory notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xvi, 480. $8.00.)

Howard W. Odum was one of the brightest lights ever to adorn the campus of The University of North Carolina. He was highly respected throughout America as a sociologist. Through his teachings, writings, and inspiration, he played the leading role in establishing

sociology as a college and university discipline throughout the entire South. Many of his former graduate students are now department heads and respected teachers in many states including all southern ones.

He was more than a sociologist and teacher of sociology; he was a man of many facets—folklorist, prose poet, and breeder of pedigreed Jersey cattle. He gave generously of his time to students and young teachers and served the state, region, and nation as head or member of numerous committees, commissions, and other groups. He was president of the American Sociological Society in 1930. Honorary degrees, and national and state awards were bestowed upon him. Several leading universities invited him to be visiting professor or lecturer.

Folk, Region, and Society contains selected papers from limited areas of Odum's writings. The editors are four of his former graduate students who were very close to him and are perhaps best qualified to compile this volume which appears ten years after Odum's death.

Following a brief biographical foreword, the book is divided into four parts, each of which has sub-sections.

Part I. The Negro Folk: Interpretation and Portraiture, is edited by Guy B. Johnson, with introductory note to ten papers.

Part II. The Region and Regionalism, is edited by Rupert B. Vance, with introductory note to seven papers.

Part III. The Folk and Folk Sociology, is edited by George L. Simpson, with introductory note to seven papers.

Part IV. Sociology in the Service of Society, is edited by Katharine Jocher, with introductory note to 12 selected papers.

The book contains a Bibliography of Odum's writings divided into books, monographs; articles, brochures, chapters, pamphlets; publications which he edited such as *Social Forces,* which he also founded. Some of his earlier works are lost and thus not listed. The chronological arrangement has been followed in order to show the development in Odum's thinking.

This book is a labor of love by four outstanding students and long-time close associates of his. He probably would have selected them to edit this nondefinitive volume which deals only with his writings as a sociologist.

S. H. Hobbs, Jr.

The University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

North Carolina Lands: Ownership, Use and Management of Forest and Related Lands. By Kenneth B. Pomeroy and James G. Yoho (Washington, D.C.: The American Forestry Association. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xx, 372. $6.00.)

Since the days of Joseph Austin Holmes and Joseph Hyde Pratt at the turn of this century, the interest of North Carolinians in conservation has been sustained by the increasing importance of timber to the state's economy. The most extensive study of conservation in North Carolina to date is the work of two foresters, James Yoho of Duke University and Kenneth B. Pomeroy of the American Forestry Association.

Unlike other states in which similar studies have been made, private land ownership predominates in North Carolina. Following a lengthy historical discussion of land laws in North Carolina, the authors conclude that maintenance of private landholdings has been the "unswerving policy" of the state. By 1908 "almost every acre had been patented to private applicants." While federal, state, and local government agencies have reacquired considerable North Carolina lands over the years, most holdings are still private.

The chief concern of the authors involves what they call the "forestry problem" in North Carolina. This problem stems from the unusually high percentage of commercial forests held by small landholders. In an exhaustive analysis of these holdings, perhaps the most impressive part of the study, the authors explain how more conservation practices will be needed if future supplies of timber are to be kept abreast of the state's needs. "Although the quantity, if not the quality, of standing timber seems adequate for current demands," they warn, "there is no assurance that this balance will continue indefinitely."

Accompanying this analysis is a body of specific recommendations that will be helpful to many of the state's enterprises. For example, the state's furniture industries are advised to increase their own landholdings and to launch a vigorous campaign "designed to make landowners more conscious of the value of hardwoods."

The chief weakness of the study is in its organization. Unrelated topics are treated together without explanation. The second chapter on evolution of land ownership is essentially a catalog of undigested facts. A more complete indexing of such information would be helpful.

In spite of these shortcomings, the authors have made a useful study of an important area of North Carolina's economy. It will be

of interest to the state's foresters in particular and to all students of the history of conservation and landholding in North Carolina.

David N. Thomas

East Carolina College

Essays in American History. East Carolina College Publications in History. Volume I. (Greenville: Department of History, East Carolina College. 1964. Pp. vi, 182. $1.50.)

Essays in American History contains six articles, all by faculty members of the Department of History at East Carolina College (although graduate students are eligible to contribute to the series) and all clearly good enough to appear in the historical journals for which their subjects are appropriate. The titles of the articles, which are as follows, provide a brief summary of the volume's contents: Alvin A. Fahrner, "Commodore James Barron, United States Navy (1769-1851), Scapegoat of the *Chesapeake-Leopard* Affair"; Charles L. Price, "The Railroad Schemes of George W. Swepson"; Lala Carr Steelman, "Georgia's Reaction to Reconstruction: The Constitutional Convention of 1877"; Joseph F. Steelman, "Progressivism and Agitation for Legal Reform in North Carolina, 1897-1917"; Hubert A. Coleman, "Establishment of a Separate Air Force Medical Service after World War II"; and John C. Ellen, Jr., "Piedmont and Mountain Political Newspapers of North Carolina, 1850-1859: A Compedium."

The major significance of this publication derives from the nature of the series of which it is the initial volume rather than from the nature of the individual articles. *Essays in American History,* as Volume I of *East Carolina College Publications in History,* has an importance out of proportion to its contents, size, and price.

A critical question confronts the historical profession. How can provision be made for ample media of publication, especially for articles, for the rapidly growing body of historians who increasingly wish to publish and who are increasingly pressured by their institutions to do so? The journals of historical associations are not sufficient to meet the need. Furthermore, establishing more associations and more journals is not a wholly satisfactory solution. Already many historians are oppressed by the solicitations from the numerous existing associations and by the responsibilities of membership.

A promising answer to the question is supplied by this volume. In inaugurating its own series in a tasteful but low-budget format,

East Carolina College has demonstrated that a modestly-financed institution with a modestly-paid faculty can provide itself with a channel of publication for articles and offer a service in scholarship to research libraries and the few but eager specialists to whom these articles are important.

The volume's title may mislead some readers. These articles are not "essays" in the sense that the authors attempt to be highly literary, interpretive, or personal. These are conventional research pieces, no more, no less.

Experimentation with genuine essays in some future volume might enhance the series' attractiveness. Good essays, of course, are manifestly more difficult to produce than good research articles, and ironically the associations have devised no media for the development of good essayists. Perhaps East Carolina can demonstrate that a series such as its *Publications in History* can enrich the body of historical literature by diversifying it as well as by simply enlarging it.

In any event, it is hoped that East Carolina will continue its good work, and that other institutions will consider the possible advantages of similar publications.

Oliver H. Orr, Jr.

North Carolina State of The
University of North Carolina
at Raleigh

Robert Carter of Nomini Hall: A Virginia Tobacco Planter of the Eighteenth Century. By Louis Morton. (Charlottesville: Dominion Books, a division of the University Press of Virginia. 1964. Illustrations, tables, bibliography, index. Pp. xvi, 332. $2.75.)

This is a reissue (paper cover) of Morton's well-documented study which was first published in 1941 and reprinted in 1945 by Colonial Williamsburg, Inc. Except for minor changes in the introductory material, the present book is identical to the 1945 edition.

Aware of the excellent work done by Philip A. Bruce and Thomas J. Wertenbaker on the development of Virginia's plantation system after 1700, Morton adderessed himself to the "new" economic and social problems which arose in that colony after 1750. Accordingly, instead of writing a biography of Robert Carter, he undertook an investigation of the economic and cultural aspects of life on Carter's numerous plantations. Six chapters are devoted to plantation economy, and three to the interrelationships among plantation life,

the Carter family itself, and the actualities of culture in Virginia after 1750.

The author called attention to Carter's use of tenants, an aspect of eighteenth-century plantation life largely neglected by historians. He also noted the unexpectedly large number of *white* skilled laborers on Carter's plantations. He pointed out that crops other than tobacco were extensively grown after 1770, raising questions as to the "plight of the planter" on the eve of Revolution. Furthermore, Carter's abandonment of the Anglican Church, becoming first a deist, then a Baptist, led Morton to question the religious convictions of other Virginia planters.

A few historians have pursued the path pointed out by Morton. It is to be hoped that the reissue of this provocative study is an indication that there will soon be more.

Robert W. Ramsey

Hollins College

A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860. By James C. Bonner. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Notes, selected bibliography, index. Pp. viii, 242. $6.00.)

A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860 is based on a doctoral dissertation. Dr. James C. Bonner, the author, has taught history at West Georgia College, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, and Emory University; he is now chairman of the Department of Social Studies at Woman's College of Georgia. Professor Fletcher M. Green, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, inspired this and other similar studies, made by his graduate students, notably *Agricultural Developments in North Carolina, 1783-1860,* by C. O. Cathey.

Relying upon a wide variety of sources and treating his subjects in considerable detail, Dr. Bonner has produced a volume well worth the attention of those interested in the early history of agriculture in Georgia and the South. In fact, the colony as originally chartered by King George II included much of the mid-South. The interaction of people, both landowners and slaves, to the variation of soil, climate and other natural resources, and the quest for knowledge about new crops are described and well documented.

Efforts to produce and export silk to England, the introduction and disapperance of rice as a principal crop along the Atlantic Coast, the expansion of upland cotton and the resulting soil exhaustion and

emigration, the striving for economic self-sufficiency and southern nationalism, and the emergence of leaders and organizations to promote various commodities or agriculture in general are some of the subjects of extended research by Dr. Bonner. The last several chapters trace in considerable detail the history of specific plants and animals of ante-bellum agriculture in Georgia.

The year 1860 was a propitious termination date for the book. The beginnings of mechanization of farming, the increasing restiveness brought on by slavery, and the agitation for more knowledge on farm subjects and for a system of education for farm people are much in evidence in the last twenty years of the period covered by Dr. Bonner.

The book is interesting to anyone who seeks to understand the early history of the agrarian South. Chapters dealing with specialized subjects and the extensive bibliography will be useful as reference material for scholars.

D. W. Colvard

Mississippi State University

Republican Party in Georgia: From Reconstruction Through 1900. By Olive Hall Shadgett. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1964. Backnotes, appendixes, bibliography, index. Pp. ix, 210. $6.00.)

The admitted "story of a fight which was lost almost before it began," this is the first full treatment of Georgia's Republican party during the last quarter or so of the nineteenth century. Georgia, like other southern states, had been very much a two-party arena in the ante-bellum period. But the circumstances and conditions surrounding the birth of the Republican party in Georgia in 1867, as the radical phase of Reconstruction got underway, made "almost inevitable" the party's downfall.

Summarizing fairly quickly the relatively familiar Reconstruction part of the story, Professor Shadgett, Political Science department, Georgia State College in Atlanta, shows how the Liberal Republican movement of 1872 hastened the party's decline in Georgia. When the national Democratic party accepted Horace Greeley, the Liberal Republican nominee for the presidency, as its own candidate, Joseph E. Brown, the controversial wartime governor, and other Georgia Republicans seized the opportunity to cross the bridge, as Mrs. Shadgett puts it, "from the foundering Republican party of Georgia to the Democratic majority."

Factionalism and the struggle for control of federal patronage, familiar matters to all students of the history of southern Republicanism, played major roles in sapping the party's strength and are traced in subsequent chapters. Co-operation with various independent movements gave Georgia Republicans some encouragement in the 1880's, but the Populist revolt of the 1890's gave promise of more far-reaching successes against the dominant Democrats. That Populist-Republican fusion never materialized in Georgia to the extent that it did in North Carolina appears to have been because of the fact that the Georgia Populists feared too close an identification with Republicans; and the Negro Republicans soon discovered that "the Populists wanted their votes but not their company." In other words, Tarheel Populists, at least for a while and until the Democrats mounted the racial barricades in 1898 and 1900, were grudgingly willing to countenance not only Negro voting but limited Negro officeholding. Georgia Populists could never bring themselves to pay such a price, and therein perhaps lay one important difference between the agrarian revolt in the upper South and that of the deep South.

While many of the ills of Georgia's Republicans were self-inflicted, Professor Shadgett suggests in her conclusion that at the end of the century the party suffered a final crushing blow that came from without. This was the establishment by the Democrats of their state-wide nominating primary in 1898 and its quick development, in 1900, into the *white* primary. Opposition to Democratic candidates in the general election virtually ceased after 1900. And few there were who would have dreamed that Georgia, the Empire State of the South and the unfailing bastion of Democracy, would move into the Republican presidential column in 1964.

Robert F. Durden

Duke University

Thomas County During the Civil War. By William Warren Rogers. (Tallahassee: Florida State University. [Florida State University Studies: Number 41], 1964. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 112. $4.50.)

Thomas County, situated in southwestern Georgia on the Florida border, was remote from the centers of military action and political decision during the Civil War, yet the people who lived there be-

came deeply involved in the events of the war and in its political, economic, and social consequences. William Warren Rogers, Assistant Professor of History at Florida State University, relates the story of the increasing involvement of the people of Thomas County and the changes that the war wrought in their lives. Beginning with a brief survey of the social and economic conditions in Thomas County in 1861, Professor Rogers leads his reader through successive chapters dealing with preparations for war, the records of Thomas County units in the regular army and in the state militia, provisions, life in camp and on the home front, agriculture and slavery, the prisoner of war camp near Thomasville, and the final distintegration of defeat. The treatment of these varied topics is based on what appears to be an exhaustive examination of local private sources, public records both printed and manuscript, and collections of manuscripts at universities in Georgia and North Carolina.

The lack of unity, which is the chief fault of the book, comes largely from the nature of the task that has been undertaken. A county is seldom a geographic entity, and only in a limited way a political unit. Socially and culturally counties can rarely be distinguished from surrounding areas. It is therefore well-nigh impossible to create from the limited materials of so brief a period any unified view. In this instance the unity is supplied by the war, and the general effect is of peripheral comment. Rather than being considered as only a minor item in Civil War bibliography, Professor Rogers' book should more properly be recognized as the second of three volumes of a history of Thomas County from 1826 to the present. Until the publication of the final volume, the judgment of any part of the complete work must remain tentative.

Edward M. Steel, Jr.

West Virginia University

Slavery in the South: A Collection of Contemporary Accounts of the System of Plantation Slavery in the Southern United States in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. Edited and with an Introduction by Harvey Wish. Materials of American History Series. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company. 1964. Introduction, bibliography, index. Pp. xxi, 290. $4.95, cloth; $1.95, paper.)

This is one of a projected series called *Materials of American History,* and it is an excellent beginning. This particular volume concerns slavery in the South as seen from the contemporary accounts

of Negroes—both slave and free—of visitors from the North and from Great Britain, and of southerners, principally slavery protagonists. In great part, these are the familiar authors, Nat Turner, Frederick Douglass, Fanny Kemble, Frederick Law Olmsted, Thomas Dew, George Fitzhugh, but there are some less well known commentators that add fresh notes to the discussion. In the Negro collection, Charlotte Forten who wrote of slavery on the Sea Islands of Georgia (she saw its aftermath during Reconstruction) is a beautifully written, most appealing account of the children she saw as a young teacher. Of the visitors' accounts, Olmsted is most factual and objective; Fanny Kemble, the most emotionally involved; and Charles Mackay, the English poet and journalist, the most discerning of the broader social and political implications and effects of slavery. Indeed, Mackey's article is both good reading and timely, if one substitutes racial discrimination for slavery in this section of the book. This reviewer wishes that the editor had included a few passages from *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* even though it is fiction, but it had such tremendous impact on both North and South, that he could have justifiably included it.

The southern writes include Thomas Jefferson, who did not believe in slavery but in the equality of the Negro, and Hinton Helper who spoke for the poor whites. Otherwise the authors are the familiar pro-slavery writers.

As implied above, the book has a curious timeliness that adds to its value. Historical documents both illuminate the past and explain the present; these selections not only do that, but they illuminate the present also, giving new insight into the contemporary discussions of racial prejudice and discrimination.

The editorial work is good, as is the press work. This early number augurs well for the series.

Philip Davidson

University of Louisville

The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction. By James M. McPherson. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. ix, 474. $10.00.)

Prior to 1861 all authentic abolitionists, regardless of the schisms within their ranks, crusaded for immediate, unconditional, and universal emancipation and shared a common belief that real freedom

for the Negro could come only with civil and political equality. Therefore, the ultimate goal of the abolitionists was not attained with the Emancipation Proclamation or the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment. The thesis of this book is that abolitionism after 1861 retained its separate identity as a movement distinct from the Republican party and influenced the formulation of war and Reconstruction policies. Although this book presents a revisionist interpretation of a significant part of Civil War and Reconstruction history, Professor McPherson does not resort to polemics. He writes with considerable restraint, and he painstakingly documents his presentation from extensive research in manuscript and contemporary printed sources.

In 1861 the abolitionists closed ranks to advocate immediate and universal abolition of slavery, the enlistment of Negro soldiers on equal terms with whites, government assistance for the education of the freedmen, confiscation of rebel lands and their redistribution among the former slaves, the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the establishment of legal guarantees for Negro civil and political equality. All these goals, except lands for the freedmen and elements of discrimination in the army, had been achieved by 1870. Professor McPherson makes no claim that the abolitionists were solely responsible for these achievements. He acknowledges that the policies were adopted because of military necessity or political expediency. He does prove, however, that the abolitionists helped to create the conditions that made the adoption of their program expedient. The Civil War transformed the abolitionists from "despised fanatics" into "prophets honored in their own country." In their new-found popularity, the abolitionists served as the conscience of the radical Republicans and worked vigorously and effectively to win support for their program.

The success of abolitionist principles was only temporary. Freedom and legal equality for the Negro had in fact been adopted because of expediency and not because of northern acceptance of the idealistic equalitarian principles of the abolitionists. When it became expedient after 1870 to abandon equalitarianism it was abandoned. But all was not lost. There had been significant beginnings made in Negro education and whatever advances the Negro has made in recent times toward equality has been based in large part on the foundations laid by the abolitionists.

One hesitates to critize such an excellent study as Professor McPherson has written. The fact, however, that his research was confined almost exclusively to libraries and manuscript depositories

located in eastern states means that he has not given the attention to the western abolitionists that they deserve. Abolitionism, particularly evangelical abolitionism, did continue to exist as a strong and active force, independent of the Republican party, in the Old Northwest during the Civil War and Reconstruction. This reviewer would also wish that more attention had been given to the political role of the abolitionists in the former Confederate states during Reconstruction. This subject is disposed of in one paragraph in the book.

Clifton H. Johnson

LeMoye College

Southern History in the Making: Pioneer Historians of the South. By Wendell Holmes Stephenson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964. Notes and index. Pp. viii, 294. $7.50.)

For two decades Professor Wendell H. Stephenson, now of the University of Oregon, has been engaged in research on historians who have influenced the study and teaching of southern history. His sketches have appeared in various professional journals, and three of them (on William E. Dodd, Ulrich B. Phillips, and Walter L. Fleming), along with a penetrating essay titled "The Southern Avenue to Now," were published in 1955 in his book, *The South Lives in History: Southern Historians and Their Legacy.*

Of the 12 essays in *Southern History in the Making,* ten have been published previously and are reprinted with minor up-dating. These include sketches on seven historians—William Garrott Brown, Herbert B. Adams, William P. Trent, John Spencer Bassett (whose story is divided into two chapters), George Petrie, Phillips, and Charles W. Ramsdell; one archivist—Thomas M. Owen; and a philosophical essay titled "A Quarter Century of American Historical Scholarship." The two previously unpublished chapters comprise a sketch of William A. Dunning and a brief, delightful analysis of "Twenty-five Years of Southern Historical Writing." Then there is a 24-page introduction, sub-titled "The Making of a Book," a remarkable piece of Stephensonian wit and wisdom that ought to be required reading for all graduate students.

The author, who himself has contributed significantly to the elevation of southern history as a field of research, brings to light little known backgrounds and experiences of men who laid the foundation for modern historical scholarship in the South. He has humanized his

subjects, and in so doing has produced biographical sketches that are as delightful as they are revealing. Here is the story of Dunning's expulsion from Dartmouth for hell-raising; of Brown's inspiring battle against disease; of Bassett's courageous stand for academic freedom; of Adams' encouragement of scholarship-holding students from the South; and of Phillips' unfulfilled desire to return to his native state of Georgia.

But the lasting value of the essays is in Professor Stephenson's evaluation of the pioneer historians of the South and their works. Names like George Petrie and William P. Trent are all but forgotten except to a few historians; yet, as the author so effectively points out, they too, like Adams and Dunning, lit candles in the minds of their students. And how many young historians recognize the name of Thomas M. Owen, the lawyer-politician who, along with other southerners like R. D. W. Connor and J. G. de R. Hamilton of North Carolina and Dunbar Rowland of Mississippi, fathered the movement for archival and manuscript repositories in the South? The names and contributions of these and other lesser known pioneers in southern history will be perpetuated as a result of Professor Stephenson's sketches.

The essays in book form are less satisfactory than they were as articles in journals because of repetition (for instance, several essays contain essentially the same story of Adams' seminar at Johns Hopkins) and an overworking of some viewpoints (*e.g.*, the "dry-as-dust" monographs at the turn of the century). This reviewer hopes that Professor Stephenson will yet carry out his original plan to write a "comprehensive history of southern history" which he envisioned twenty years ago.

Southern History in the Making is well documented, attractively printed, and contains an exceptionally good index. But the Louisiana State University Press cannot be forgiven for using a cumbersome combination of notes both at the bottom of the page and also at the end of the book.

H. G. Jones

State Department of Archives and History

The Pursuit of Southern History: Presidential Addresses of the Southern Historical Association, 1935-1963. Edited by George Brown Tindall Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Pp. xxi, 541. $8.50.)

The Presidential Address, which climaxes the orgiastic rite of the "annual dinner," is—to quote a former president of one of them—"inescapably implanted in the customs of American . . . professional organizations." It is, he continued, an "inevitable and often painful ordeal that we are periodically compelled to undergo." "Inevitable" and "painful" they may be, but presidential addresses seem to attract prospective editors. The editor of a professional organization other than the Southern Historical Association once suggested republishing the presidential addresses of his society. Such a publication, he pointed out, presented no problems of selection (all) or arrangement (chronological). This particular project was abandoned when the wise president of the organization pointed to the unevenness of the addresses and expressed doubts that any potential market really existed for them.

In editing the present agglomeration, Dr. Tindall had problems neither of selection nor of arrangement. He includes all addresses from the first through James W. Silver's dramatic "Mississippi: The Closed Society," delivered in 1963. They are presented in the order in which they were given—or would have been given if World War II had not caused the cancellation of three meetings. The editor even had the advantage of an earlier analysis of the first 15 addresses —H. C. Nixon's delightful "Paths to the Past: The Presidential Addresses of the Sounthern Historical Association," *The Journal of Southern History*, XVI (February, 1950), 33-39.

The addresses fall, generally, into three categories, although they are not so arranged: southern historiography, sectionalism and the Civil War, and life in the old and the new South. The point of view and the scholarship of some of them are outdated; several of them were taken from or related to books that had been or would be written. Later scholarship very likely has changed conclusions that were valid at the time they were made.

The person interested in the history of public records in the South, for example, would find Ernst Posner's recent *American State Archives* of more value than J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton's "Three Centuries of Southern Records, 1607-1907," written more than 20 years ago. In discussing the Tennessee frontier and land speculators, Thomas Perkins Abernethy in 1937 obviously could not have used

William H. Masterson's biography, *William Blount*, published 17 years later.

It seems likely, moreover, that a reader interested in Thomas D. Clark's newspaper studies would find his *The Rural Press and the New South* of somewhat greater value than his "The Country Newspaper: A Factor in Southern Opinion, 1865-1930." Bell Irvin Wiley's *The Life of Johnny Reb* and *The Life of Billy Yank* are much more useful to those interested in the life of the common soldier during the Civil War than is his "A Time of Greatness." And Silver's *Mississippi: The Closed Society* is a more thorough discussion than is his shorter address of the same name.

It is unfortunate that some of the addresses have been wrenched out of the context of their time. The opinions expressed by A. B. Moore in 1942, for example, are no longer widely accepted; his defense of segregation and his denunciation of efforts to "subvert the social system of the South" may no longer represent Dr. Moore's point of view. It is probable that there are other addresses that the authors would prefer to have forgotten rather than dragged out anew and paraded before a sophisticated and scoffing audience.

It is this reviewer's opinion that this is one book that would have been better left unpublished.

One final comment: When *will* publishers learn that notes are more useful printed at the bottom of the page rather than in the back of the book as they are in this case? Oddly enough, some readers actually read the notes, and it is most frustrating to attempt to locate one when it is printed with dozens of other notes at the back of the book.

Thornton W. Mitchell

State Department of Archives and History

Upton and the Army. By Stephen E. Ambrose. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. ix, 190. $5.00.)

Few persons other than thorough students of American military tactics and policy ever heard of Emory Upton. This fact alone would justify this biography. Fresh out of West Point, Upton rushed into the conflict of 1861 with great enthusiasm. His dash and determination plus the exercise of good military judgment impressed his superiors and made him a marked man, although he was not responsi-

ble for any great Union victories. He saw service at Spotsylvania, Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and in the Valley, but his most pleasing experience was his service under James H. Wilson in the invasion of Alabama near the close of the war. Although he rose to brevet major general by the age of twenty-six, his impatience and distrust of citizen soldiers, especially political generals, developed within him a gnawing discontent that he never overcame.

It was in the postwar period and in the fields of tactics and military policy, rather than in active leadership of troops, that Upton distinguished himself and left a lasting impression of his talents. His volume on *Infantry Tactics* became the text at West Point; following an extensive tour of study abroad he published *The Armies of Asia and Europe;* and after his death his *Military Policy of the United States* was published by the War Department.

Throughout his career Upton stressed the efficiency and economy of moderate-sized, well-trained armies rather than great masses of untrained citizen soldiers. He became well known in military circles for his statement that "twenty thousand regulars at Bull Run would have routed the insurgents, settled the question of military resistance, and relieved us the pain and suspense of four years of war." He strongly advocated complete federal control of such armies; he refused to spend time attempting to work out a system that "could both give America a professional army and satisfy the States' Righters." He further argued for complete control of military affairs by military men.

Upton's theories were discussed by persons in high positions. Many agreed, but no great reforms were forthcoming. Upton could have borne controversy in which he could fight back, but he was unable to endure being ignored. Feeling that his life had been a failure, that, although many listened, no one with authority was willing to push for action, Upton no longer desired to live. He took his own life at the age of forty-one.

His biographer does not feel that his life was a failure. He sees Upton as one "who was proud of his profession" and who "helped keep alive a sense of pride and purpose in an army that might otherwise have sunk into a permanent morass. He was a devoted public servant who strove to anticipate and meet his nation's needs. At times his vision was narrow, but his contributions were real. When he killed himself he was certain of failure. He was wrong. Emory Upton both symbolized and helped preserve the best in the army."

This is an excellent study of an important figure in American

military history. It is strongly recommended to all who are interested in military tactics and policy.

J. H. Parks

The University of Georgia

Lincoln's Gadfly, Adam Gurowski. By LeRoy H. Fischer. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1964. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xvii, 301. $6.95.)

To students of the Civil War, Adam Gurowski has long been known, at least vaguely, as a Washington gossipmonger and radical Republican fanatic who wrote (among his 19 published books) a three-volume diary covering the war years. Now, in LeRoy H. Fischer's study, the eccentric Pole stands out as a recognizable person, with all his mannerisms, his accent, and his inevitable blue goggles. His earlier career, as a Polish revolutionary and then as a Russian bureaucrat and Pan-Slav propagandist, is adequately set forth. His career after 1849, as a lecturer, journalist, State Department clerk, and diarist in the United States, is fully covered, with especially detailed treatment of the diary itself. Gurowski's diary is the most important single source for Fischer's study, but a great many other sources also have been used; indeed, the research may fairly be described as exhaustive. The only serious question about the book concerns the importance of its subject. Gurowski is here described as "Lincoln's gadfly" and is revealed as the author of a number of letters to Lincoln, but no evidence is offered to show that any of these letters influenced Lincoln in the slightest. Gurowski, it is said, was the only man whom Lincoln ever feared as a possible assassin, but the solitary source for this is a later recollection of Lincoln's bodyguard, Ward Hill Lamon. It is contended, moreover, that Gurowski kept "the most faithful and complete record" of the thinking of radical Republicans, and that he "delineated a clear community of interests and ambitions among Radicals." Yet, on the showing of Fischer's study itself, Gurowski never remained for very long on good terms with any of the radicals, except possibly Edwin M. Stanton. And, on the showing of the three volumes of the diary, it would appear that Gurowski seldom if ever gave voice to such a thing as a radical consensus but, fanatic that he was, usually represented nobody but himself. Fischer's study won the $5,000 literary award presented in 1963 by the War Library and Museum and the

Pennsylvania Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States.

Richard N. Current

The University of Wisconsin

The Meaning of the American Revolution. By Dan Lacy. (New York: The New American Library. 1964. Illustrations, chronology, bibliographical note, index. Pp. 308. $5.95.)

Dan Lacy's name is well known to many readers of *The North Carolina Historical Review*. State supervisor of the Historical Records Survey of North Carolina and coeditor with Dr. Christopher Crittenden of the *Historical Records of North Carolina*, Mr. Lacy has not previously written at length on the American Revolution. This may well be a virtue, for he brings to this volume a detachment enabling him to steer a steady course between the conflicting schools of Revolutionary scholarship.

Was the Revolution a conservative movement or a liberal-radical movement? Generally, Mr. Lacy leans toward the neo-Whig interpretation of the Revolution: of a movement to preserve political theories and institutions that had evolved during a century and a half of Colonial development. Yet the Revolution was radical in the sense that for the first time a new nation was literally created on the principles of equal rights and government by consent. One of the most admirable features of this lucidly written volume is the author's placing of the Revolution within its world context. Here the closer military and commercial unity of the eighteenth century, the influence of Enlightenment thought on the founding fathers, and the dynamic impact of the Revolution upon Europe are well described. It seems, however, that recent scholarship would call into question a number of the author's remarks about suffrage and land ownership. Nor was the British army "radically reduced" in size in 1763, especially when compared with reductions following earlier wars. Minor reservations aside, this is a book that literate laymen will read with genuine profit in the mid-twentieth century world of nationalism and revolutions. For under the sure guidance of Mr. Lacy one sees both the unique and the universal features of the American Revolution.

Don Higginbotham

Louisiana State University

Justice Daniel Dissenting: A Biography of Peter V. Daniel, 1784-1860. By John P. Frank. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1964. Notes, table of cases, index. Pp. xii, 336. $7.95.)

Justice Peter V. Daniel was not one of the great jurists of the United States Supreme Court. His moderate intellectual ability and verbose and twisting prose style made him only an average nineteenth-century justice. Few of his colleagues however, surpassed Daniel in his immovable dedication to principle and firm resistance to change.

Daniel studied law with Edmund Randolph of Virginia, married Randolph's daughter and moved into the state's ruling clique. For twenty-three years he served on the Virginia Council of State and as Lieutenant Governor and became a major Jackson-Van Buren lieutenant in Virginia. President Martin Van Buren named Daniel a federal district judge in 1836 and in February, 1841, appointed him to the United States Supreme Court.

In the two decades before the Civil War the voice of Justice Daniel was that of a "high-church agrarian" who warned constantly against the growing influence of corporations and mercantile interests. He set forth in his numerous dissents a very narrow concept of the powers of the federal government. To the very end, Daniel refused to recognize jurisdiction of federal courts over corporations or to grant federal courts admiralty jurisdiction in inland waters.

Much of Daniel's work on the supreme bench concerned routine questions of little interest today. The justices spent several months each year attending to their circuit court duties. In Daniel's case this meant a three-month tour of 5,000 miles through the Southwest, a chore not calculated to improve his already bitter disposition.

Author John P. Frank admits that Justice Daniel was, in part, an old man dedicated to principles that have become obsolete. But there are areas in which his work is important to twentieth-century jurisprudence. These would include Daniel's view of the contract clause of the Federal Constitution in which he said that contract rights must yield where public good demands it, his denial that the federal commerce power is exclusive, his great respect for the jury system, and his views on the preservation of public lands.

John P. Frank, an Arizona attorney, has written the first full-length biography of Justice Daniel. It is a thorough and analytical piece of work. Frank's style of writing does much to enliven a rather colorless figure. This biography is most valuable as a case study of a nine-

teenth-century agrarian justice who grew embittered by his inability to change events.

Richard D. Younger

University of Houston

History of the People of the United States: From the Revolution to the Civil War. By John Bach McMaster. Selected and edited with introduction by Louis Filler. Materials of American History Series. (New York: Farrar, Straus & Company. 1964. Introduction, epilogue. Pp. 370. $5.50, cloth; $2.45, paper.)

Among those whose writings stand at the base of knowledge of the American past is John Bach McMaster. His eight-volume *History,* published over the years from 1883 to 1913, is the pioneer work in American historiography of social history; in his case told descriptively rather than analytically.

Professor Louis Filler has selected from this *History* eight abstracts devoted to life in the United States during eras of peace ranging from the Confederation and Constitution period to the Log Cabin and Cider Election of 1840. McMaster regarded peacetime as the norm of American life; hence, his methodology is best revealed in these periods. Professor Filler, however, suggests that if this selection is well received, a second volume confined to times of crises and change will be issued.

This is one of a new series of historical materials to be published; a series titled *Materials of American History Series.* It is to include reprints of important historical studies, collections of documents and memoirs, important biographies and the like. One can hope that the other volumes will be better edited than this one from McMaster. While Professor Filler has, no doubt, captured the essential spirit of the social historian, he has nowhere stated the sources of his selections. This may not be necessary to an appreciation of McMaster, but it would have been helpful to the reader to know the exact volumes from which these abstracts were taken.

Robert N. Elliott

North Carolina State of The University
of North Carolina at Raleigh

The American Enlightenment: The Shaping of the American Experiment and a Free Society. Selected and edited with introduction and notes by Adrienne Koch. (New York: George Braziller. 1965. Pp. 669. $8.50.)

Miss Koch has brought together in one volume selections from the writings and papers of five leading representatives of the American Enlightenment: Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton. Since nearly all of the material has been previously published in standard collections, the major contribution of this work is the skill with which the editor, deeply versed in the period, has chosen from the voluminous papers of these five extraordinary figures significant and representative selections. When grouped in one volume, these writings not only offer convenient and rewarding reading but also support the thesis that Miss Koch argues in a penetrating introduction: the existence of a distinctive American Enlightenment. Rejecting the arguments that American thought was without originality and was merely derivative from European ideas, she sees as the essential factors shaping the American Enlightenment the struggle for independence and the subsequent groping with the problems of giving direction and commitment to the society and government of the new nation. The American Enlightenment was politically oriented, and the men represented in this book were learned and politically inventive, competent in abstract ideas and in their practical application. They were architects of ideas in a crucial period in the formation of American political institutions. Moreover, the writings of these men display the role of the greatest of all historical forces, the human agent.

The selections in the volume are arranged under the five authors. Each section begins with excerpts from such writings as may be considered autobiographical; next follow letters arranged in chronological sequence; extracts from other writings conclude each part. The selections clearly display that these highly individualistic men did not all think alike, nor act alike, nor write alike. But they shared a common commitment to the advancement of human freedom. Together the writings make clear the large body of systematic thought and the important literature which were the products of the American Enlightenment. Hopefully, the volume may serve to convince a wide audience of the richness of an American past worth knowing.

Noble E. Cunningham, Jr.

University of Missouri

A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church. By Raymond W. Albright. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1964. Notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 406. $12.50.)

Professor Albright, who is also an ordained priest of the Episcopal Church, teaches church history at the Theological Seminary in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His book bears evidence of many years of devoted research and is filled with detailed information as well as sweeping accounts of trends and movements within the church in the United States. A chapter devoted to background information on the English heritage of the church is followed by a series of chapters on the development of the Episcopal Church in various regions: Virginia, elsewhere in the South; Massachusetts, other New England states; New York, and Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Subsequent chapters treat the history of the church in more or less chronological order from an over-all point of view. There are chapters on the church during the Revolution, the Civil War, and on the frontier. Others deal with the Oxford Movement and party spirit, modern thought, social action, the world-wide mission field, and with the church in the modern era.

The text is both readable (though long enough to require several sittings) and useful for reference. North Carolina's Bishops Ravenscroft, Ives, and Atkinson are treated adequately as are some of her earlier missionary priests, but this is too general a history to do more than place them in their time.

Each chapter is carefully documented with many of the citations being to manuscript and contemporary printed sources. A 16-page Bibliography will be useful to anyone interested in further reading on the subject. While the Index contains the names of a great many individuals and places mentioned in the text, it is by no means as perfect an index as many users might wish. The North Carolina reader, for example, will not be able to find the material on Clement Hall and on Valle Crucis through use of the Index. The book is attractively and substantially bound although there are no illustrations. Margins are rather narrow and lines of type are set close together giving each page a solid appearance. The small type seems even smaller on those pages which are broken by only two or three indentations for paragraphs.

William S. Powell

The University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The State is a magazine filled with interesting and useful information about North Carolina and North Carolinians. With the publication of *Index to The State Magazine,* covering 30 volumes published from June, 1933, through May, 1963, it is now possible to find material heretofore buried and lost so far as practical use is concerned. The 27 pages are set in three columns of fine print and the lack of capitalization, the use of abbreviations, and the general format make this particular index difficult for the general reader to use. As Bill Sharpe, who compiled the *Index,* points out in his prefatory remarks, the job was spread over a period of years and "some inconsistencies will be found in the way subjects have been classified. The compiler mentions this merely to inform the reader that the information he seeks may not be classified logically, but it is all here." A tremendous amount of information is indeed included, and librarians, persons doing research, and general readers will find it of great help to have an index to *The State.* Copies, at $5.00 each, are available from Bill Sharpe, *The State,* Raleigh.

The Country Youth: Autobiography of B. B. McGee is the story of a native of Wilkes County, Bluford Bartlett McGee, who grew up in the Beaver Creek community. Born in March, 1832, McGee lived in the area of his birth until he went to California in 1849 at the age of eighteen. He failed to get rich from gold mining and was left a cripple with rheumatism resulting from exposure to weather and hardships of mining. He produced the story of his boyhood, an Indian story, and several poems during the period of his hospitalization. He eventually returned to the McGee home on Beaver Creek and died around 1883. McGee's writings have been reprinted by James Larkin Pearson, who points out that "this is the first book ever written by a native of Wilkes county. . . ." The 91-page booklet is available for $1.00 from Pearson Publishing Company, Box 41, Sparta Road, North Wilkesboro, 28659.

From England to North Carolina: Two Special Gifts, by Ethel Stephens Arnett, was published by The Tryon Palace Restoration, New Bern. The 93-page booklet is illustrated and contains charts and notes. England's "two special gifts" were William Tryon, Royal Governor of North Carolina from 1765 to 1771, and William Sydney Porter (O. Henry), the noted writer. Mrs. Arnett traces the ancestry of both and shows their common descent from the Shirley family of

England. Copies of the publication may be obtained from Tryon Palace, New Bern, or from Straughan's Book Shop, Inc., 116 West Market Street, Greensboro, for $2.00 plus 25 cents mailing charge.

Historical Sketches of North Carolina, by John H. Wheeler, was originally published in 1851. The book has long been valued for its coverage of North Carolina history, with emphasis on the 1780 to 1850 period. The sketches from 1584 to 1851 were complied from original records, official documents, and statements obtained by the author. Sketches of distinguished North Carolinians were also included. John Hill Wheeler, who had served as treasurer of the state, was the first native of North Carolina to devote considerable time to the history of his own state. A second printing in 1925 was small and has long been scarce. The Regional Publishing Company has now reprinted the work as it originally appeared, with the addition of a one-page "Publisher's Preface." It is unfortunate that the publisher did not have a competent historian write an introduction to the new reprint. Copies of the book, 480 pages, may be ordered from the publisher at 521-523 St. Paul Place, Baltimore, Maryland, 21202, for $10.00.

Volume 46 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science,* published by The University of North Carolina Press, is entitled *Laudatores Temporis Acti.* Edited by Mary Francis Gyles and Eugene Wood Davis, the publication contains studies in memory of Wallace Everett Caldwell. More than a dozen colleagues, friends, and students of Professor Caldwell contributed to the volume. All of the essays are in the field of ancient history, the subject taught for years at The University of North Carolina by Professor Caldwell. Copies are available from the The University of North Carolina Press for $2.50.

History of Union County, by H. Nelson Walden, is a small book of 79 pages, available for $5.00 from Heritage Printers, Inc., Charlotte. The author, in the Introduction, says that he has "not attempted . . . the writing of a completely definitive, encyclopedic history. This thesis makes no pretensions in that direction. It has been shaped by the amount of information available, time limitations, financial limitations, the judgment of the author. . . ." Such a statement is unnecessary to anyone who reviews the book. It is unfortunate that the author was unable to do more detailed research in original records

and that careless errors in footnote and bibliographical entries were made. The inclusion of the Bibliography and Index merit recognition.

Theodore Newsom's *U.S. Pocket History* is a handy reference work for students of American history. Brief paragraphs on subjects ranging from "A.B.C. Powers" and "Abolitionist" to "York, Canada" and "Yorktown" are included in the 160 pages. The Preface indicates that the author did not intend to discuss men of significance in state affairs but only to include those of national importance. *U.S. Pocket History* is available for $2.95 from The Naylor Company, 1015 Culebra Avenue, P. O. Box 1838, San Antonio, Texas.

The Reverend Harry R. Mathis has compiled and edited a book entitled *Along the Border*. It is a history of Virgilina, Virginia, and the surrounding area in Halifax and Mecklenburg counties in Virginia and Person and Granville counties in North Carolina. In addition to general information about the area, there are histories of local churches and organizations. Many names are included, making the publication of interest to genealogists. Illustrations add to the value of *Along the Border*. The book was printed by Coble Press, Oxford; copies of the 344-page book are $7.00.

Readings in American Values, by William Miller, is a 369-page book of public documents. The documents are designed in content and layout so that they will be read and the theme, "the elaboration of the *values* by which Americans have conducted their public affairs," will be clear. Documents which one would naturally expect to find in such a book as this are included and it is hardly necessary to mention such writings as the Mayflower Compact, Declaration of Independence, Constitution of the United States, and Emancipation Proclamation. Others are less well known, but their significance makes their inclusion appropriate. Examples are Horace Mann's Fifth Annual Report to the Massachusetts Board of Education, Senator Albert J. Beveridge's Speech on Retaining the Philippine Islands, and the Charter of the United Nations. Readers will find this book a rich source for quick reference to the basic documents of American history. Copies of the paper-bound publication are available from the publisher, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, for $3.75.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Director's Office

The Tryon Palace Commission met at New Bern on November 15-16.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden spoke in Sparta on November 20 at the dedication of the Robert L. Doughton Wing of the Alleghany County Hospital and the unveiling of a historical marker to Doughton.

The George Washington Statue Commission, of which Senator Hector MacLean is chairman, held a luncheon meeting at the Velvet Cloak Motel in Raleigh, November 25.

Dr. Crittenden, Mrs. Joye Jordan, and other staff members held meetings with the joint legislative committee, of which Representative James B. Vogler of Mecklenburg is chairman, to place plaques in the Capitol and in the State Legislative Building.

On January 14 Dr. Oliver W. Holmes, executive director of the National Historical Publications Commission; met with various staff member of the Department to discuss the Colonial Records Project and certain other projects which might possibly qualify for grants from the Commission.

The Raleigh Historical Sites Commission met Tuesday, February 16. Mr. W. S. Tarlton reported on the result of the recommendations of the historic zoning proposals of the North Carolina Legislative Council. The Council, through a special committee, has been studying the possible need in North Carolina for enabling legislation permitting municipalities to do historical zoning. Mr. Tarlton stated that the Council, at the present time, has decided not to recommend action to the General Assembly. A report was made on the City Cemetery; adequate lighting will be provided. Mrs. Raymond Murray and Mrs. Bruce Carter were appointed to supervise repairs and improvements.

On Washington's birthday Dr. Crittenden attended the initial meeting, in the Governor's Mansion, of the advisory committee on furnishings for the mansion. Mrs. James Semans of Durham was elected chairman and Mr. Charles Stanford of the North Carolina Museum of Art vice-chairman. A preliminary discussion was held.

Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson, president, and others of the Historical Halifax Restoration Association met in the Department's assembly room February 23 to discuss plans for the development and maintenance of Historic Halifax.

Dr. Crittenden continued to travel to various places in the state and to meet with, and deliver addresses to, many historical groups.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

With the permission of Lieutenant Governor Robert W. Scott, the Division of Archives and Manuscripts began the significant experiment of sound-recording sessions of the State Senate on the opening day of the 1965 General Assembly. For several years the feasibility of recording on sound the proceedings and debates of the two houses has been discussed and equipment and personnel were made available by the division on a trial basis. If successful, and if the General Assembly provides the necessary funds, it is expected that all sessions of both houses will be recorded beginning in 1967. As was pointed out in the department's request before the Joint Appropriations Committee, the legislative journals give little more than a skeleton of what goes on in the sessions, and newspaper accounts are always incomplete and often distorted. A sound recording, however, taken directly from the amplification system in the chamber, records for posterity not only what is said and done but also the voices of the legislators.

The long-awaited *Guide to Private Manuscript Collections in the North Carolina State Archives* is expected to be available for distribution by mid-summer. The new guide will describe all private collections received through June 30, 1964, and will be available for $5.25 from the Division of Publications.

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association and the mid-winter Council meeting of the Society of American Archivists, of which he is treasurer, in Washington, D.C., December 27-30.

Among the more significant acquisitions of the Archives in recent months were the 1963 correspondence and papers of Governor Terry Sanford (111 boxes); the records of the Governor's Press Secretary, 1961-1965 (*ca.* 35 boxes); the records of the Governor's Special Assistant for Cultural and Educational Affairs, 1961-1965 (20 boxes); minutes, dockets, and records of the North Carolina Supreme Court, 1800-1930 (332 volumes); original case files of the North Carolina Supreme Court, 1800-1909 (300 reels, 16 mm. microfilm); a 16 mm. motion picture film of the Lafayette Escadrille, made by the French government in 1916; and copies of 11 letters of a Confederate soldier, Lewis Waynick.

Two long-range projects have been completed: the processing and arrangement of the papers of Reginald A. Fessenden, inventor of voice-radio communication (95 boxes); and the abstracting of the extant original returns and newspaper accounts of elections in North Carolina for president, governor, congressmen, state conventions, and constitutional amendments for the period 1790-1900.

Mr. Don Nichols was transferred from temporary to permanent status as Archivist I, effective January 1; and Miss Doris Sanders was employed as Archivist I (temporary), effective February 16.

The Local Records Section has completed the microfilming of the permanently valuable records of Rutherford and Warren counties. Section operators are now at work in Rockingham and Wayne counties and county operators are microfilming in Buncombe, Guilford, and Mecklenburg counties. Forty-eight counties have been completed to date.

Varying types and quantities of original records have been received from Rutherford and Warren counties. Large quantities of papers from Anson and Hertford counties have been processed. Microfilm copies of records of Burke and Mecklenburg counties and of a number of churches have also been made available to the public. Complete lists of these are available in the Search Room.

On January 11 Mr. Donald E. Tedder was employed as a Clerk III (microfilm cameraman); Miss Patricia A. Brafford resigned as Stenographer II on January 30.

Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist (Local Records), addressed training classes of municipal administrators and registers of deeds, held at the Institute of Government, Chapel Hill. His article entitled "Municipal Records and Records Management" appeared in the February issue of *Popular Government,* published by the Institute of Government.

During October, the State Records Section salvaged 131 cubic feet of records of the Board of Nurse Registration and Nursing Education damaged and water-soaked in the Warren Building fire on October 1. The records, individual case files of registered and licensed practical nurses, were separated, dried, and reassembled. Many of the files had been burned, however, and in January the board and the department agreed that the surviving records, which were incomplete and unusable, would be destroyed.

The Civil Defense Agency schedule has been approved, thus completing schedules for all state agencies. A revision program has already been started, however, and new schedules for the Industrial Commission and the Department of Agriculture are awaiting approval.

During the quarter ending December 31, 1,322 cubic feet of records were received in the State Records Center, and disposal was made of 1,161 cubic feet. The staff performed 9,070 references during the same period.

Mr. Claude R. Moore, Jr., resigned as Records Management Consultant I effective December 31. On January 1, Mrs. Rebecca K. Clegg, formerly Archivist II, was promoted to Records Management Consultant I; Miss Elizabeth Ann Peters, formerly Archivist I, was promoted to Archivist II; and Mr. William B. Batton, formerly Clerk III in the Local Records Section, was promoted to Archivist I and transferred to the State Records Section.

Division of Historic Sites

The Historical Highway Marker Advisory Committee met in Chapel Hill on November 19 and approved ten markers. The marker for Robert L. Doughton was dedicated in special ceremonies held in Sparta on November 20.

Visitation for the calendar year 1964 at the nine historic sites totaled 452,411. For the month of January, 1965, 19,726 persons visited the sites as compared to 7,211 for the same month last year.

Bids for the $30,000 visitor center-museum at the Richard Caswell

Memorial were opened on February 11. The low bids exceeded the budget by some $3,000. Before continuing plans for the museum some adjustments will be made in the specifications to bring the project within the budgetary limits.

The Cupola House in Edenton is undergoing restoration supervised jointly by the Cupola House Association, the Historic Edenton and Chowan County Commission, and the State Department of Archives and History. Several members of the staff, particularly Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., are assisting with this project. The major changes will include a new heating system, a completely revamped electrical service, and the reproduction of the elaborate woodwork in the downstairs rooms. Measured drawings of the original woodwork, now on display at the Brooklyn Museum, have been made and this work is being supervised by Mr. Wilbert Kemp. Mr. David M. Warren, President of the Cupola House Association, is co-ordinating the entire project which will be an outstanding period house when completed.

At the Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site the stables have been restored. Mr. James E. Ivey, Historic Site Assistant, was able to procure enough old materials to finish approximately one-half the interior. When the remainder is completed the space will be used to exhibit farm implements and tools of the 1860's.

Construction has been started on the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site Visitor Center-Museum. Preliminary plans are being made for the exhibits to be installed later in 1965.

Exhibits for the Fort Fisher State Historic Site Visitor Center-Museum are being prepared by Mr. Frank Walsh, Mr. Robert Mayo, Mr. John D. Ellington, Mr. J. Alfred White, and Mr. James R. Vogt. Mr. Walsh is continuing the search for artifiacts to use at Fort Fisher. Persons wishing to donate or lend items may write him at Box 1881, Raleigh. A series of events commemorating the centennial of the battles and the fall of Fort Fisher were held January 10-17. A number of the staff members attended the January 15 program.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, made a trip to Yadkin College with Mr. James E. Holmes, son of a former president of the college which closed in 1924. Mr. Tarlton has suggested to a group interested in preserving one building and the site of the college that it undertake a private restoration project utilizing the building as a museum. There are a number of empty dwellings in the immediate vicinity which might be privately restored and used as the nucleus of a village-wide restoration.

Museums Division

During the fall 38 school groups were given guided tours of the museum and the 1842 Allen Kitchen. Special features included demonstrations of weaving, spinning, and quilting, and a lecture on the Colonial Period. Free printed materials were given to tour members.

Mrs. Madlin Futrell, Photographer, was elected secretary of the Carolinas Press Photographers Association which met in Charlotte October 18.

Mr. Samuel P. Townsend, Assistant to the Museums Administrator,

attended the opening of the U.S.S. "North Carolina" Battleship Memorial Museum in Wilmington on November 11.

A program of early North Carolina folk music and modern ballads was presented by Miss Lydia Fish of Raleigh on November 22. This was the third program in a series for the public on the last Sunday of each month. An overflow crowd attended.

The Mobile Museum of History was on display in Wilmington and Fort Fisher January 11-15 in connection with the commemoration of the Battle of Fort Fisher.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, attended a Council meeting of the American Association of Museums in Washington, D. C., January 21, and she and Mrs. Sue Todd, Registrar, attended the Antiques Forum Workshops in Williamsburg, Virginia where they studied a special collection of English porcelain, January 28.

They met with museum personnel in High Point February 4 to discuss technical problems of forming a new museum there.

In addition to the tours of the museum, the education staff now serves as temporary guides at the Governor's Mansion until docents can be provided.

Division of Publications

Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor, is on maternity leave March 1-June 14. During her absence, Mrs. Violet W. Quay, Editorial Assistant II, is acting as head of the division.

For the fourth quarter, 1964, total receipts were $9,573 with $7,818 being retained by the department and $1,755 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 429 documentary volumes; 13 copies of the *Index* to *The North Carolina Historical Review;* 10 letter books of governors; 935 small books; 11,167 pamphlets, charts, and maps (including 360 Tercentenary pamphlets); 4,425 leaflets and brochures; and 3,275 copies of the list of publications available from the department. In addition to this total of 20,254 were 1,961 copies of the Winter, 1965, issue of *The Review* and 2,234 copies of the November issue and 2,238 copies of the January issue of *Carolina Comments.*

Dr. Oliver W. Holmes and Dr. Frank Evans of the National Historical Publications Commission were in Raleigh on January 14 to discuss the editing and publications of the papers of James Iredell, Sr. Dr. Don Higginbotham of Louisiana State University is editing this series of papers. Dr. Horace Raper of Tennessee Polytechnic Institute came to Raleigh December 31 for a conference on his work as editor of the papers of W. W. Holden.

Colonial Records Project

Information regarding the governmental documents that have been inventoried is being assembled according to agency of origin, date, and other categories. Priority is being given to higher court records. Because of the great mass of extant records of higher courts, condensation will be

necessary before publication. Although it is expected that minutes, pleading, and certain other documents will be published in full, it is believed that samples of routine documents accompanied by calendars of the surviving papers for each term of court will suffice.

NORTH CAROLINA CONFEDERATE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

On December 4, 1964, Mr. Norman Larson, Executive Secretary, spoke to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Society on the progress of the commission during its four-year existence.

In Washington, D. C., on December 21 and 22, Mr. Larson met with commission staff members relative to the publication of a roster of North Carolina troops in the Civil War, and with the United States Civil War Centennial Commission and with Senators Sam J. Ervin, Jr., and B. Everett Jordan to discuss 1965 programing.

The Board of Directors of the North Carolina Confederate Corporation met in Raleigh on December 30.

Activities commemorating the centennial of the fall of Fort Fisher took place in Wilmington and at the fort during the week of January 10-17. A memorial program was held at the Carolina Beach Community Center on January 15; a dramatic reading entitled "This is How it Happened," written and directed by Isabel Martin Williams and Billie Hyatt McEachern, was presented at Thalian Hall; Wilmington College had special exhibits during the week; and a television film on Fort Fisher and Wilmington, written and produced by Mr. Larson and members of the commission staff, was presented by Station WECT-TV. Interdenominational services in St. James Episcopal Church January 17 concluded the week of special events.

On January 21 and 22 Mr. Larson and Mr. Jones traveled to Greensboro to make plans for the centennial of the dissolution of the Confederate Cabinet on April 25, 1865, and to Asheville to discuss the commemoration of the Battle of Asheville, April 6, 1865.

In Kinston and Washington on January 25 Mr. Larson and Mr. Robert Jones planned, respectively, for the Battle of Kinston commemoration, and for possible televising by WITN-TV Washington a film on the "Neuse," to be entitled "The Ram and the River."

Several planning meetings were held for the battle re-enactment to be held on the Averasboro Battlefield March 20.

On February 12 Mr. Larson was in Washington, D. C., to attend a Lincoln Birthday luncheon given by President and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson and to discuss the possible participation of Vice-President Hubert Humphrey in the commemoration at the Bennett Place, April 24.

Mr. Larson met with the South Carolina General Assembly on February 17 and attended a commemorative program on the anniversary of the Battle of Columbia. He also visited the South Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission to discuss that state's participation in the Averasboro re-enactment.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Professor Nicholas Mansergh, Smuts Professor of the History of the British Commonwealth and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge University, England, is Visiting William K. Boyd Professor of History at Duke University during the spring semester. Richard A. Preston of the Royal Military College of Canada has been named to fill this chair beginning September, 1965.

Professor W. B. Hamilton edited *The Transfer of Institutions* (Duke University Press, 1965) in the Commonwealth Studies series of Duke University. Included in the volume are "The Transfer of Western Education to India," by Professor Robert I. Crane, and "The Transfer of British Military Institutions to Canada in the Nineteenth Century," by Professor Richard A. Preston.

Among the participants in the program of the American Historical Association in Washington, D. C., December 28-30, were the following from Duke University: Professor John Tate Lanning, Professor Calvin D. Davis, Dr. Gillian T. Cell, Professor William B. Hamilton, Professor John S. Curtiss, and Professor Richard L. Watson, Jr.

Professor Anne F. Scott has edited and written an introduction for a new edition of Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (Harvard University Press, December, 1964). She also edited *The Many Lives of North Carolina Women,* the report of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, and on February 1, appeared on WUNC-TV's "Encounter" series in a program devoted to the subject of women's employment.

Professor William E. Scott will be on leave in 1965-1966; he has received grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Duke University Research Council for research in Europe on "The Origins of the Second World War, 1933-1939." He will be much of the year at the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich, Germany. Professor Scott's *Alliance Against Hitler: The Origins of the Franco-Soviet Pact* (Duke University Press, 1962) is being published this spring in a French edition by Editions Payot, Paris, as *Le Pacte Franco-Sovietique.*

The rapid development of the School of Liberal Arts of North Carolina State of The University of North Carolina at Raleigh since its establishment in 1963 resulted, on February 1, in the division of the Department of History and Political Science into two separate entities, the Department of History and the Department of Politics. Dr. Preston W. Edsall, who administered the combined disciplines for more than sixteen years, was designated head of the Department of Politics and Dr. Ralph W. Greenlaw was named head of the Department of History.

Dr. Murray S. Downs has written an article, "George III and the Royal Coup of 1783," which appeared in *The Historian* for November, 1964. Dr.

Marvin L. Brown is editor and translator (with Marta Huth) of *Baroness von Riedesel and the American Revolution: Journal and Correspondence of a Tour of Duty.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965). A condensation of the book under the title *Baroness on the Battlefield* was the *American Heritage* Book Selection for the issue of December, 1964. The following are serving as part-time instructors during the 1964-1965 academic year: John B. Cameron, Robert G. Sherer, Dean S. MacMurray, Louis E. Schmier, and James K. Huhta.

The federal government (United States Office of Education) has accepted and agreed to finance a summer institute in Recent United States History for Secondary School Teachers, to be sponsored and staffed by the East Carolina College History Department. Dr. John C. Ellen is director and Dr. Henry Ferrell is associate director of the institute.

On February 13 Dr. Richard C. Todd spoke on "Nathanael Greene" to The Major Benjamin May Chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution. Dr. George Pasti's article "Comparative Studies of East Asian and Western History: Some Topics and Problems," appeared in *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* October, 1964. Dr. Albert Diket wrote an article entitled, "John Slidell and the 'Chicago Incident' of 1858," which was published in *Louisiana History,* Summer, 1964.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Meredith College, reports that Mr. Thomas C. Parramore and Mrs. Rosalie Prince Gates have been promoted to Assistant Professors.

Meredith College will have two representatives in the Social Science Conference at Mars Hill College March 12-13. Dr. Frank Grubbs will speak on "An Evaluative of Samuel Gompers as a War-Time Leader," and Dr. Sarah Lemmon will speak on "The Relationship of Geography to Ancient Egyptian Art," and will also moderate a panel discussion on "The Freshman Survey Course: Problems and Suggestions for Improvements."

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Roanoke Island Historical Association opened the sessions of Culture Week, December 2, with a luncheon at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh. Mrs. Fred W. Morrison, Washington, D. C., chairman, presided. Other officers are Mrs. J. E. Winslow, Hertford, vice-chairman; Mrs. Burwell Evans, Manteo, secretary; Mr. Chauncy S. Meekins, Manteo, treasurer; Mr. Martin Kellogg, Jr., Manteo, general counsel; Mr. William S. Powell, Chapel Hill, historian. Mr. John W. Fox, Manteo, general manager of "The Lost Colony," gave a report on the 1964 season. A $1,000,000 construction program for historic Fort Raleigh on Roanoke Island was outlined by Mr. Karl T. Gilbert, superintendent of Cape Hatteras National Seashore Park. The project included a visitor center, an administration building, a utility area, quarters for employees, and a rehearsal center for

"The Lost Colony." These improvements were made possible through the acquisition and donation of about 135 acres of land by the Roanoke Island Historical Association, two anonymous donors, and the State of North Carolina.

On December 2 the thirty-eighth annual meeting of the North Carolina State Art Society was held in Raleigh. The following officers and board members were elected: Mrs. George W. Paschal, Jr., Raleigh, president; Mrs. Cyrus D. Hogue, Jr., vice-president; Mr. Charles Lee Smith, Raleigh, secretary; Mr. Otto Festmann, Asheville, Mr. Cyrus D. Hogue, Wilmington, and Mrs. Louis V. Sutton, Raleigh, board members. Plans were announced for the 1965 Cultural Arts Tour in the spring. The evening address was given by Mr. Leslie Cheek, Director, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Winners of the 1964 North Carolina Artists' Annual Exhibition were announced at the evening session. Mr. George Bireline, associate professor of design at North Carolina State of The University of North Carolina at Raleigh, won the first prize of $1,000 with a large oil painting, "Red Shift." He also won the $750 North Carolina State Harrelson Fund Award with another large canvas, "Colossus." Other awards went to Miss Thelma Bennett, Winston-Salem, a woodcut, Mr. Morris Parker, Raleigh, a steel construction, and Mr. Robert Partin, Greensboro, a lithograph pencil drawing. Following the meeting a reception and a preview of the Exhibition for artists, members, and guests were held at the Museum of Art.

The Associated Artists of North Carolina held a subscription dinner December 2 in Raleigh. The officers are Mrs. Peter W. Hairston, Advance, president; Mr. Ogden Deal, McLeansville, vice-president; Mrs. James Ficklen, Greenville, secretary; Mrs. Jean Fonville, Charlotte, treasurer; Mr. Eugene Messick, Raleigh, executive secretary.

The eighth annual Music Day, sponsored by the North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs was held December 2 in Raleigh. Officers are Mrs. Arvids Snornieks, New Bern, president; Mrs. Louise Y. Workman, Charlotte, Mrs. Mahlon O. Board, Greensboro, Mrs. Frank M. Sinclair, Charlotte, vice-presidents; Miss Jessie Ross Morris, Charlotte, and Miss Kathryne D. Suter, New Bern, secretaries; and Mrs. Ray Holshouser, Kannapolis, treasurer. The afternoon concert featured Mr. Rex Cooper, junior pianist, Raleigh; Mr. Michael Kelly, student pianist, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; and the Opera Theatre of The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, directed by Mr. Paul Hickfang. Dr. Lee Rigsby, Dean of Music at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, spoke at the dinner meeting. Winners in the 1964 composers contest sponsored by the North Carolina Federation of Music were announced by Mrs. David B. Sutton. Mr. Lee Reynolds of St. Pauls won first place for "Overture for Band." His tone poem, "Four Days," based on the assassination of President Kennedy, won honorable mention. Other winners were: vocal division, professional class, Mrs. William H. Jordan of Greensboro, accompanist and church organist; vocal division, amateur class, Mrs. E. V. Williams, Jr., Asheboro piano teacher. A musical pro-

gram was given by the Duke University Music Department under the direction of Mr. Allan Bone. The evening program was presented by the Concert Choir of East Carolina College under the direction of Mr. Charles Stevens, and the North Carolina State Ballet directed by Mr. John Lehman.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its twenty-fourth annual meeting in Raleigh December 3. The following officers were elected: Mrs. Horace P. Robinson of Littleton, president; Mr. Henry J. McMillan, Wilmington, vice-president; and Mrs. Ernest Branch, Raleigh, secretary-treasurer. Congressional district vice-presidents elected are: Mr. Edmund Harding, Washington; Mrs. Elias Carr, Macclesfield; Mr. John R. Taylor, New Bern; Mrs. Charles Lee Smith, Raleigh; Mr. Ralph P. Hanes, Winston-Salem; Mr. Robert H. Frazier, Greensboro; Mr. Chatham C. Clark, Elizabethtown; Mrs. Ernest Ives, Southern Pines; Mrs. E. M. Land, Statesville; Mrs. J. D. Lineberger, Shelby; and Mrs. N. D. Angier, Flat Rock. Reports on Preservation Projects were given as follows: Old Stone House, Mr. E. L. Hardin, Salisbury; Cupola House, Mr. David M. Warren, Edenton; Historic Hillsborough, Mrs. Alfred G. Engstrom, Hillsboro; "Fort Defiance," Miss Mary Maynard, Lenoir; The Carson House and Old Fort, Miss Mary M. Greenlee, Old Fort; Historic Halifax, Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson, Raleigh; Historic Beaufort, Dr. John Costlow, Beaufort; Historic Swannsboro, the Reverend Tucker R. Littleton, Swansboro; Harmony Hall, Mr. Chatham Clark, Elizabethtown; Bethabara, Mr. Stanley A. South, Wilmington.

Mr. Henry N. Flynt, president of the Heritage Foundation at Deerfield, Massachusetts, re-created with slides and commentary an early New England community for the afternoon meeting of the society. The society has received a $100,000 grant from the Richardson Foundation of Greensboro and New York. To qualify for money from the grant, communities will be required to advance local funds on a matching basis.

The Charles A. Cannon Awards, presented annually by Mrs. Charles A. Cannon, Concord, were given at the evening meeting to the following persons for their contributions in the historical field: Mr. Ernest L. Hardin, Salisbury, for preservation of the Old Stone House, 1766, at Granite Quarry in Rowan County; State Senator P. D. Midgett, Jr., Englehard, president of the Coastal Historyland Association, for work with East Coast historic sites; Mr. Gordon Gray, Winston-Salem and Washington, D. C., for his achievements as president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and for his assistance to Old Salem; Miss Elizabeth D. Horne, Wadesboro, for work toward restoration of Tryon Palace. Other features of the evening session were the color films, "Land of Beginnings," which features tours of North Carolina's Coastal Historyland, and "Mirror of the Past," a visit to Tryon Palace. Both films were made by the North Carolina Film Board. A reception for society members and their guests followed the night session.

The North Carolina Museums Council met December 3 at Raleigh. Dr. Charles H. Blake, president of the Hillsborough Historical Society, served as moderator of a panel discussion on "Governing Bodies and Supporting Groups of Museums." Mr. Robert B. Mayo, Exhibits Curator, moderated a panel discussion on "Methods, Techniques, and Materials of Museum Exhibit Programs," at the Exhibits Workshop, December 4. A slide program explained the Bentonville Battleground exhibits and other related exhibits. A discussion session followed. Officers are as follows: Mr. Frank Walsh, Raleigh, president; Mr. Bruce Black, Manteo, vice-president; Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Raleigh, secretary-treasurer; Mr. Brad Hawkins, Greensboro, Mr. Benny Keel, Chapel Hill, Mr. William L. Hamnett, Raleigh, and Robert Schlageter, Charlotte, members of the board of directors.

The executive committee of the North Carolina Symphony Society held its annual dinner meeting at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh, December 3. The Reverend Charles Lynn Brown, president, presided. Other officers are: Mrs. Carl T. Durham, Chapel Hill, executive vice-president; Mr. Lester C. Gifford, Hickory, Mr. James McClure Clarke, Asheville, Mr. Voit Gilmore, Southern Pines, Mr. Jan P. Schinhan, Kannapolis, and Mr. William H. Westphal, Greensboro, vice-presidents; Mr. William R. Cherry, Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer; Mr. Benjamin F. Swalin, director.

The sixty-fourth meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association was held in Raleigh December 4. The following officers and board members were elected: Mr. Glenn Tucker, Flat Rock, president; Dr. Paul Murray, Greenville, Professor Forrest W. Clonts, Winston-Salem, and Mr. Armistead Maupin, Raleigh, vice-presidents; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Raleigh, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. E. R. McKethan, Fayetteville, and Dean W. E. Byrd, Cullowhee, board members. Mr. H. C. Bradshaw, Durham, reviewed North Carolina nonfiction of the year. A report on the Confederate Centennial Commission was given by Mr. Norman Larson, Executive Secretary. Dr. Vittorio Giannini, president of the North Carolina School of the Arts in Winston-Salem, spoke on "Arts for Tar Heels—A program for the Future." Dr. Paul Murray, presented the R. D. W. Connor award for the best article published in *The North Carolina Review* to Dr. Richard Bardolph, Greensboro, for his article "Inconstant Rebels: Desertion of North Carolina Troops in the Civil War," which appeared in the Spring, 1964, issue.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Raleigh, council member of the American Association for State and Local History Awards, presented awards given by the association to North Carolinians. Receiving an award of merit as co-publisher of *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590,* was Mr. Lambert Davis, Chapel Hill, who accepted the award for The University of North Carolina Press. Certificates of commendation were persented to Mr. Hal Wilson, Washington, on behalf of station WITN for "Portrait of Bath Town," and to Mr. Ernie Greup, Durham, on behalf of station WTVD for "Durham Station."

Mr. McDaniel Lewis, chairman of the executive board of the State Department of Archives and History, presented special awards to Mr. Norman Larson and Colonel Hugh Dortch for their work with the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission. Certificates were presented to all members of the commission and to its staff marking the completion of the extended observance of the South's cause.

Mrs. Ina W. Van Noppen presided at the luncheon meeting. Mr. John G. Barrett, Lexington, Virginia, spoke on "Sherman's March Through North Carolina." Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris presented the 1964 Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award to Mr. E. S. Gregg of Statesville for his volume, "Reap Silence." Mrs. E. J. Kratt of Charlotte presented the American Association of University Women Juvenile Literature Award to Mr. Randall Jarrell of Greensboro for "The Bat-Poet." Secretary of State Thad Eure presented the Tar Heel Junior Historical Association awards to the following: arts division, Gaston Spindles, Junior Historian Club of Robinson School, Gastonia; literary division, group winner, Stephen Cabarrus Club of Harrisburg School; individual award, Miss Betty Lou Howell, Seaboard High School.

Mr. Ovid W. Pierce, well-known novelist and member of the faculty at East Carolina College, Greenville, presided at the dinner meeting. Dr. James W. Patton, Chapel Hill, gave the presidential address entitled "Serious Reading in Halifax County, 1860-1865."

Dr. Patton presided at the evening meeting at which Dr. George V. Taylor, Jr., Chapel Hill, spoke on "History, Literature, and The Public At Large."

Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt, Chapel Hill, presented to Mr. Glenn C. Tucker, Flat Rock, the Mayflower Cup for *Dawn Like Thunder,* a history of the war between the United States and the Barbary Powers of North Africa during the Jefferson and Madison administrations. The award for non-fiction is sponsored by the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina. Miss Clara Booth Byrd, Greensboro, presented the Sir Walter Raleigh Award to Mr. John Ehle of Chapel Hill and New York for *The Land Breakers,* a novel dealing with pioneer living in North Carolina's mountains before the Revolutionary War. This award is made annually by the Historical Book Club of Greensboro for the best book of fiction published during the year.

Following the evening session, a reception was held for members and their guests.

The fifty-third annual session of the North Carolina Folklore Society was held in Raleigh December 4 with Dr. Holgar O. Nygard, Durham, presiding. Other officers are Dr. Guy Owen, Jr., Raleigh, Mr. Jan Schinhan, Kannapolis, and Professor Robert A. Woody, Durham, vice-presidents; and Dr. Daniel W. Patterson, Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer. Professor

George P. Wilson, Greensboro, spoke on "Shakespeare and North Carolina Folklore." "Using North Carolina Folklore in Fiction" was the title of a paper by Dr. Guy Owen, Jr. Messrs. Jeff and Gerret Warner, singers of Duke University, gave a program of "Ballads and Blues."

On December 5 the Society of Mayflower Descendents in the State of North Carolina held its annual breakfast honoring the society's officers and the winner of the Mayflower Award, Mr. Glenn C. Tucker. Officers are as follows: Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt, Chapel Hill, Governor; Mrs. William T. Powell, High Point, Deputy Governor; Mrs. William O. Crottes, Charlotte, secretary; Mr. Dumont Clarke, Jr., Asheville, treasurer.

Mr. H. Glen Lanier, High Point, presided at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Poetry Society December 5 in Raleigh. Other officers are Mrs. Sallie Nixon, Stanley, vice-president; Mrs. Joy D. Rorie, Charlotte, secretary; and Mrs. Mary Louise Medley, Wadesboro, treasurer. Readings of winning poems in the North Carolina Poetry Society Contest (1964) were heard. Miss Charlotte Young gave a report on the work of the Poetry Council of North Carolina; introduced Mr. E. S. Gregg of Statesville, winner of the 1964 Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award; and presented the Oscar A. Young Memorial Cup to Dr. Victor B. Small, Clinton, for his book, *The Feel of the Earth.*

The twenty-third annual meeting of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians was held in Raleigh December 5, with Mr. John H. McPhaul, Jr., presiding. Mr. Charles Dunn, Durham, made the presentation of the Smithwick Newspaper Award to Mr. F. C. Salisbury, Morehead City, for the history of the Outer Banks of North Carolina. Mr. Salisbury had won the award two times previously and had received honorable mention on four earlier occasions. (Word has been received of the death of Mr. Salisbury, December 24, 1964, at Morehead City.) Other winners were Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives, East Carolina College, Greenville, for an article on Panacea Springs, and Mrs. Margaret McMahan, Fayetteville, for two articles, "The Hales' Effect on Journalism in North Carolina." Honorable mentions went to Mr. Lewis Philip Hall, Wilmington, and Mrs. Barbara Short, Durham.

Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett, Greensboro, spoke on "The Last Days of the Confederacy." Mr. Edwin Dougherty, Boone, was elected president and Miss Mary Louise Medley, Wadesboro, and Miss Lena May Williams, Chapel Hill, were re-elected vice-presidents.

Mr. John H. McPhaul, Jr., presided at the joint luncheon of the society and the North Carolina Poetry Society. Mrs. John A. Kellenberger, Greensboro, chairman of the Tryon Palace Commission, gave a slide program on the palace as the concluding event of Culture Week.

The Beaufort Historical Association met at St. Paul's parish house November 30 and was presided over by Dr. John Costlow, president.

Reports were given by committee chairmen. Mrs. William Williams, Beaufort, spoke on early American silver and displayed her collection.

The executive committee of the North Carolina Conference Historical Society met November 24 at Saint James Methodist Church to plan a commemorative service which was held at 3:30 P.M., Sunday, December 20, at the Whitakers Chapel Methodist Church near Enfield. Whitakers Chapel was the site of the first annual conference of the dissident Methodist Protestant Church which convened December 10-20, 1828. Bishop Paul N. Garber, resident Episcopal head of the Raleigh area of the Methodist Church, and one of Methodism's historians, was the speaker for the historical observance.

The Moore County Historical Association met November 24 at Southern Pines. Reports were given on the repairs of the Alston House; on the House in the Horseshoe, near Carbonton; and on the old Shaw House in Southern Pines. The Highland Flingers from a Fayetteville high school gave a program. Mrs. Pat Raney announced an antique show for March 24, 25, and 26.

Two local historical projects—to restore the birthplace of Dr. Hugh Bennett and to restore and preserve the Patrick Boggan home on East Wade Street in Wadesboro, have been merged under the title of Anson County Historical Society. The committee designated to prepare a certificate of incorporation for Anson County Historical Society is Mr. F. Fetzer Mill, chairman, Mr. L . P. McLendon, and Mr. M. D. McLendon.

The newly-formed Franklin County Historical Society met January 21, at Louisburg College. Officers are as follows: Mr. Lindley S. Butler, Louisburg College, president; Mr. T. H. Pearce, vice-president; Miss Lucy P. Burt, secretary; and Mr. W. J. Shearin, treasurer. Dr. Gerald Shinn reported on the project to restore the Franklin Academy building, erected in 1804, for use as a county museum.

The Chatham County Historical Society met November 30 at the courthouse in Pittsboro. Mr. Charles R. Broyles spoke on "Indian Relics."

The Rockingham County Historical Society met November 30 at the County Center. The following officers were elected: Mrs. S. R. Prince, president; Mr. Henry Anderson, Leaksville, and Mrs. W. T. Lauten, Madison, vice-presidents; Miss Nancy Withers, secretary; and Mr. Knox Lively, Sr., Reidsville, treasurer. Mr. Allan Lewis, Wentworth, who has served as president for the past several years, was named an honorary vice-president. Plans for the sponsorship of a tour of Rockingham County were discussed. Mrs. Claude Dunaway, president of the Fine Arts Festival Association, spoke on "Fine Arts and History." A historical category has been established in the Fine Arts Festival to be held in April at St. Luke's Episcopal Church at Spray.

The Gaston County Historical Society held its quarterly meeting December 4 at the Lion's Club Building in Gastonia. Mr. Benjamin Moomaw, director of the Kings Mountain National Military Park, spoke on the Battle of Kings Mountain. Mr. Brice T. Dickson is president of the society.

Mrs. Douglas Wilkinson, member of the board of directors of the Railroad House Historical Association, requests memorial gifts in addition to gifts of labor and materials by Sanford business firms for the restoration of the town's oldest residence. The authentically-furnished house will serve as a future office of the Sanford Chamber of Commerce and a meeting place for civic groups as well as a tourist attraction.

The Hyde County Historical Association officers are Mrs. Allen Bucklew, president; Mrs. Robert G. Baum, vice-president; Mrs. Juanita Miller, secretary; Mrs. Betty Spencer, treasurer.

The finance committee of the Haywood County Historical Society met in the historical room in the courthouse at Waynesville, December 8, to consider plans for construction or purchase of a museum for the society. Mr. Charles Woodard and Mr. Milton Brown are co-chairmen of the committee.

The Catawba County Historical Association met December 9 in the Community Room of Citizens Savings and Loan Association at Newton. The association accepted the offer of Mr. Charles C. C. Bost to purchase the old Rader homeplace lot on South College Avenue in Newton. Mr. Thomas Warlick, president, appointed a committee to investigate possible locations for a new, fireproof, historical museum for Catawba county.

The Catawba County Historical Association met again on January 6, at which time Mr. Thomas Warlick, president, presided over the business meeting. A copy of Wheeler's *History of North Carolina* will be placed in the Catawba County Historical Museum as a memorial to Mrs. B. R. McCreight. Mr. Erskine C. Dysart of Hickory gave a talk about the early settlers of Catawba County.

The Onslow County Historical Society met December 16 at the home of Miss Hathaway Price; 12 members were present. At the meeting January 20, in Richlands, Mrs. Collier Cobb gave a talk on American glass and displayed a portion of her collection. Mr. N. E. Day, president, presided over the business session.

The Burke County Historical Society met December 21 at the Morganton-Burke Library. Mr. Sam J. Ervin III, president, presided over the business session. Members examined the collection of the society's historical material and saw a demonstration of new equipment.

The Hillsborough Historical Society met January 15 at the Orange County Courthouse. Dr. Robert H. Woody, professor of history at Duke University, spoke on "Germans in North Carolina."

The Wilkes Historical Society held its quarterly meeting January 18 in the recreation room of Wilkesboro Baptist Church. Mr. T. E. Story, president, presided; a film entitled "Road to Carolina" was shown.

The Union County Historical Society met January 14. Mr. S. Glenn Hawfield, president, presided and presented a suggested outline for a history of Union County. Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, staff historian of the State Department of Archives and History spoke about the writing of a county history.

The Johnston County Historical Association met at Centenary Methodist Church in Smithfield January 17. Mr. Norman Larson of the Confederate Centennial Commission outlined plans for the proposed centennial commemoration at Bentonville.

A committee of the Asheville Chamber of Commerce has sponsored a project to incorporate the Museum of the Southern Highlands to preserve and display historical artifacts of the region, as well as to stimulate interest in the history and traditions of the area. At a meeting December 12 the following officers were elected: Mr. George Coggins, president; Mr. Samuel Beck, vice-president in charge of the museum project; Miss Augusta Barnett, secretary; Mr. Norman A. Greig, treasurer. Directors include Mr. Carol White, Cherokee, Dr. W. D. Weatherford, Black Mountain, Mr. George M. Stephens, Sr., Mr. J. Nick Davis and Colonel Paul Rockwell, Asheville.

The Cherokee County Historical Society and the Daughters of the American Revolution held a joint meeting January 14, at the Murphy Power Board building in Murphy. Reports were made by Mrs. Robert Easley, Mr. Joe Ray, and Mr. L. T. Block.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., of Wilmington, has issued its Fourth Handbook which features on the cover a photograph of the Latimer House. Current officers are Mr. N. Winfield Sapp, Jr., president; the Reverend Mortimer Glover, vice-president; Miss Leila Stack, secretary; Mr. Ludlow P. Strong, treasurer; and Mrs. Ida B. Kellam, archivist.

Announcement has been made of the formation of The North Carolina Book, Map and Print Club. The club plans to issue a yearly bulletin listing the interests of the members and any items they would like to exchange. All persons who are interested in building personal collections and libraries of North Carolina books, prints, maps, and paintings may join by writing to The North Carolina Book, Map and Print Club, R. F. D., Box 30, Winnabow.

The Cabarrus County Historical Society had its organizational meeting January 28 at the Community Center in Concord. The following officers were elected: Mr. A. Campbell Cline, president; Mr. A. K. Rouse, Kannapolis, and Mrs. Smoot Lyles, vice-presidents; Mrs. Harris Nierenburg, secretary-treasurer. One of the major long-range projects is the writing and publication of a history of Cabarrus County. Mr. Bernard Cruse spoke about the wealth of history in the county.

The Wayne County Historical Society met at the Wayne County Courthouse January 19. Mr. Conway Rose gave an illustrated talk on "The Tuscarora: a Close-up of Their Villages, Hunting Quarters and Habits."

The Carteret County Historical Society met January 16 at the Webb Civic Center, Morehead City. Mr. Thomas Respess, secretary, presided over the business session and was elected treasurer to fill the unexpired term of the late F. C. Salisbury. A committee was appointed to draft a resolution in memory of Salisbury, a former president and charter member of the organization. Part of the tribute follows: "More than forty years ago he came among us, a stranger from northern New York. . . . His natural bent for history gradually concentrated on the annals of Carteret County . . . resulting in a wealth of authentic local history which otherwise might have remained unpublished."

The Person County Historical Society met January 30 at the Courthouse in Roxboro. The business session was followed by the election of new officers.

The Pitt County Historical Society met January 28. Officers elected were Dr. Robert Lee Humber, president; Miss Tabitha DeVisconti, Farmville, vice-president; Mrs. W. I. Wooten, secretary-treasurer. Dr. Herbert R. Paschall spoke on colonial records and hailed John Simpson as the "father" of Pitt County, which was separated from the area then known as Beaufort County.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association met January 30 at Pack Memorial Library, Asheville. Officers elected were Mr. Glenn Tucker, Flat Rock, president; Mrs. Mary Jane McCrary, Brevard, vice-president; Miss Cordelia Camp, Asheville, secretary-treasurer. Several committee reports were heard.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW
EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent states. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this state, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for *The Review,* but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, and style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for *The North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook,* which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for *The Review.* Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.

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The North Carolina Historical Review



Summer 1965

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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POLITICS AND PIETY IN NORTH CAROLINA: THE FUNDAMENTALIST CRUSADE AT HIGH TIDE, 1925-1927

By Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.*

Few localities felt the impact of the socio-intellectual crosscurrents of the 1920's more acutely than North Carolina. In the phraseology of the times, the state was in the throes of "a new day," "a bloodless revolution," and "a new phase." Such terms attempted to indicate a complex of material and intellectual changes which converged upon the nation in the era after World War I. Some of the innovations sprang directly from the war; others were products of movements long in existence and brought to fruition by the war. Whatever the origins of the new environment, the average North Carolinian experienced a profound uneasiness in the presence of twentieth-century realities which he could no longer ignore or glimpse from a comfortable distance. The passing of the old order sent a tremor through the state and occasionally induced spasms of popular disorientation which produced indiscriminate, almost blind, assaults upon phenomena associated with the "new day." Since most North Carolinians viewed the world through the eyes of orthodox Protestant theology, no aspect of the post-war era disturbed them more than its secular and irreverent tone. Even the hallowed creeds "upon which men have staked their hopes of eternal salvation" came under fire. A predominantly rural people accustomed to theological certainties and steeped in individualistic piety contemplated such "unsettlement" as the work of dark, satanic forces. Anything less than the obliteration of ideas and concepts responsible for the "loosening of old restraints" would jeopardize North Carolina's status as a "Christian Commonwealth." When the theory of evolution came to be considered the most pervasively dangerous of these concepts, the zealous defenders of religious orthodoxy assumed the tactics of embattled, panic-stricken warriors making a

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last-ditch effort to save their historic faith from the onslaughts of infidels.[1]

The war on evolution erupted in 1920 when a Baptist paper in Kentucky published articles by T. T. Martin, a Mississippi evangelist, demanding the dismissal of President William Louis Poteat of Wake Forest College, because of his open espousal of the theory of evolution. The Martin-Poteat affair precipitated far more than an agitation among Baptists.[2] It sparked a disturbance which increased in scope and intensity throughout the first half of the post-war decade. The "God-or-gorilla" theme became the subject of newspaper editorials, public debates, denominational squabbles, pronouncements by academicians, Bible conferences and speeches by William Jennings Bryan. Many North Carolinians were first introduced to Charles Darwin and his theory by itinerant evangelists whose highly emotional sermons aroused widespread suspicions about the orthodoxy of the churches and the state-supported educational institutions. The specter of infidelity induced many citizens to join in a frantic search for means to insulate their religious certitude against the encroachments of "godless" science and "vague-minded" modernistic theology. Their first efforts aimed at the elimination of evolutionists from church-related colleges and the incorporation of Bible courses into the public school curriculum. In neither case was their success sufficient to guarantee the safety of their eternal verities.[3]

Religious fundamentalists were convinced that the decisive moment had arrived in 1925; North Carolina must either remain an "old-fashioned Christian Commonwealth" or succumb to the forces of the

[1] Gerald W. Johnson, "North Carolina in a New Phase," *Current History*, XXVII (March, 1928), 843-848; W. C. Jackson, "Culture and the New Era in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, II (January, 1925), 12-15; E. C. Brooks, "The Development of Social Harmony" (an address, 1927), Eugene C. Brooks Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham; *Journal of the North Carolina Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, November 19-24, 1919* (Raleigh: Advocate Publishing Co., 1919), 55; Walter Lippman, "The South and the New Society," *Social Forces*, VI (September, 1927), 1-5; W. A. Harper, *Character Building in Colleges* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1928), 190-191; Sylvester Hassell, *Evolution* (n.p., 1925), 1-3.

[2] See Suzanne C. Linder, "William Louis Poteat and the Evolution Controversy," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XL (April, 1963), 135-157, hereinafter cited as Linder, "Poteat and the Evolution Controversy."

[3] Gerald W. Johnson, "Saving Souls," *The American Mercury*, I (July, 1924), 364-368; *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), June 15, 21, July 27, August 15, September 13, 1921, February 24, November 19, 1922, May 6, November 6, 16, 1923, February 14, 15, 20, 29, and March 14, 1924, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer; The North Carolina Lutheran*, I (September, 1923), 4; Keith Saunders, *The Independent Man* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, c. 1962), 188-204, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Independent Man; The Mission Herald*, XXXIX (June, 1925), 8; Stephen Gardner to Robert Winston, December 5, 1924, Robert W. Winston Papers, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; *The Goldsboro News*, August 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14, 24, 25, 1926.

antichrist. Encouraged by Governor Cameron Morrison's banning of two "evolution textbooks" in 1924, the defenders of orthodoxy launched their offensive to obliterate the Darwinian menace by statute. Their spokesman was D. Scott Poole, a newspaper editor and prominent Presbyterian layman, who represented Hoke County in the legislature. His antievolution bill reached a vote in the House of Representatives only after a prolonged series of heated debates and tedious parliamentary maneuvers. Amid frayed tempers and a near riot, the measure was defeated by a vote of 67 to 46.[4]

Scarcely had the House disposed of the measure when the antievolutionists served notice that they would return for a showdown in the legislative session of 1927. They immediately reorganized their forces and quickened the tempo of their agitation. The death of Bryan shortly after the Scopes trial in 1925 provided them a martyr and renewed their zeal for the cause that he championed. Their crusade ultimately won endorsement from the Junior Order of Mechanics, the State Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Methodist Protestant Church, the Free Will Baptists, chambers of commerce, parent-teacher associations, and local chapters of the Ku Klux Klan. Local boards of education sought to guarantee the moral purity of public schools under their jurisdiction by the introduction of Bible courses, the elimination of "evolutionary teachings," and the censorship of school libraries. A favorite target of the antievolutionist offensive was The University of North Carolina. Even the martyred Bryan had referred to the institution as a breeding ground of infidelity in his last, undelivered address at Dayton. Harry W. Chase, the Massachusetts-born president of the university, had incurred the wrath of the fundamentalists by his vocal opposition to the Poole Bill. Condemned as a "Damned Yankee" and "a homeless liberal" who was "ruinin' our boys," the harassed Chase seriously considered resigning his post because of the ferocious attacks upon him.[5]

[4] See especially Edgar W. Knight, "Monkey or Mud in North Carolina," *The Independent*, CXVII (May 14, 1927), 515-516, 527; Maynard Shipley, *The War on Modern Science: A Short History of the Fundamentalist Attacks on Evolution and Modernism* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1927), 87-110, hereinafter cited as Shipley, *The War on Modern Science*.

[5] Nell Battle Lewis, "North Carolina," *The American Mercury*, VIII (May, 1926), 41-43; *Minutes of the Thirty-First Annual Session of the Eastern Convention of the Original Free Will Baptists, 1926* (n.p., 1926), 5; *Journal of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, 1925* (n.p., 1925), 34, 47, 92; *The Statesville Landmark*, August 12, 1926; *The Mooresville Enterprise*, August 20, 1925; *The Union Republican* (Winston), July 23, 1925; *The Durham Morning Herald*, May 26, 1925; Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free? An Analysis of Restraints Upon the Freedom of Teaching in American Schools* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons [1936]), 229; Louis Round Wilson, *The University of North Carolina, 1900-1930: The Making of a Modern University* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 511-526.

By the close of 1925 the antievolutionists could claim several significant achievements in spite of their failure in the legislature of that year. Morrison's elimination of certain textbooks, the actions of local school boards, and the agitation within several major denominations went far toward accomplishing the aim implicit in a state-wide anti-evolution law. Yet, opponents of evolution continued to insist upon such legislation as a prerequisite for the return of godliness. Poole had already indicated his intention to renew the fight in 1927; and Zebulon Vance Turlington, a prominent Presbyterian and an influential Democratic legislator from Iredell County who championed Poole's bill, announced in August, 1925, his willingness to exert even greater effort now that he understood "the full gravity of the situation."[6]

By February, 1926, various rumors about an impending antievolution crusade began to take shape. L. D. Bass, a Baptist minister in Madison, predicted that "some of the biggest anti-evolution guns in the country" including John Roach Straton, William B. Riley, and T. T. Martin, would invade the state during the spring and summer to give the "liberals and modernists a thorough shelling." During the Scopes trial Martin, field secretary of the Anti-Evolution League of America, had announced that his organization would "move in on North Carolina next." From Washington, Jonathan Daniels of *The News and Observer* reported rumors to the effect that North Carolina fundamentalists were perfecting their organization for the purpose of forcing an anti-evolution plank into the platform of the state's Democratic party. He also claimed that, according to some sources, former Governor Morrison would spearhead the crusade. While none of these rumors was completely true, widespread circulation indicated that something was in the wind.[7]

The fundamentalists believed that the most propitious moment to launch their new campaign for an antievolution statute was the period immediately prior to the Democratic primaries early in June. Victory in the primary was tantamount to election in solidly Democratic North Carolina; therefore, the antievolutionists had to initiate their crusade in time to force the hands of the candidates for the legislature on the evolution question during their campaigns. Their aims were to make evolution the central issue of the campaigns and to elect enough legislators sympathetic to their cause to insure the passage of a bill

[6] *The Mooresville Enterprise*, August 20, 1925; *The Greensboro Daily News*, August 16, 1925; *The News and Observer*, August 16, 1925; *Charity and Children*, XL (August 27, 1925), 4.

[7] *The News and Observer*, February 21, April 25, 1926; *The North Carolina Lutheran*, III (December, 1925), 4.

outlawing Darwinism in the schools. Politicians who had previously shied away from the issue because of its explosive nature contemplated the revived antievolution crusade with mounting anxiety. Many of them perceived only too clearly the validity of the observation: "If a candidate comes out for the teaching of evolution, he wouldn't have as much chance as a Catholic." Since the fundamentalist zealots brooked neither ambiguities nor equivocation, the political moderate might well expect to be the "chief sufferer" in the campaign.[8]

The first steps toward the creation of a state-wide antievolution organization took place secretly early in April, 1926. Public notice of these efforts first occurred on April 16, when 32 ministers and laymen representing various denominations met in the First Baptist Church of Charlotte. Their announced purpose was to launch an organization to combat "all influences in the schools that tend to destroy the faith of the people in the Bible as the Inspired Word of God." The organization, known as the Committee of One Hundred, would be under the direction of native fundamentalists representing the 100 counties of the state. The group also passed resolutions expressing its opposition to the union of church and state and its endorsement of all efforts to eliminate antichristian doctrines from the public schools. By the close of this session it was apparent that Presbyterians, primarily from the Piedmont region, would dominate the new campaign and that Charlotte would be its headquarters.[9]

On May 4, 1926, the same day that the Episcopalians officially denounced efforts to restrict freedom of teaching, over 300 antievolutionists gathered in Charlotte "to fight the teaching of anti-Bible doctrines in the schools." When the Chamber of Commerce denied this group use of its building on grounds of "propriety," the gathering convened in the auditorium of the Carnegie Library where, after singing "How Firm a Foundation," it officially launched the Committee of One Hundred. The crusade to marshal the antievolution sentiment in the counties was to be waged under the motto, "Make Our Schools Safe For Our Children." Shortly after his election as permanent chairman, Judge Walter S. Neal of Laurinburg assured the audience: "We are going to organize the state from stem to stern and anyone who thinks otherwise is badly fooled. Sentiment is against us in some of the large towns but in the rural sections it is all the way and we are going to organize every county and stir them up."[10]

[8] *The News and Observer*, April 25, 1926.
[9] *The Charlotte Observer*, April 17, 1926; *The News and Observer*, April 17, 1926; *The Statesville Landmark*, April 22, 1926; *The Goldsboro News*, April 17, 1926.
[10] *The News and Observer*, May 6, 1926.

After transferring its proceedings to the more spacious quarters of the Second Presbyterian Church, the committee drew up a fundamentalist credo which was incorporated into the organization's lengthy platform. This document disavowed any intention of uniting church and state, then proceeded to insist upon barring from all public educational institutions teachers whose religious beliefs deviated substantially from the conservative theology embraced by a majority of the Christian taxpayers of the state. This so-called "moral suasion" platform was designed to serve as a basis for a "direct treaty" to be negotiated by the committee with each state-supported college. If the college refused to accept this procedure or failed to react "properly," the committee promised "to take the matter directly to the legislature." Obviously, the organization intended to concern itself primarily with the state colleges rather than the public schools. Perhaps the latter had been, or were being, sufficiently cleansed of the heresy by the local activities of the antievolutionists. At any rate, the committee hoped to force colleges in line by threatening another legislative fight over evolution.[11]

Despite its threat and promises, the Committee of One Hundred was premanently injured by the intemperance and disorder of its opening session. The wild applause, inflammatory addresses, and vitriolic attacks upon Chase and other university personnel precluded calm deliberations. So unbridled did the language become that the chairman had to remind the orators that they were "in a house of God." The proceedings, however, became utterly rowdy when a group of self-styled "friends of the University" invaded the fundamentalist gathering. The leader of this contingent of "interlopers" was Charles W. Tillett, Jr., a young attorney of Charlotte, who had persuaded several civic leaders in various parts of the state to join him in an effort to stifle in its infancy this new antievolution drive. While the resolutions committee was in session elsewhere, the floor was opened for general discussion. Robert Lassiter, one of Tillett's cohorts, immediately raised the question whether all those present would enjoy the privileges of the floor. After some hesitation the chairman agreed to extend the rights of voting and speaking to all present, an action which gave Tillett and his associates legal standing in the session. During the lunch hour this group which then included E. D. Broadhurst, a Greensboro attorney and an outspoken critic of antievolution

[11] *The Charlotte Observer*, May 4, 5, 1926; *The News and Observer*, May 5, 6, 7, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 5, 6, 7, 1926.

legislation, plotted its strategy for a showdown with the fundamentalists at the afternoon session.[12]

The proceedings during the afternoon were marked by a mounting resentment of the intruders, flaring tempers, and angry outbursts. When Tillett criticized efforts by churchmen to gag scientific research, H. B. Searight, moderator of the Presbyterian Synod, suggested that "those who are not in sympathy with us might go elsewhere and form an organization of their own." But William Shaw, Paul Ranson, Frank McNinch, and William T. Shore, all civic leaders and university alumni, remained to pose embarrassing questions and to engage in heated exchanges with official spokesmen of the committee. Shaw described the "absurdity" of any effort to make orthodox Christianity a test for membership in a state college faculty. He reminded his audience that such a restriction would automatically eliminate all Jews and Catholics from state-supported institutions. Thomas R. Glasgow, a Charlotte businessman who had joined Tillett's group, continued the discussion by a critical analysis of the committee's attempt to "make a religious creed a prerequisite for holding a civil office." [13]

These remarks triggered a general uproar among the antievolutionists who, disagreeing among themselves over the interpretations of their ultimate aims, were soon absorbed in bitter arguments with one another. E. D. Broadhurst finally managed to gain the floor to deliver a brief speech which reduced the proceedings to utter pandemonium. He claimed that the "bitter-tongued" utterances of the ministers during the session were sufficient to destroy the layman's respect and reverence for the clergy. Then, he concluded: "Don't make this a church war. You are a lot of scared preachers gathered together. I've listened to your voices and seen your actions today and I tell you I'm discouraged." [14] At this juncture, the Reverend McKendree Long, a Presbyterian preacher, exclaimed: "My God shall not be murdered in His own House!" And Walter West, a young, broad-shouldered Methodist minister from Lincolnton, took off his coat, doubled up his fists, and charged toward the altar to deal with "this modernist interloper from Greensboro." Only the restraining hands of several spectators prevented a fist fight at the church altar. This extraordinary

[12] Robert W. Winston, *Horace Williams: Gadfly of Chapel Hill* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942), 211-213, hereinafter cited as Winston, *Horace Williams; The Charlotte Observer*, May 5, 6, 7, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 5, 6, 7, 1926; *The Statesville Landmark*, May 6, 10, 1926.

[13] *The Charlotte Observer*, May 5, 6, 1926; *The Goldsboro News*, May 5, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 5, 6, 1926.

[14] Quoted in Shipley, *The War on Modern Science*, 102.

episode climaxed the meeting and overshadowed the remainder of the session. The unfavorable publicity given the initial meeting of the Committee of One Hundred irreparably damaged its reputation and lent credence to the prediction that North Carolina was destined for a "Kulturkampf." [15]

At the same time that native fundamentalists were organizing the the Committee of One Hundred, outside forces poured into the state to lend their aid to the antievolution cause. True to his promise during the Scopes trial, T. T. Martin headed this contingent of "foreign" anti-evolutionists who invaded North Carolina in the spring of 1926. Since the death of Bryan the national antievolution movement had lacked a single individual to fill the Great Commoner's position. But a leading contender for the Bryan mantle was Charles F. Washburn, a wealthy realtor in Florida and the founder of the Bible Crusaders of America. Established to continue Bryan's antievolutionist crusade, it rapidly became one of the most militant organizations of its kind. Its personnel consisted largely of veteran fundamentalist campaigners such as T. T. Martin who became Director-General of Campaigns of the Bible Crusaders while retaining his post in the Anti-Evolution League of America.[16]

Fresh from the field of victory in his native Mississippi, which had enacted an antievolution law, Martin arrived in Charlotte on April 28, 1926, and established headquarters in the Clayton Hotel. He immediately announced plans for a whirlwind campaign throughout North Carolina in an effort to pave the way for the passage of an anti-evolution statute by the next legislature. Martin and other representatives of national antievolution societies who joined him emphasized the crucial significance of the state in their nationwide campaign. "If North Carolina could be won," they reasoned, "the nation could be won" and federal legislation to banish Darwinism could be enacted.[17]

Both Martin and his chief lieutenant, V. T. Jeffreys of New Jersey who had been dispatched to Charlotte by the Anti-Evolution League, expressed a desire to work with the Committee of One Hundred. In fact, they hoped to co-ordinate the campaigns of the local and national

[15] Winston, *Horace Williams*, 214; *The Charlotte Observer*, May 5, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 6, 1926.

[16] *The Crusaders' Champion, I* (December 25, 1925), 1-4; *The North Carolina Lutheran*, III (December, 1925), 4; see also, Norman F. Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (New Haven, Connecticut: The Yale University Press, 1954), 57-61.

[17] *The Charlotte Observer*, April 29, May 1, 1926; *The Goldsboro News*, April 29, 1926. The battle cry of the Crusaders was: "North Carolina holds the key to the Nation. As it goes, so goes the nation." See Harbor Allen, "The Anti-Evolution Campaign in America," *Current History*, XXIV (September, 1926), 895.

organizations. Martin exerted every effort to ingratiate himself with the committee by adjusting his own plans to coincide with those of the local organization. He conferred with A. R. Shaw, a Presbyterian minister prominent in the committee, but utterly failed to establish the desired contact. He did not even obtain an invitation to attend the committee's opening session on May 4. Reasons for the committee's coolness toward Martin are not difficult to find. In addition to being suspicious of "foreigners" in general, the committee undoubtedly realized that Martin's rather notorious reputation among North Carolinians because of his vicious war on William Louis Poteat would scarcely enhance its cause. Moreover, since the organization was seeking to influence a state election, aid from outside forces would be a liability rather than an asset. Thus the committee sought desperately, although in vain, to prevent any identification of its crusade with that of the Martin entourage.[18]

Although disappointed by the committee's attitude, Martin proceeded with his plans for a state-wide campaign under the direction of representatives from various national antievolution groups. Like a military general about to launch an offensive, he divided the state into districts and designated one or more of his lieutenants to supervise the campaign in each district. District headquarters were maintained in Charlotte, Hendersonville, Winston-Salem, and Raleigh. Among the most notable members of Martin's task force were Andrew Johnson of Kentucky, Jeffreys, and three Texas evangelists, Raleigh Wright, J. F. Hailey, and W. E. Hawkins. The essential task of these district commanders was to arrange public debates on evolution, distribute antievolution posters and literature, and organize local antievolution societies to be affiliated with a national organization.[19]

Martin sounded the keynote of his campaign in a well-advertized address delivered in Charlotte May 9, 1926. A massive, flag-draped portrait of Bryan filled the rear of the stage from which he spoke. His address, characterized by invective and sensationalism, was largely a reiteration of antievolution themes which he had expressed on many earlier occasions, especially in his tract, *Hell and the High Schools.* At one dramatic point in his speech Martin declared: "Our only hope is to carry the fight to the people and drive every evolution teacher and every evolution book out of every tax-supported school in America." As he closed his address, he pointed to the picture of Bryan

[18] *The Greensboro Daily News,* May 3, 1926; *The News and Observer,* April 29, 1926; *The Charlotte Observer,* April 29, May 1, 6, 1926.

[19] *The Charlotte Observer,* May 4, 6, 9, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News,* May 3, 6, 8, 1926.

and shouted: "There is the greatest statesman that was every draped with the American flag. The picture was taken while Mr. Bryan and I were at Dayton." The outburst of applause which followed was disproportionate to the small crowd that attended his performance.[20]

On May 12, 1926, the Anti-Evolution League of North Carolina, an affiliate of the national society of which Martin was field secretary, was incorporated by three North Carolinians. Two of the incorporators were citizens of Charlotte who had not previously been conspicuous in the antievolution agitation. The third, however, was James R. Pentuff, an active figure in the Committee of One Hundred and in the war on Poteat. Actually the antievolution league was controlled by Martin, but for purposes of publicity it was an organization of native vintage. It was a device to attract support among North Carolinians and to provide Martin with a liaison between outside and native fundamentalists. Apparently hoping to devote full time to league activities, Pentuff promised to publish a magazine, *The Citizen's Review,* which would serve as the organ of the organization. Although subscriptions to the publication were sold at the rallies held by Martin's troupe, the magazine was never published. Subscriptions probably did not indicate success for such a venture. In fact, the anti-evolutionists found it increasingly difficult to arouse enthusiasm at their rallies, much less to raise cash. The size of the audiences, small from the beginning, continued to dwindle. On several occasions the crowd dispersed before the orators completed the addresses.[21]

This apathetic response prompted the World's Christian Fundamentals Association to dispatch Arthur I. Brown, a Canadian physician turned evangelist, to assist Martin. A veteran antievolutionist whose impressive academic pedigree received careful attention in Martin's publicity, Brown delivered addresses in various sections of the state. He assailed Poteat, proclaimed the "end of time was near at hand," and described all evolutionists as atheists. *The Greensboro Daily News* regretted that the Vancouver surgeon had "quit medical doctoring for divinity doseing." But even the hostile *Daily News* conceded that he possessed "far more sense, scholarship, personality, and platform ability than most of the agitators." Brown ultimately joined Martin's

[20] *The Charlotte Observer,* May 11, 1926; William N. Crow, "Religion and the Recent Evolution Controversy with Special Reference to the Issues in the Scopes Trial" (unpublished Bachelor of Divinity thesis, Duke University, 1936), 69.

[21] *The Hendersonville Times,* May 5, 12, 1926; *The News and Observer,* May 10, 13, 1926; *The Evening Telegram* (Rocky Mount), May 13, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News,* May 12, 1926.

headquarters in Charlotte in an effort to bolster the sagging fortunes of the crusade.[22]

It was left for Martin himself to stage the spectacle which presumably would accomplish such ends. He announced his intention to debate evolution in public with some well-known atheist approved by the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism. H. L. Mencken was his choice of a protagonist, but when Mencken ignored his challenge, he agreed to debate with Howell S. England of Detroit, a representative of the association. No sooner had Martin made known his plan to stage such a debate than an avalanche of criticism descended upon him. City and county officials denied him use of facilities under their jurisdiction, and the Charlotte clergy closed the doors of their churches to him. The Charlotte chapter of the Ku Klux Klan vehemently opposed the presence of an atheist in their city and promised to give England "a quick send off" if he dared to contaminate its environs with his presence.[23]

Distressed by this unexpected turn of events, Martin claimed that his proposed debate had been "grossly misunderstood." He tried in vain to correct the widespread impression that the debate was to deal with "atheism versus Christianity" rather than Genesis versus Darwin. Apparently the Klan had misunderstood his purpose, and because of the misunderstanding, had decided to prohibit the debate in a manner comparable to Martin's proposed restrictions on evolutionists. Those who perceived the irony of Martin's complaints about the lack of respect for freedom of speech in Charlotte believed that the crusader had run afoul of the same kind of intolerance that he had so long preached. Certainly the Klan's argument that a "non-believer" should be prohibited from defiling their "church-going community" was similar to that employed by the evangelist against modernists and evolutionists. Martin, however, never appreciated the irony of his new role as a defender of "free speech."[24]

Finally, after two weeks of negotiations, he rented a dance pavilion located outside the city limits of Charlotte. Here, in such unimpressive surroundings, Martin and England staged their debate on May 31, 1926. Their topic was: "Should the teaching of evolution, that man descended from a lower order of animals, be excluded from tax-supported schools." Taking the negative, England used a monkey

[22] *The Raleigh Times*, May 18, 1926; *The News and Observer*, May 18, 21, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 16, 17, 24, 1926.
[23] *The Mooresville Enterprise*, October 29, 1925; *The Charlotte Observer*, May 23, 24, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 24, 1926.
[24] *The Charlotte Observer*, May 22, 23, 26, 1926.

named "Genesis" to illustrate his arguments; and Martin, in his turn, reached a new high in his use of invective against evolutionists. Although the debate possessed many features of the vaudeville performance, it was "a listless affair" attended by fewer than 200 people. The presence of the Klansmen hostile to an atheist being so near their city undoubtedly dampened the enthusiasm of many prospective curiosity-seekers. Disheartened by the series of disasters, climaxed in this debate, Martin withdrew from North Carolina deeply resentful of the "unfair" treatment accorded him.[25]

With his departure the burden of the fight fell to the Committee of One Hundred. But even the native fundamentalists were in serious trouble. The turbulence of the committee's original session had clearly taken its toll. Shocked by the unbecoming behavior of their cohorts, some of the most active and prestigious supporters began to desert the organization. A. A. McGeachy, a well-known Presbyterian clergyman whose church had been the scene of the stormy session, resigned immediately. Although he still agreed with the original aims of the committee, he was "entirely out of sympathy with the spirit" in which it "was now attempting to accomplish them."[26] William E. Price, the first secretary-treasurer of the organization who was a candidate for the legislature, abandoned the committee before the primary; and the warm endorsement of the fundamentalist movement by Julian Miller in his *Charlotte News* turned into utter contempt following the tumultuous session of the committee on May 4. Other desertions took place within a few months, and even Judge Neal, ostensibly because of ill health, left the organization before the end of the year.[27]

Martin's sensational tactics and the fiasco of the committee's first session irreparably damaged the antievolution cause in North Carolina. Both shocked the sensibilities of North Carolinians in general and disillusioned many who still believed that evolution ought to be barred from the classroom. Few were willing to risk "the good name" of the state in a Scopes trial, and many were wearying of the whole discussion. Even *The Charlotte Observer,* one of the most persistent friends of fundamentalism, believed that the antievolution crusade under Martin had degenerated "into a cheap show of the common order."

[25] *The Charlotte Observer,* May 27, 30, June 2, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News,* June 3, 1926.

[26] A. A. McGeachy to Howard W. Odum, May 8, 1926, Howard W. Odum Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[27] *The Greensboro Daily News,* May 6, 1926; Winston, *Horace Williams,* 216; *The Statesville Landmark,* November 8, 1926; *The News and Observer,* May 9, 13, 14, 22, 23, 1926.

By June 2, 1926, *The Observer* had become convinced that the "state has had enough of this monkey business for quite a spell." [28]

For a while, however, the political campaigns prior to the primaries on June 5, 1926, failed to reflect this waning interest. The antievolutionists had entered the political arena with the avowed purpose of electing men to the legislature who sympathized with their aims. Although the State Democratic Convention late in April had been "the most pacific of gatherings" without a single reference to evolution, the politicians were by no means certain of such harmony in the primaries. Events during May indicated that their anxiety was justified. *Charity and Children,* a Baptist paper, lamented: "Religion and politics are mightily mixed these days. Preachers will take a larger part in the campaign than usual this season, and politicians will misquote more of the Bible than ever before." Most people agreed that evolution was an issue in the campaign, and some believed it was the "paramount issue." *The Greensboro Daily News* was convinced that "the monkey had replaced the donkey in Tar Heel Democracy." Certainly the antievolutionists, especially the Committee of One Hundred, were urging all candidates for the legislature to state publicly their stand on the evolution question. *The Stanly News-Herald* (Albemarle), which urged its readers to "vote as you pray," maintained that such a declaration by the candidates was mandatory in view of the "vital issues" at stake in the evolution controversy.[29]

Candidates were by no means oblivious to these pressures, and in some contests the issue of evolution did indeed play a crucial role. D. Scott Poole, unopposed in the Hoke County primary, again assumed the lead in the matter of antievolution legislation by promising to introduce another bill in the next legislature. His announcement was the signal for candidates to align themselves on the issue. In Stanly County, where the local newspaper ardently championed an antievolution statute, the primary designated as the county's legislator, Luther H. Bost, a Methodist steward and chairman of the local board of education, who shared the editor's views. Richmond County was the scene of a particularly heated legislative race involving candidates for both the Senate and the House. After a bitter fight in which evolution received a thorough airing on the political stump, the candidates who ran on the "Anti-Poole Bill Platform" were victorious. In Wilson County the Ku Klux Klan and antievolutionists tried in vain to unseat

[28] *The Charlotte Observer,* June 2, 1926.

[29] *The News and Observer,* April 28, 30, 1926; *Charity and Children,* XL (June 3, 1926), 4; *The Greensboro Daily News,* June 4, 8, 1926; *The Charlotte Observer,* June 6, 1926; Shipley, *The War on Modern Science,* 94.

veteran legislator Henry Groves Connor, Jr., largely because of his opposition to the Poole Bill in 1925. A similar effort to defeat Nat A. Townsend of Harnett County also failed. J. C. Braswell, a Nash County physician and outspoken champion of antievolution legislation, was "a clearcut casualty" in the primary fight over Darwinism. He was defeated by a young Baptist and Wake Forest-educated lawyer, Otway B. Moss of Spring Hope. Another Baptist and Wake Forest alumnus, Walter J. Matthews, ran on an anti-Poole Bill platform in Scotland County, the home of Judge Walter Neal and a center of antievolutionist agitation. Matthews roundly defeated the incumbent Angus D. Currie, a Presbyterian who had voted for the Poole measure in 1925.[30]

The politics of evolution provoked widespread excitement in Wake and Pasquotank counties. In Wake County, which encompassed the state's capital city, the antievolutionists received a stunning defeat in spite of their vigorous efforts in behalf of Sherwood Upchurch. They flooded the county with handbills adorned with pictures of Upchurch pointing to a monkey and exclaiming: "I may look like him but I refuse to claim kin." No less spectacular was the campaign in Pasquotank County waged by William O. Saunders, the crusading editor of *The Independent* (Elizabeth City) whose repertory of invective had long been directed at fundamentalist evangelists, William Jennings Bryan, and the Committee of One Hundred. Running on an "anti-Ku Klux Klan and anti-Fundamentalist platform," Saunders was overwhelmingly defeated by J. Kenyon Wilson, a corporation lawyer supported by the county polticians. Although Saunders characterized the primary results as a victory for "Isaac, Jacob, and Abraham," it is doubtful whether the Pasquotank voters were registering their support of antievolution legislation as much as they were disapproving the election of so controversial a figure as Saunders.[31]

Of all the primaries the one in Mecklenburg County, "the mecca of fundamentalism," promised to be the most turbulent. Two Presbyterians, J. Clyde Stancill and William E. Price, were elected. Although Price had resigned his position in the Committee of One Hundred before the primary, he still favored an antievolution law. The real fracas, however, took place in the runoff primary between two female aspirants for the House, Julia Alexander and Carrie MacLean. Julia Alexander, the incumbent, was a Presbyterian closely identified with the Committee of One Hundred and a stanch supporter of anti-

[30] *The Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 26, July 7, 1926; *The Statesville Landmark*, July 5, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, June 9, 15, 1926.

[31] *The News and Observer*, June 8, 9, 1926; Linder, "Poteat and the Evolution Controversy," 153; Saunders, *Independent Man*, 91-93.

evolution legislation; Carrie MacLean was a Baptist and well-known attorney who publicly decried efforts to restrict freedom of speech. Miss MacLean's victory was interpreted as "a definite and positive defeat" for the antievolutionists. In the legislature of 1927 she was appointed to the Committee on Education where her vote against a second Poole Bill canceled the vote of her colleague from Mecklenburg, William E. Price.[32]

Unquestionably the evolution issue loomed large in the political campaigns in the spring of 1926. Henry M. London, the state's legislative reference librarian, considered the issue significant enough to make it the basis for a portion of his analysis of the primary results. London calculated that less than 24 per cent of the legislators who supported the Poole Bill in 1925 were renominated, while over 37 per cent of those opposed to the measure retained their seats. According to his analysis the only legislator defeated for renomination who had opposed the Poole Bill was Frank C. Brinson of Pamlico County. He had been replaced by Veston C. Banks, a clerk in the Free Will Baptist Church which officially endorsed antievolution legislation. In the general election in November, 1926, a Republican unseated veteran Democratic legislator Will W. Neal of McDowell County, presumably because Neal's "fundamentalist constituents never forgave him for opposing the Poole Bill." Nevertheless, the public generally interpreted the outcome of the primaries as a serious, if not disastrous, setback for the antievolutionists. A sizable segment of the press agreed with *The Greensboro Daily News*' contention that the primaries offered irrefutable proof of North Carolina's refusal "to canonize the faith savers."[33]

In spite of a setback at the polls and a depleted membership, the Committee of One Hundred doggedly pursued its original aims. On December 9, 1926, the organization underwent an administrative reorganization and changed its name to The North Carolina Bible League. On the same date Julia Alexander, secretary of the league, released the first issue of her periodical entitled *The Fundamentalist.* Shortly thereafter, the league's new president, McKendree Long, a Presbyterian minister, launched a whirlwind speaking tour of the state, and the organization's chief lobbyist, Thomas C. Bowie, a veteran Democratic politician from West Jefferson, prepared for the opening

[32] *The Charlotte Observer,* July 5, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News,* June 4, 14, 1926; Shipley, *The War on Modern Science,* 97-98.

[33] *The News and Observer,* June 16, 1926; *The Statesville Landmark,* November 22, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News,* June 15, 1926.

of the legislature.[34] When the General Assembly convened in January, 1927, the league possessed petitions bearing over 10,000 names to support its antievolution bill which Poole introduced after consulting Bowie and Turlington. League spokesmen mustered considerable eloquence in an attempt to persuade the House Committee on Education to give the bill a favorable report. But their pleas fell on deaf ears; a reshuffling of the committee membership since 1925 left the fundamentalists hopelessly outnumbered. When the committee rejected Poole's bill by a vote of 25 to 11, its legislative managers accepted defeat without attempting to get the measure before the House on a minority report.[35]

The majority of North Carolinians during the 1920's undoubtedly subscribed to a fundamentalist theology in which there was no place for a belief in evolution. Yet, these same North Carolinians refused to heed the advice of those who prescribed an antievolution law as a remedy for "modern infidelity." The explanation in part lay in the fact that most North Carolinians were passive fundamentalists. Although anguished by the march of secularism, they remained receptive to the moderating influence of William Louis Poteat, Harry Chase, and other opponents of legislation designed to restrict freedom of thought and teaching. Their fundamentalism was far more flexible and spacious than that of the militant minority. The failure of the antievolutionists in North Carolina resulted not so much from public hostility to their beliefs as from aversion to their tactics. The shrillness of their clamor and their inclination to tamper with such principles as religious liberty and the separation of church and state seemed more dangerous than the infidelity which they claimed to be battling. Noncombative fundamentalists became disenchanted with the antievolution movement in the same degree to which it exhibited extremism. And after 1925 the antievolutionist zealots hastened their isolation by their extremist tendencies and ultimately sealed the doom of their movement by their sensationalism and intemperance.[36]

[34] *The News and Observer*, December 10, 31, 1926; *The Statesville Landmark*, December 13, 30, 1926; *The Goldsboro News*, December 11, 1926; *The Fundamentalist*, I (December 9, 1926), 1-10.

[35] *The News and Observer*, January 26, 1926. The original of the Poole Bill of 1927, with the minority report attached, is in the Legislative Papers of 1927, Records Center, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[36] For a provocative essay see Gerald W. Johnson, "The Religious Refugee," *The Century Magazine*, III (February, 1926), 399-404.

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF BREVET MAJOR GENERAL SICKLES

By James Roy Morrill III*

During the months immediately following the end of the war, North Carolina made steady progress under presidential reconstruction toward the restoration of normal relations with the Union.[1] The President's program was generally popular with the people of the state, who desired the quick completion of reconstruction. Johnson's appointment of William Woods Holden as provisional Governor in May, 1865, however, was not popular, and injected a divisive element into North Carolina politics. Holden, a former Democrat and secessionist who had become converted to unionism during the war, had led a long and active political career which had earned him many enemies, especially among pre-war Whigs. In the gubernatorial election of October, 1865, the anti-Holden elements pitted Jonathan Worth, a former Whig and a unionist, against the provisional incumbent. Defeated in the election and without a political future under existing circumstances, Holden in April, 1866, began to advocate congressional control of reconstruction. In January, 1867, he adopted the principle of universal Negro suffrage. Holden's faction, which in March, 1867, became the Republican party of North Carolina, claimed that the state was in the hands of unreconstructed rebels who sought to persecute Negroes and true loyalists. The Worth forces bitterly attacked Holden's advocacy of congressional reconstruction and heatedly denied that the state administration intended harm to any group. Maintaining that most consistent unionists supported the Worth government, anti-Holdenites, of whatever former party or beliefs, condemned radicalism and began to refer to themselves as conservative men who desired only reconstruction and

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[1] For an account of events in North Carolina during presidential reconstruction, see J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company [Number 114 of Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 605 studies, 1897-1962] 1914), 106-206, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Reconstruction.*

recovery. With the inauguration of congressional reconstruction neither desire was to be quickly realized.

The bill entitled "An Act to Provide for the More Efficient Government of the Rebel States," which became law on March 2, 1867, over the executive veto, terminated presidential reconstruction and initiated the congressional program. The act of March 2, which was supplemented by three later acts, fundamentally altered the status of the southern states by providing that the unreconstructed states be grouped into five military districts; that the President assign a general officer of the United States Army as commander of each district; that the commanders maintain the peace and protect the personal and property rights of individuals within the districts, using United States troops and military tribunals if necessary; that the existing state governments be provisional in nature and subject to modification or abolishment by the authority of the United States; and that a prescribed program be followed by each state in order to qualify its congressmen for readmission to Congress. The initial steps of the required program were as follows: that a state constitution consistent with the Constitution of the United States be formed by the people of each state, acting through a convention elected by the male citizens of the state, twenty-one years or older, of whatever race, color, or previous condition, who had been resident in the state for at least a year, except those persons disfranchised for rebellion or for felony; and that the resulting state constitution extend the suffrage on the same basis as prescribed for the election of delegates to the constitutional convention.[2]

North Carolina conservatives received the reconstruction act with a mixture of despair and resignation. Faced with the twin disasters of Negro suffrage and military rule, the public realized that active resistance to the will of Congress was impossible. The people believed that the act was manifestly unconstitutional, but they held little hope in the Supreme Court of the United States. The only possible course was acceptance of the South's fate. If conservatives agreed that submission was a necessity, they were divided over whether positive co-operation with congressional reconstruction was wise or consistent with honor. One element argued that co-operation was judicious and prudent, for conservatives could thereby control the constitutional convention and prevent an ultra-radical constitution. Another faction, however, insisted that co-operation with Congress would be an endorsement of the South's humiliation and, therefore, dishonorable

[2] The further provisions of the act of March 2, 1867, are not herein given for they have no direct bearing on the subject of this paper.

and unthinkable. The existence of the latter faction provided radicals with the accusation, often voiced, that conservatives sought to obstruct the progress of reconstruction. Regardless of their differences over the question of co-operation, most North Carolinians anticipated military rule with considerable, and understandable, apprehension.[3]

It was realized that the district commander's personality and views would greatly influence the circumstances of reconstruction.[4] A benevolent attitude toward the South would do much to ameliorate conditions, while a vindictive spirit would compound the state's misfortune. The announcement of the commander's name was awaited, therefore, with avid interest. Conservative newspapers expressed confidence that the commanding general to be appointed would be magnanimous and just in his relations with North Carolina.[5] Although military government was considered inherently objectionable, it was viewed in some quarters as a bulwark against the greater evil of radical rule.[6] Naturally anxious about the future, nevertheless, conservatives suggested that a wise district commander would allow the state's excellent civil machinery to function with a minimum of interference.[7]

The appointment of Brevet Major General Daniel E. Sickles as commander of the Second Military District[8] could not have surprised many persons, for Sickles had served during presidential reconstruction as commander of the department which had consisted of North Carolina and South Carolina. Although North Carolinians were thus generally familiar with his post-war record, his career prior to 1865

[3] For North Carolina's reaction to the reconstruction act and for the differing attitudes toward co-operation with it, see the March, 1867, issues of the following newspapers: *The Daily Sentinel* (Raleigh), hereinafter cited as *Sentinel; Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), hereinafter cited as *Carolina Watchman; The Old North State* (Salisbury), hereinafter cited as *Old North State.* See also the March, 1867, correspondence of Graham and Worth in William Alexander Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers, and J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1909), hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Worth.*

[4] *Sentinel,* March 12, 1867; *Old North State,* March 14, 1867; David L. Swain to Thomas Ruffin, March 19, 1867, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 4 volumes, 1918-1920), IV, 174.

[5] *Sentinel,* March 12, 1867; *Old North State,* March 14, 1867.

[6] *Sentinel,* March 7, 12, July 9, 1867.

[7] *Old North State,* March 14, 1867; David L. Swain to William Alexander Graham, March 15, 1867, Graham Papers. Worth did not hesitate to suggest this policy to the district commander. See Jonathan Worth to H. J. Harris, April 30, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth,* II, 940.

[8] The Second Military District consisted of North Carolina and South Carolina with headquarters originally set at Columbia but quickly changed to Charleston, South Carolina. R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina* (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, Inc. 4 volumes, 1929), II, 285.

and his personal convictions were less well known.[9] A lawyer who had risen through Tammany Hall to the New York state legislature and, in 1856, to the United States House of Representatives, Sickles had become an influential Washington personality and a confidant of President James Buchanan.[10] Consistently supporting the latter's pro-southern administration, Sickles had defended the right of secession and had been reluctantly willing to see the southern states depart in peace. The South's resorting to violence, however, had terminated his sympathy with that section and had made him an active participant in the war. Apparently having no moral convictions on the question of slavery, Sickles had viewed the war as a struggle to preserve the Union rather than to alter institutions. He had risen steadily to the position of corps commander, only to have his active military career ended by the loss of a leg at Gettysburg. Shortly after that battle he had begun to urge "magnanimity and justice and conciliation" toward the South, which, he foresaw, was doomed to ultimate defeat. Insisting that the war effort should be pushed until the rebellion was crushed, he had voted as a Lincoln Democrat in the presidential election of 1864. In 1865, following the end of the war, Sickles had served as administrator for South Carolina. As department commander during 1866, he had understood southern fear of Negro domination but had grown impatient at white intransigence toward the Negroes. Indeed, patience and forbearance were not prominent among Sickles' attributes. A strong-minded individual, he sincerely desired to help the people of the South, but he sometimes lacked the tact and restraint to make his policies clear and acceptable to a sensitive and uneasy population. Reaction to his appointment as district commander was therefore mixed;[11] many persons undoubtedly suspended judgment until they could see how Sickles would wield the increased authority granted by the congressional reconstruction program.

The General's popularity among the white citizenry increased considerably as a result of the speech which he delivered upon his arrival at Charleston, the district headquarters. Addressing his remarks particularly to the colored populace, Sickles admonished the Negroes to seek honest employment and to avoid those persons who might

[9] *Sentinel*, March 15, 1867. The best biography of Sickles is W. A. Swanberg, *Sickles the Incredible* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), hereinafter cited as Swanburg, *Sickles the Incredible*.

[10] Sickles' political future was shattered in 1859, however, when after killing his wife's lover, he created a scandal by accepting his faithless mate back into his home. Swanburg, *Sickles the Incredible*, 47-76.

[11] *Sentinel*, March 15, 1867.

desire to create racial tensions. To allay fears of a pro-radical military rule, he promised to be impartial and nonpartisan in his administration of the district.[12] Encouraged and relieved by the speech, conservative newspapers called for obedience to and co-operation with the military authorities.[13]

If Sickles made a favorable first impression, his General Orders No. 1 provoked a mixed response.[14] Emphasizing that the provisional governments of North Carolina and South Carolina were subject in all respects to the authority of the United States, the order declared that all present civil officials were to remain in office. It provided further that all local laws not in conflict with federal laws or regulations were to remain in effect. These provisions relieved conservative worries that the Worth administration might be abolished or the state laws radically altered. Other provisions of the order, however, evidenced a disturbing readiness to intervene in state affairs. If any civil official should fail to do his duty or if any state court should fail to provide justice, post commanders were to inform district headquarters. Post commanders were to arrest and try by military commission any offender against whom civil authorities failed or refused to act. These and other features of General Orders No. 1 established the pattern for Sickles' entire administration, for they reflected the General's conviction that he was empowered by the reconstruction act with all the authority of the United States. He considered himself to be not merely the executor of Congress' will, but, as a representative of that body, an official actually invested with the absolute authority of Congress. Conscientiously adhering to this interpretation—an interpretation to be challenged by both state and national officials—Sickles did not doubt that he could intervene in matters outside the reconstruction process itself.

Sickles' comprehensive interpretation of his authority can be illustrated by a number of his general and special orders. General Orders No. 3, for example, established a quarantine on port cities in order to prevent the spreading of certain diseases.[15] A more disagreeable indication of his concern for the public welfare was the order that, in view of the serious grain shortage, no distilled spirits should be pro-

[12] *Old North State,* April 9, 1867, quoting the *Charleston Evening News* (South Carolina).

[13] *Sentinel,* April 2, 4, 1867; *Carolina Watchman,* April 1, 1867; *Old North State,* April 9, 1867, quoting the *Charlotte Times.*

[14] For a copy of General Orders No. 1 see *Carolina Watchman,* April 1, 1867; Senate Executive Document No. 14, Fortieth Congress, First Session, 60-61, hereinafter cited as *Senate Executive Document No. 14.*

[15] *House Executive Document No. 342,* Fortieth Congress, Second Session, 36-37, hereinafter cited as *House Executive Document No. 342.*

duced within the district.[16] This was the kind of paternalism the state could do without, and the *Carolina Watchman* doubtless spoke for many indignant imbibers and manufacturers when it called Sickles an absolute despot who presumptuously fancied himself the moral guardian of the people.[17]

Two general orders, involving more serious consequences and implications, stimulated especially intense resentment and controversy. Stating that the collection of debts and the foreclosing of mortgages were worsening an already depressed economy, Sickles announced in General Orders No. 10 that no private debts incurred between December 19, 1860 (the date of South Carolina's secession), and May 15, 1865, would be collected; that no debts incurred prior to December 19, 1860, would be collected for a period of 12 months; and that no mortgages would be foreclosed for a period of 12 months.[18] These and other provisions of General Orders No. 10 marked direct intervention in the financial life of the state and dramatically exemplified Sickles' sweeping interpretation of the reconstruction act. Militant objection to the order quickly appeared. In addition to the protests that the commander had exceeded his powers, much criticism sprang from the economic implications. While the order undoubtedly pleased the inarticulate debtor class, influential creditors were thoroughly angered by what they felt was unwarranted and illegal interference in economic matters. An additional irritant was the date December 19, 1860, for North Carolina had not seceded until May 20, 1861.

General Orders No. 10 stirred a tempest and proved to be the most fateful of Sickles' orders, but the most hated of his decrees was General Orders No. 32, which had two highly objectionable provisions.[19] First, all citizens who had been assessed for taxes and who had paid taxes for the current year were declared eligible for jury duty, and it was proclaimed that such persons should be added to the jury lists. This provision reflected the General's sincere conviction that all citizens who met society's obligations were entitled to the same rights as the most favored citizens.[20] A second provision of General Orders No. 32 prohibited discrimination in facilities of public conveyance, includ-

[16] *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 69-70.
[17] *Carolina Watchman*, June 17, 1867.
[18] *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 62-65. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 223, states that General Orders No. 10 was issued in response to the pleas of certain South Carolinians.
[19] *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 70-71.
[20] Jonathan Worth to Mills L. Eure, June 29, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 988. Later, in August, a state court ruled that Negro freeholders were entitled to jury duty. See *Sentinel*, August 30, 1867.

ing railways, highways, and street and waterway transportation.[21]

Both features aroused strong resentment among the white population. The presence of Negroes on juries seemed a travesty upon the principle of impartial and intelligent justice.[22] The Raleigh *Sentinel* emphasized the North Carolina requirement that jury members be competent, and, some months later, made it abundantly clear that Negroes, in the editor's judgment, had failed to meet that qualification:

> We will guarantee that no intelligent lawyer of . . . the city of Boston could contemplate the spectacle, daily presented in our Courts, of negroes fresh from the corn-field and the hovel filling our jury-boxes, and sitting in judgment upon the most complicated issues of fact and the most vexed problems of law, without shuddering.[23]

The criticism of the jury provision was exceeded only by the condemnation of the transportation section of General Orders No. 32. Conservatives vehemently protested that the social integration of the races was not required by Congress and that the provision was therefore completely unwarranted and illegal.[24] The specter of enforced integration increased the conservative emphasis upon racial differences and accelerated the attack upon the principle of democracy—policies already intensified by the growing allegiance of the Negroes to the Republican party of North Carolina.

General Sickles' intervention in the state's judicial system proved to be a most sensitive issue and the one about which the entire question of civil-military relations came largely to turn. General Orders No. 1, it will be recalled, had allowed North Carolina's civil and criminal courts to continue functioning, but the order had made it clear that the district commander was prepared to intervene or overrule as he deemed fit. Later orders specified the procedure by which the state's judicial system became completely and directly accountable to district headquarters.[25] Civil law officials were required, among other things, to report to the appropriate provost marshal all major crimes and the efforts being made to secure justice. At the other end of the justice process, district headquarters possessed appellate jurisdiction over all criminal courts within the district.

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[21] At least one conviction took place under this provision. See General Orders No. 74, *House Executive Document No. 342*, 54-55.

[22] *Sentinel*, June 6, 1867; *Carolina Watchman*, June 17, 1867; Jonathan Worth to H. H. Helper, June 13, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 982-983.

[23] *Sentinel*, October 7, 1867.

[24] *Sentinel*, October 11, 1867.

[25] The chief order dealing with the relations between civil law enforcement and military is General Orders No. 34, *House Executive Document No. 342*, 47-48.

Exercising its appellate jurisdiction, district headquarters reviewed a number of North Carolina criminal convictions, some being upheld, others commuted, and still others reversed. Conservatives bitterly complained of excessive military interference and denounced each appellate decision as the act of an absolute despot. The protests grew louder when Sickles altered the structure and personnel of the state court system. Apparently convinced by reports from his subordinates that certain courts might be unjust toward Negroes, he ordered investigations which occasionally resulted in the removal of individual judges or the abolition of particular courts. The most serious such instance concerning North Carolina involved disputes at Fayetteville. There Sickles abolished the existing court and established a "provost court," consisting of three local men, which had jurisdiction over five surrounding counties. The post commander, moreover, could decide if any case should be tried by the military authorities.[26] The establishment of the court created widespread alarm and resentment,[27] which increased with the military arrest of a prominent Fayetteville resident, Duncan McRae, on the charge of inciting a mob to kill a Negro. McRae claimed to have been arrested without due process of law, and the affair stimulated further outcries against arbitrary military rule.[28]

While an examination of the records establishes that military intervention in the state court system was not as severe as conservative lamentations would indicate, it should be re-emphasized that many individuals denied that Sickles had the authority to intervene at all. One prominent state judge, Augustus S. Merrimon, resigned his office because he could not accept the General's orders as law higher than North Carolina law.[29] His resignation illustrates the frustration among the state's jurists and the conflict over the extent of the commander's authority.

Direct military intervention in state affairs was not limited to judicial matters. Acting upon the reports and recommendations of subordinates, Sickles set aside several "irregular" municipal elections, postponed a number of other town elections, and appointed to or re-

[26] Special Orders No. 55, *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 84-86.

[27] Jonathan Worth to H. H. Helper, June 13, 1867; Jonathan Worth to John H. Wheeler, October 31, 1867; Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 983, 1,070.

[28] For details of the case, see Jonathan Worth to General Nelson A. Miles, May 18, 1867; Jonathan Worth to H. H. Helper, June 13, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 958, 982-983.

[29] See Jonathan Worth to James L. Orr, July 22, 1867; Jonathan Worth to A. S. Merrimon, August 1, 1867; Jonathan Worth to W. P. Bynum, August 1, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 1,007-1,008, 1,011, 1,012-1,013. See also, William Alexander Graham to David L. Swain, July 20, 1867, David L. Swain Papers, Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

moved from certain normally-elective offices a number of specific individuals.[30] Before taking any such action, the district commander always investigated local conditions, and he continually justified his subsequent orders on the basis of necessity or justice.[31] His tampering with elections and especially his spot removals and appointments undoubtedly struck many people, however, as the deeds of an arbitrary dictator.

From Charleston, then, emanated numerous orders which directly involved the military authority in the social, economic, legal, and political life of North Carolina. Conservatives noted wryly that Sickles was obviously enjoying himself, and one newspaper complained that the excessive number of orders would soon constitute a new code of laws for the state.[32] If conservatives protested that many orders had nothing to do with the process of reconstruction, they criticized some of the General's actions concerning that process. As the date for registration of voters approached, Sickles chose the registrars from a list provided by the Freedmen's Bureau—a list containing some Negroes and some white Republicans—rather than from one submitted by Governor Worth. Conservatives charged that certain registrars were incompetent or ineligible for the position. When in late August district headquarters published an interpretation of what categories of persons were disfranchised by the reconstruction acts,[33] conservatives complained that the circular appeared too late to restrain the abusive interpretations of individual registrars.[34] It was feared, moreover, that the provision establishing several registration points within the same registration district would encourage individual Republicans to register and vote at each point.[35] During the registration period, conservatives criticized the military authorities for not guarding against the fraudulent registration of ineligible Negroes.

Of fundamental importance to the course of reconstruction in North Carolina was the personal and official relationship between General

[30] General Orders No. 5 required military subordinates to report any approaching local elections required by law and to notify district headquarters of any incumbents who were ineligible for office under the Reconstruction Act. See *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 62. For specific suspensions of elections and for removals and appointments see Special Orders No. 6, No. 15, No. 28, No. 37, No. 38, No. 45, No. 55, No. 71, and *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 75-76, 77-78, 79-80, 80-81, 81, 82, 84-86, 89-90.

[31] Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 227, states that all removals and appointments were made in accord with an agreement between Sickles and Worth that no elections be held until after the meeting of the constitutional convention. If such an agreement existed at first, Worth certainly did come to deny that Sickles possessed a general removal and appointment power.

[32] *Old North State*, June 8, 1867.

[33] Circular dated August 27, 1867, *House Executive Document No. 342*, 58-60.

[34] *Sentinel*, September 17, 1867.

[35] See General Orders No. 18, *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 66-68.

Sickles and Governor Worth. Striving to maintain the dignity and functions of the state government, yet aware that his administration could be modified or abolished at any time, Worth found his position a difficult and frustrating one. Personally convinced that the reconstruction act was unconstitutional, but feeling bound officially to consider it valid,[36] the Governor had decided not to resign because of his dilemma, but to remain in office for the sake of administrative continuity and the welfare of the state.[37] Worth pledged himself to co-operate with the district commander in the task of reconstruction,[38] but fundamental and harmonious co-operation between the two men was impossible because of their conflicting interpretations of the commander's authority. Quickly challenging Sickles' broad construction, the Governor became the champion of those persons who maintained that the district commander could not independently exercise congressional authority but could only execute the stated will of Congress and act to preserve the peace and protect personal and property rights. The state government, Worth argued, was not the tool of the military will, but rather the proper agency of civil government subject to the laws of North Carolina.[39] Distressed by what he considered an unwarranted assumption of power, the Governor denied that Sickles had the authority to interfere in the state's court system, to enact social and economic legislation, and to make removals and appointments of state and local officials.[40] The difference of interpretation provided a basis for continuing disagreement in which Worth was inherently at the disadvantage. The Governor's appeals to Charleston for restriction of military intervention in state affairs proved unavailing.[41]

Worth met frustration in his efforts to keep Sickles out of civil affairs and he suffered great anxiety about the reported machinations of North Carolina Republicans. Worth detested the principles and methods of the new state party,[42] and he constantly worried that false accusations by Republicans were undermining the district comman-

[36] Jonathan Worth to B. S. Hedrick, July 9, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 1,000.
[37] Jonathan Worth "to his brother," May 8, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 949.
[38] Jonathan Worth to D. E. Sickles, July 9, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 999.
[39] Jonathan Worth to F. B. Satterthwaite, June 12, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 979.
[40] Jonathan Worth to F. B. Satterthwaite, June 12, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 979.
[41] See Jonathan Worth to R. Strange, May 22, 1867; Jonathan Worth to Thomas C. Fuller, May 26, 1867; Jonathan Worth to John R. Tolar, June 14, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 963, 972-973, 983-984.
[42] Jonathan Worth to James L. Orr, May 3, 1867; Jonathan Worth to Henry T. Clark, May 9, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 943, 950.

der's confidence in him.[43] If any schemes were afoot, there is no evidence that Sickles was influenced by them or that the commander was dissatisfied with the Governor's official actions. That Worth was not removed is itself proof of Sickles' confidence in him, confidence which the records verify.[44] The General undoubtedly knew of Worth's differing interpretation of the commander's authority, but Worth's pledge and policy of co-operation in reconstruction, plus a prudent disinclination to remove an elected governor, sufficed to convince Sickles that no change need or should be made. Denied the comfort of historical perspective, Worth could view the future only with misgivings. Troubled by a lack of direct correspondence from Sickles,[45] perplexed by the General's refusal to interpret his own orders,[46] and convinced that the commander was exceeding the authority granted by the reconstruction act, Worth appealed to President Andrew Johnson for relief from the absolutism emanating from Charleston.[47] The appeal intensified the conflict between the President and Congress and initiated a series of developments which were greatly to affect the military career of General Sickles.

On June 12, 1867, the Attorney General of the United States, Henry Stanbery, representing the views of President Johnson, issued a narrow interpretation of the reconstruction act, an interpretation which challenged the concept that Congress' full authority had been delegated to the district commanders. Stanbery agreed with Worth's position by arguing that the district commanders could take the initiative only to preserve the peace and to protect personal and property rights; in all other respects the commanders were limited to executing the stated will of Congress. Expressly refuting the assumption of absolute authority as reflected in General Orders No. 1 of the Second Military District, the Attorney General challenged also the nature of General Orders No. 10 of the same district. District commanders had no authority, he maintained, to prescribe codes of law for their districts,

[43] See Jonathan Worth to Thomas S. Kenan, May 2, 1867; Jonathan Worth to Luke Blackmer, May 2, 1867; Jonathan Worth to James L. Orr, May 3, 1867; Jonathan Worth to John R. Tolar, June 14, 1867; Jonathan Worth to B. S. Hedrick, July 8, 1867; Jonathan Worth to D. E. Sickles, July 9, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 941, 941-942, 943, 983-984, 997-998, 999-1,000.

[44] D. E. Sickles to U. S. Grant, April 18, 1867, *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 56.

[45] Jonathan Worth to James L. Orr, May 3, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 943. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 222, states that the two men often conferred. If so, little correspondence has survived, and many of Worth's letters mention or decry a lack of direct communication with Sickles.

[46] Jonathan Worth to D. F. Caldwell, May 6, 1867; Jonathan Worth to Mills L. Eure, June 29, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 947, 989.

[47] Jonathan Worth to F. B. Satterthwaite, June 12, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 979.

nor to exercise general powers of removal and appointment. Governor Worth's interpretation had found expression at the national level.

Upon the publication of the Attorney General's opinion, General Sickles informed General Ulysses S. Grant that the power of removal and appointment was essential to the preservation of peace and the completion of reconstruction.[48] Realizing that Stanbery had spoken for the President, Sickles asked to be relieved of command and requested a board of inquiry to investigate his actions as commander of the Second Military District.[49] President Johnson refused to honor either request and ordered Sickles to remain at his post in Charleston.[50] As observers fully realized,[51] the issue was really between the President and Congress, not Johnson and Sickles.

The Congress reacted quickly to the presidential challenge. At a special July session, a second supplement to the reconstruction act was passed over the executive veto. The supplement declared that the true intent and meaning of the first act had been to declare the provisional governments subject in all respects to the respective district commanders. Affirming that the original act had given the commanders the power of removal and appointment, the supplement confirmed all past actions in that regard. It provided also that no district commander could be bound by an opinion of any civil official of the United States.

The July supplement effectively consolidated power in the hands of Congress and the military, but in August the President chose to renew the struggle. At Wilmington a military subordinate interposed Sickles' General Orders No. 10 against the execution of a debt judgment rendered by a Circuit Court of the United States. The subordinate thus interpreted General Orders No. 10 as applying not only to state courts, but also to United States courts within the district. President Johnson thereupon instructed the Attorney General that no military order could be issued and enforced in conflict with the rulings of courts of the United States. General Sickles, who felt honor bound to follow his own interpretation of the reconstruction acts, endorsed the action of his subordinate, refused to modify or revoke General Orders No. 10, and continued to insist upon the commander's complete authority over the district. An impasse had been reached. With his own sphere of effective action severely limited by the dominance of

[48] D. E. Sickles to U. S. Grant, June 17, 1867 (telegram), *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 58.

[49] D. E. Sickles to Adjutant General of the Army, June 19, 1867 (telegram), *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 59.

[50] War Department to D. E. Sickles, June 21, 1867 (telegram), *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 59-60.

[51] *Sentinel*, August 16, 1867.

Congress, the President decided to register his protest in the only manner possible. On August 26, 1867, he relieved General Sickles of his duties as commander of the Second Military District.[52]

North Carolinians followed with interest and apprehension the conflict involving General Sickles, President Johnson, and Congress. When the Attorney General issued his narrow interpretation, the editor of the *Carolina Watchman* did not doubt that the district commanders would circumvent the interpretation.[53] When Sickles subsequently requested his own removal and an investigation, the Raleigh *Sentinel* regretted to see the General take such action. While the paper acknowledged that it disagreed with the wisdom and necessity of some of his orders and with his interpretation of his authority, the *Sentinel* expressed confidence in his motives and in his sincere desire for peace and stability.[54] Emphasizing that the district could have a commander far less satisfactory than Sickles, the same paper hoped that the General would consider withdrawing his request to be relieved.[55] It was realized, however, that Sickles would resign before he would yield on what he considered to be his duty.[56]

In the opinion of the state leaders, the passage of the July supplement to the reconstruction act settled the question of the scope of the district commander's authority. Governor Worth ceased to protest against Sickles' broad interpretation, and the *Sentinel* recognized that Congress' victory was complete.[57] When in August the President chose to challenge the application of General Orders No. 10 to a Circuit Court of the United States, the *Sentinel* hoped that the issue might go to the Supreme Court, but feared that the conflict might lead to the removal of Sickles and to the further repression of the South.[58]

North Carolina's reaction to the President's removal of Sickles was a mixed one. The *Wilmington Journal* endorsed the move as an act "to maintain the validity of the Constitution." [59] On the other hand, the *Sentinel,* while refusing to consider endorsing Sickles' administration,[60] regretted the loss of a conscientious commander of good motives and considerable experience who, if occasionally misguided, had acted according to his best lights.[61] The *Salisbury Banner,* which

[52] For a running account of the conflict of interpretation see the August, 1867, issues of the Raleigh *Sentinel.*
[53] *Carolina Watchman,* June 24, 1867.
[54] *Sentinel,* June 21, 1867.
[55] *Sentinel,* June 21, 1867.
[56] *Sentinel,* August 26, 1867.
[57] *Sentinel,* July 5, 10, August 16, 26, 1867.
[58] *Sentinel,* August 26, 29, 30, 1867.
[59] *Carolina Watchman,* September 16, 1867, quoting the *Wilmington Journal.*
[60] *Sentinel,* September 26, 1867. The suggestion came from South Carolina.
[61] *Sentinel,* August 29, 30, 1867.

had been highly critical of Sickles and military government in general, admitted that the General had been moderate considering what he might have done.[62] Even Governor Worth, some weeks after Sickles' departure, acknowledged that the latter had been magnanimous and statesmanlike in many respects, and had held southern radicals in contempt.[63]

If the passing of a few weeks sufficed to cool Worth's resentment and to enable him to judge Sickles more favorably, the dispassionate evaluation of a later century establishes the General as a capable, humane, and impartial—if somewhat naive and headstrong—administrator. Certainly not a vindictive person, he sought to execute congressional reconstruction and to promote the general welfare of the people of the district. It was in attempting to fulfill the latter objectives that his broad interpretation of his authority proved offensive. General Orders No. 32 was designed to further social equality, a goal the white citizenry was hesitant to seek. Because Sickles sought the social advancement of the Negroes, and because he was a radical by conviction,[64] conservatives feared and suspected that he was a radical politically. He remained impartial, however, toward all political factions.[65]

Many charges were made that the district commander's interventions in the state court system were arbitrary and despotic, and that such interference was as unwarranted as it was illegal. It is quite possible, of course, that unjustifiable instances of military intervention occurred, for the administration of two states was a task liable to error. Corrupt or partisan subordinates may have led Sickles into mistakes, as conservatives maintained, but it is equally possible that the investigations preceding any action disclosed the need for military intervention. In any event, the number of such interventions remained small. General Sickles removed few officials, and he rarely tampered with state laws to the extent that he did in General Orders No. 10. Resentment against any interference was, of course, inevitable; the fact that district headquarters was in another state made every act seem all the more despotic and unjustified.

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[62] *Carolina Watchman*, September 16, 1867, quoting the *Salisbury Banner*.

[63] Jonathan Worth to B. G. Worth, October 25, 1867; Jonathan Worth to John H. Wheeler, October 31, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 1,061, 1,071.

[64] That is, Sickles believed that the southern states had reverted to territories and were therefore completely under Congress' authority and jurisdiction. As it has been established, he maintained that Congress' jurisdiction had in turn been delegated to the district commanders by the reconstruction act. See *Sentinel*, August 28, 1867.

[65] This impartiality can be seen, for example, in his appointment of members of both political parties (and both races) as registrars, and by his appeal for a general amnesty for the people of the district. For details of the latter see *Sentinel*, July 12, 1867.

In summary, General Sickles administered impartially and conscientiously in a difficult and delicate situation. He sincerely believed that Congress had complete legislative power over the rebel states, and that that power had been delegated to the district commanders by the reconstruction acts. Although Sickles' social and economic program created frictions which could have been avoided, in the final analysis it was the congressional reconstruction program itself, not Sickles' interpretation or implementation of it, which put a severe strain on the people of North Carolina.

COCKFIGHTING: AN EARLY ENTERTAINMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA

By B. W. C. Roberts*

Cockfighting, the sport that in ancient times was shown to Greek soldiers as a demonstration of courage, was popular in seventeenth-century England when Carolina was being settled. The versatile Sir Walter Raleigh enjoyed a favorable reputation as a cocker.[1] Henry VIII, James I, and Charles II were enthusiastic devotees, but Oliver Cromwell was displeased with the practice.

The first known mention of cockfighting in North Carolina is that in Brickell's *The Natural History of North Carolina,* published in 1737. Brickell, an Edenton physician, observed: "Cock-fighting the North Carolinians greatly admire, which Birds they endeavor to procure from England and Ireland, and to that intent, implore Masters of Ships, and other Trading Persons to supply them."[2] Brickell's mention of the sport suggests that it was prevalent and that it was one of the earliest entertainments.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, which might be called the golden age of cockfighting in North Carolina, the popularity of the sport reached a peak. In 1860 a detailed set of rules for cock-fighting in North Carolina and Virginia was published.[3] There were regional differences in the terminology, practices, and rules of cock-fighting; however, certain procedures became rather widespread.

The season lasted from Thanksgiving Day until July 4.[4] A main consisted of an odd number of cocks, usually ranging from eleven to twenty-one. Each owner or group of owners had to show the decided number of birds between certain weights and be prepared to fight

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[1] Tim Pridgen, *Courage, The Story of Modern Cockfighting* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1938), 87, hereinafter cited as Pridgen, *Modern Cock-fighting.*

[2] John Brickell, *The Natural History of North Carolina* (Dublin, Ireland: Privately printed, 1737), 40.

[3] *Rules of Virginia and North Carolina for Cock-fighting* (Richmond, Virginia: James M. Ford, 1860), 1-12.

[4] W. T. Johnson, *Johnson's Breeders' and Cockers' Guide* (Americus, Georgia: Gammage Print Shop, Third Edition, 1948), 52, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Cockers' Guide.*

the pairs that "fell in" or matched weights. In some instances several birds were pitted at once in a tournament or battle royal; they were allowed to fight until one was victorious. All fights or pittings not included in the main were termed hack fights.

The main pit was approximately twenty feet in diameter enclosed by a low fence. Extra pits called drag pits were usually present for drag fights. These were fights transferred from the main pit when the birds were exhausted or nearly dead but continued to break the count, that is, to make a strike before the referee could complete the count. The drag pits made it possible to maintain rapid action in the main pit. A handler could call for a count when his bird had made the last offensive effort and it appeared the opponent could not strike. If the apparently disabled bird failed to strike before the count was completed, he lost; but if he struck during the count the count procedure had to be repeated from the beginning. There were several differences in the count procedure among the various sets of rules.

Basic skills for a cocker included breeding, conditioning, trimming, heeling, and handling. Breeding was of utmost importance. The owners of cocks considered them treasures and bred to improve their strain as if they were thoroughbred horses. A list of outstanding early North Carolina breeds would include the names of the Red Cubans of George W. Means of Concord, the Norwood War Horses of James Norwood of Hillsboro, the Stonefences of Nick Arrington of Nash County, and the Carolina Blues and the Mountain Eagles of W. S. Church of Boonville. North and South Carolina breeders regularly sold cocks to the Chihuahua chieftain of Mexico, Francisco Villa, who was one of the most enthusiastic Mexican cockers since Santa Anna.[5]

The conditioning of a cock was begun long before the day of the main. The bird was subjected to strenuous exercise, sparring, and a rigid diet. For sparring, hots or muffs, which were stiff leather-covered balls like small boxing gloves, were attached over the cock's natural spurs. The other exercises were for building leg and wing muscles and maintaining the proper weight. A cock was considered a candidate for fighting after he was one to two years old and had been trained.

Trimming or dubbing was considered a very important art by cockers. Usually the tail was cut to approximately one-third of its natural length; the hackle and rump feathers were shortened; and the wings were trimmed at a slope. Even the comb was cut in order to present a smaller target to an attacker. Also important were the selection, the heeling or attaching, and peaking of the gaffs. These arts, considered

[5] Pridgen, *Modern Cockfighting*, 197-198.



Trimming, an important art. Reproduced from May, 1857, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine.*

valuable secrets, were handed down from one generation to another but seldom mentioned beyond the family circle.

Betting, a normal part of every cockfight, generally took three forms. The entrance fees paid by the cockers made up a purse which went to the winner of the main or for those that placed. Usually the cockers and spectators wagered on the individual battles or the main. Before the main began, the names of each cocker or group of cockers were auctioned to the spectators to form another purse which was given to the high bidder on the winning cocker.

The following is an account of a typical cockfight. On the day of the main, the roads leading to the town, plantation, or tavern where the cock pit was located were crowded with carriages, horses, and men of all classes and occupations in a jolly mood. Symbols of strength and vitality, the beautiful gamecocks with impressive, glossy feathers of sundry shades of color were transported in cages or burlap bags. After having been paired according to weight, the splendid creatures were carried to the center of the pit by the pitters, or handlers, to bill. In the billing, or opening phase of the fight, the cocks were allowed

to antagonize each other by pecking. Steel-pointed, razor-sharp gaffs, varying in length from an inch-and-a-quarter to over three inches, were fastened at the cocks' shanks. Then the pitters, who were not allowed to place their hands under the birds, held them behind the lines which were six feet apart. After the referee yelled "Ready-y-y" and "Pit," the cocks were released. The birds were not touched again by the handlers except when the referee cried "Handle!" The crowd, eager to see, shoved and shouted as the birds were released. The fight that followed was as savage as can be imagined. The betters, some a bit intoxicated, were uproarious; and their noise excited the gamecocks even more. The cocks fought vigorously and admirably as the handlers watched silently, ready to assist their respective birds swiftly when permissible. The birds fluttered their wings and met about two feet above the ground striking rapidly. The fight was of short duration, and the handler grabbed the victor and bathed his wounds with alcohol. Before the betters could settle their affairs, the next pitting was underway.

The sport gained popularity in various sections of the state. The first known club organized in North Carolina for the purpose of conducting cockfights, as well as horse races, was the Wilmington Jockey Club which held its first meeting November 26, 1774.[6] A letter was sent to the members of the club to inform them of the efforts of the Continental Congress to "discountenance and discourage every species of extravagence and dissipation, and especially all horse racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shows and plays and other expensive diversions and entertainments." [7]

Another account of life at Wilmington by Peter du Bois relates "I live very much retired for want of a social set, who will drink claret and smoke tobacco till four in the morning; the gentlemen of this town [could] be so if they pleased, but an intolerable itch for gaming prevails in all companies." [8]

In 1787, Elkanah Watson, who owned a plantation on the Chowan River, "accompanied a prominent planter at his urgent solicitation, to attend a cock-fight in Hampton County, Virginia, a distance of twenty miles." [9]

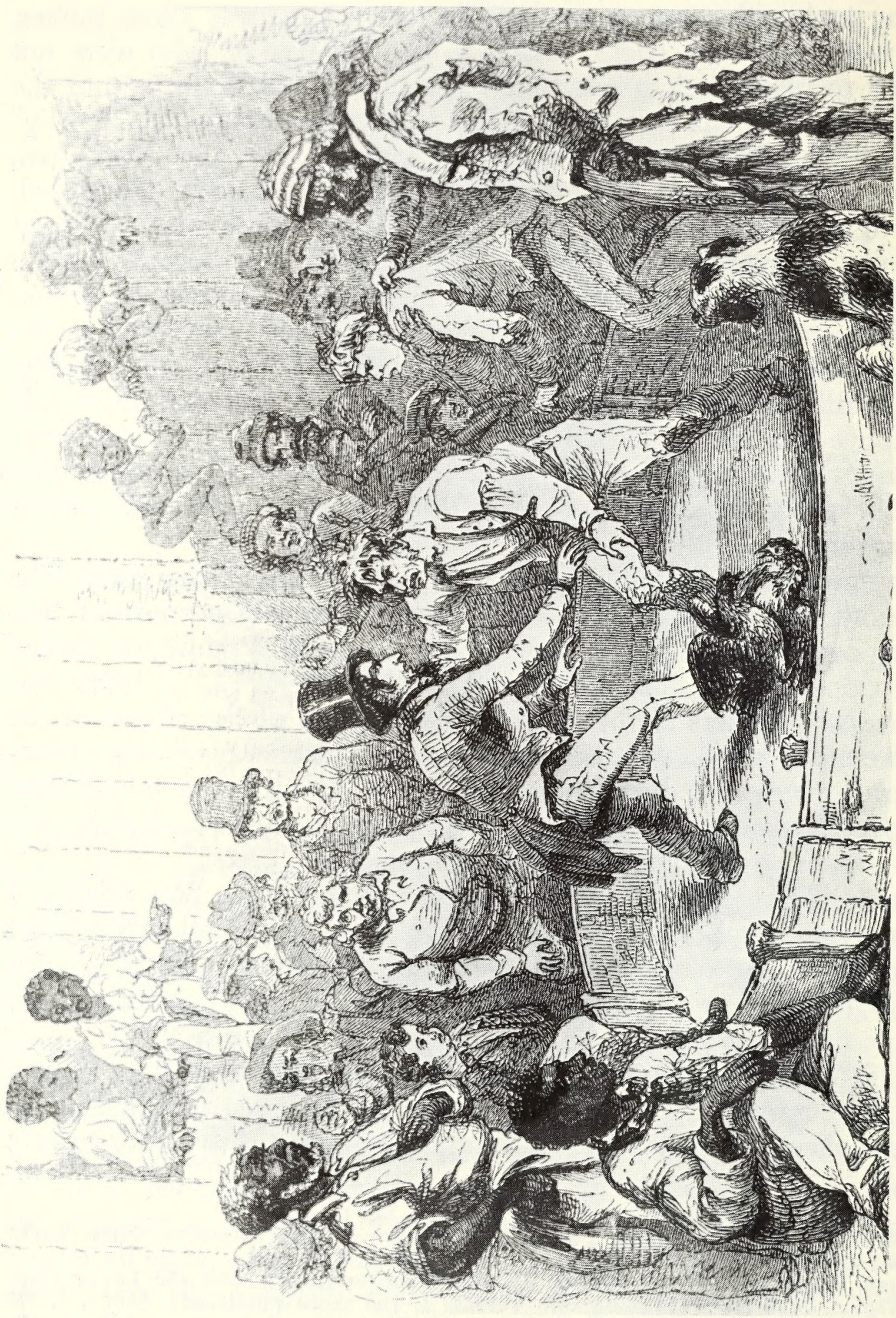
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[6] Andrew P. O'Conor, *Forty Years With Fighting Cocks* (Goshen, New York: Privately printed, 1929), 82.

[7] Alfred Moore Waddell, *A History of New Hanover County and the Lower Cape Fear Region, 1723-1800* (Wilmington: Volume I, [no more published], 1909), I, 88.

[8] Charles M. Andrews, *Colonial Folkways, A Chronicle of American Life in the Reign of the Georges* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, Textbook Edition, 1921), 111.

[9] Winslow C. Watson (ed.), *Men and Times of the Revolution: Memoirs of Elkanah Watson* (New York: Dana and Company, 1856), 267.



A typical cockfight. Reproduced from May, 1857, issue of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine.*

A letter written in 1797 described the excitement in Halifax over a future cockfight. In these contests, "the gentlemen in town fight against those of the country, otherwise it is the Longs against the Alstons." [10] A newspaper advertised the event as follows: "The sportsmen of the neighboring counties are informed, that on Monday next, the 8th instant [May], a main of 21 cocks will be fought in this town [Halifax], at which much sport is expected." [11]

An old resident of Salisbury described Andrew Jackson as follows: "He was [about 1785] the most roaring, rollicking, game cocking, cardplaying, mischievous fellow that ever lived in Salisbury." [12] His cocks were greatly admired; in modern times a cock that shows offensive vigor after losing an eye is still termed a "Jackson." [13]

In Pittsboro a three-day main was held in 1806 at Joseph H. Harman's Tavern. The purse held ten dollars for each fight and three hundred dollars for the main.[14]

In 1806 an advertisement posed a "Challenge!" It was announced that

> a number of gentlemen of two of the lower counties of North Carolina, and of two southern counties of Virginia, offer to meet the gentlemen of Maryland at Norfolk, any time between the 20th of March and 18th of July, 1807, to show fifty cocks, and match not less than twenty-one in the main. The main is to be from one to ten thousand dollars, as may be agreed on. Letters with proposals, addressed to Adam Lindsay, near Norfolk, will be forwarded to the challengers, and duly answered.[15]

A resident of Mecklenburg County described cockfighting in that area in the 1840's as "one of the fashionable amusements of the day" and named Tom Black as an expert in respect to chicken mains.[16]

In Warrenton, a town widely known for its festive occasions, cockfighting was thoroughly enjoyed. Some cockfights would last a full week with the event sometimes continuing through the night. Before 1850 pits for cockfights were maintained in Warrenton on a vacant lot adjoining the town commons. One account of early life in Warrenton tells of a Frenchman who bought dead or badly wounded

[10] Henry McGilbert Wagstaff (ed.), *The Harris Letters* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Volume 14, No. 1 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1916), 44. Letter from Charles W. Harris to Dr. Charles Harris, May 8, 1797.
[11] *North-Carolina Journal*, May 1, 1797.
[12] R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1585-1925* (Chicago, Illinois: The American Historical Society, Inc., 4 volumes, 1929), 1, 217.
[13] Johnson, *Cockers' Guide*, 119.
[14] *Raleigh Register*, July 14, 1806.
[15] *North Carolina Journal*, July 28, 1806.
[16] John Brevard Alexander, *Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years* (Charlotte: Ray Printing Company, 1908), 189-190.

roosters from the cock pit and cooked them or resold them to others.[17]

The finest gamecocks in North Carolina were found in Nash County. A country gentleman of considerable wealth, Nick Arrington, was said to have owned several hundred gamecocks in 1856. Numerous accounts have been written concerning his experiences as a cocker; he might be termed the most widely known North Carolina cocker of all time. The noted Stonefence breed was developed successfully by him. He once accepted a challenge from Santa Anna, political leader and President of Mexico (1833-1855). Each refused to travel into the other's country, but they met in ships in the Gulf of Mexico. Nick Arrington returned victorious.[18] Another tale, possibly a second meeting, tells of Arrington's accepting a challenge from Santa Anna. He traveled to Mexico in a covered wagon that was guarded while in Mexico by Santa Anna's soldiers. It was said that he returned from this trip with $16,000 in winnings.[19]

In 1866, during the difficult days following the Civil War, John J. Adcock operated a barroom on the Granville-Orange boundary line where cockfighting was enjoyed.[20]

Interstate mains became annual events. An interstate main of twenty-one cocks between North Carolina and South Carolina was held in Wilmington in 1896. James Norwood of Hillsboro managed the North Carolina entries and Ike Rhodes of Wilmington fed and conditioned them. Seventeen of the twenty-one entries shown were matched according to weight and North Carolina won nine to three, at which time South Carolina had no chance of gaining a majority of wins.[21]

The very famous cock, Jaybird, of the Red Cuban strain was developed by George W. Means of Concord. In 1899 Jaybird distinguished himself in Jesus Maria, Mexico, when he won $10,000 in a single fight.[22] This was the highest recorded winning for a single fight by an American bird. The cock was sold in Mexico for an unknown amount. A fine picture of Jaybird, painted by J. C. Sturzel, a noted Chicago artist, has been widely reproduced.[23] Jaybird reputedly won twenty-

[17] Lizzie Watson Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton, North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1924), 25-39.

[18] Joseph Blount Cheshire, *Nonnulla* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1930), 179-184.

[19] Pridgen, *Modern Cockfighting*, 199-203.

[20] Nannie May Tilley, *The Bright-Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 113.

[21] James Norwood, *War Horses and Crosses* (Durham: The Seeman Printery, 1901), 26-28.

[22] George W. Means, *1903 Red Cuban Games* (Concord: Privately printed, 1903), 11-12, hereinafter cited as Means, *Red Cuban Games.*

[23] Means, *Red Cuban Games*, back cover.

seven fights before being retired by old age.[24]

Apparently cockfighting was popular with college men too, for in 1799 regulations of The University of North Carolina state that "A student shall not . . . keep cocks or fowls of any kind, or for any purpose." [25] Another educational institution also had such a problem. A young man of a prominent family, Andrew L. Jones from Norfolk, Virginia, came to North Carolina to attend Elon College. For several months he kept a gamecock hidden beneath his bed, for he believed that if the authorities knew of this fowl he would surely be expelled. His winnings were growing rapidly when a member of the administration, hearing of the cock, visited his room to make inquiries. Although he did not deny having the cock, young Jones pretended to know nothing about the bird. Just then the cock crowed loudly. For several days young Jones persuasively pleaded with the administration for forgiveness. Jones was very morose over losing his cock, but he was allowed to remain in school.

The early laws of North Carolina provided regulations on gaming. In 1715 the first codification of laws included a law which prohibited "Gameing" on Sundays and certain holidays.[27] In 1749 the English law relating to "deceitful, disorderly, and excessive Gaming" was adopted in North Carolina, but this vague legal attempt did not prove to be successful.[28] A rather lenient attitude toward gambling is noticeable in the law of 1753, which made regulations only against "Persons so playing or betting, any sum above Forty Shillings." [29] For many years afterward the laws relating to cockfighting were enacted and expunged rapidly and were not strictly enforced.[30] After 1815, however, the state press refused to publish advertisements of cock mains, for cockfighting was definitely banned by the church.[31]

Except for some Spanish-speaking countries and several states in the United States (Arkansas, Florida, Kansas, New Mexico, and Virginia), cockfighting has been prohibited by law in the majority of the

[24] Pridgen, *Modern Cockfighting*, 188-189.

[25] Louis R. Wilson and Hugh T. Lefler (eds.), *A Documentary History of the University of North Carolina, 1776-1799*, compiled and annotated by R. D. W. Connor (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2 volumes, 1953), II, 487.

[26] Interview with E. W. Parker, Durham, May 17, 1959.

[27] Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XXIII, 3, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

[28] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 324.

[29] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 250.

[30] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 387, 611, 677, 838; XXIV, 324, 325, 655, 658, 731, 955, 956; XXV, 80, 250.

[31] Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 181.

countries of the world. Generally these prohibitive laws were introduced in the early years of the nineteenth century.

At present the law in North Carolina in respect to cockfighting is as follows:

> If any person shall keep, or use, or in any way be connected with, or interested in the management of, or shall receive money for the admission of any person to, any place kept or used for the purpose of fighting, or baiting any bull, bear, dog, cock or other animal; or if any person shall encourage, or aid or assist therein, or shall permit or suffer any place to be kept or used, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined or imprisoned in the discretion of the court.[32]

A municipality in North Carolina has the power "to prohibit prize fighting, cock and dog fighting," that is, the power to make the state law more specific.[33] In some cases spectators have been arrested and punished. Thus, a sport enjoyed in North Carolina since the Colonial period has been repressed by stringent legal regulations.

[32] *General Statutes of North Carolina*, 14-362.
[33] *General Statutes of North Carolina*, 160-200 (23).

A STATE'S CONCERN FOR THE SOLDIERS' WELFARE: HOW NORTH CAROLINA PROVIDED FOR HER TROOPS DURING THE REVOLUTION

By Paul V. Lutz *

During the Revolution, both Congress and the states did what they could to raise an army, feed, clothe, and adequately care for it. Circumstances often prevented achieving ideal conditions and many soldiers failed to receive sufficient food, clothing or pay; nevertheless, this should not detract from the sincere efforts of the government, be it Congress or the state, to do its best.

Each state had its own method of raising troops and supplying them. Most, if not all, offered some type of bounty to gain recruits. But the reason was twofold: it was an inducement to prospective enlistees, and insured fair and proper treatment of those who were willing to fight for independence.

North Carolina, like her sister states, duly provided for her troops. In fact, in many respects, the Tarheels received greater advantages and rewards for their endeavors than the men serving from most other states. In 1778 she offered a cash bounty of $100 for every man volunteering.[1] This was raised to an annual bounty of $500 in 1780[2] and finally in 1781 to a cash bounty of £3,000.[3]

Besides the aforesaid cash bounties, the act of 1780 provided that at the end of the war, those who had enlisted for the duration should receive "one prime slave between the age of fifteen and thirty years, or the value thereof. . . ."[4] This provision was carried over in the 1781 law. While the offer of a slave may seem unusual, it must be remembered that in 1780 slaves were considered valuable property.

As early as 1778 North Carolina provided an issue of clothing for her troops. This was a definite advantage, as many states required

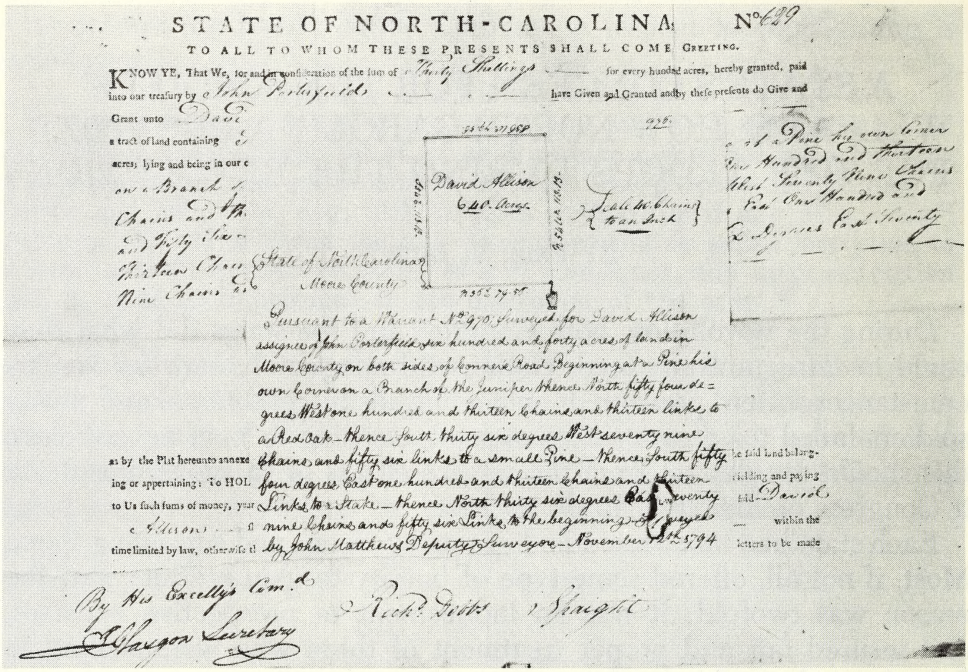
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[1] Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XXIV, 154, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records.*

[2] Clark, *State Records* XXIV, 338.

[3] Clark, *State Records,* XXIV, 368.

[4] Clark, *State Records,* XXIV, 338.


STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME GREETING.

KNOW YE, That We, for and in consideration of the sum of Thirty Shillings for every hundred acres, hereby granted, paid into our treasury by John Porterfield have Given and Granted and by these presents do Give and Grant unto David

a tract of land containing

acres; lying and being in our

on a Branch of

Chains and

and fifty

Nine Chains

David Allison 640 Acres

State of North Carolina
Moore County

Pursuant to a Warrant No 970 Surveyed for David Allison assignee of John Porterfield six hundred and forty acres of land in Moore County on both sides of Commerce Road. Beginning at a Pine his own corner on a Branch of the Juniper thence North fifty four degrees West one hundred and thirteen Chains and thirteen Links to a Red Oak thence South thirty six degrees West seventy nine Chains and fifty six Links to a small Pine thence South fifty four degrees East one hundred and thirteen Chains and thirteen Links to a Stake thence North thirty six degrees East seventy nine Chains and fifty six Links to the beginning Surveyed November 1794 by John Matthews Deputy Surveyor

as by the Plat hereunto annexed

ing or appertaining: To HOL

to Us such sums of money, year

time limited by law, otherwise

By His Excellys Com.d

Grant of 640 acres in North Carolina, plus survey plat. From the collection of Paul V. Lutz.

soldiers to clothe themselves, a practice dating back to the French and Indian Wars. The clothing allotment consisted of "a Pair of Shoes and Stockings, two Shirts, a Hunting Shirt, Waistcoat with Sleeves, a Pair of Breeches and Trousers, a Hat, and a Blanket and Five Yards of Tent Cloth. . . ." [5] Thus, it can be seen that the state was concerned over the welfare of her troops. In addition to his personal comfort, a soldier's morale depended also on the welfare of his family at home. The North Carolina legislature no doubt was aware of this. Most of the citizens tilled the land and the loss of the head of the household, in any event, was a severe blow to the economic well-being of a family. Accordingly, in the aforesaid act of 1781 provision was made for "a bounty of three barrels of corn for his [the soldier's] wife, and two for each of his children who shall be in his family, and shall be under ten years of age, such corn to be delivered annually. . . ." [6]

Besides the cash, clothes, and food, in 1780 the soldier was offered at the end of the war 200 acres of land in addition to the prime slave.[7]

[5] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 155.
[6] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 368.
[7] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 338.

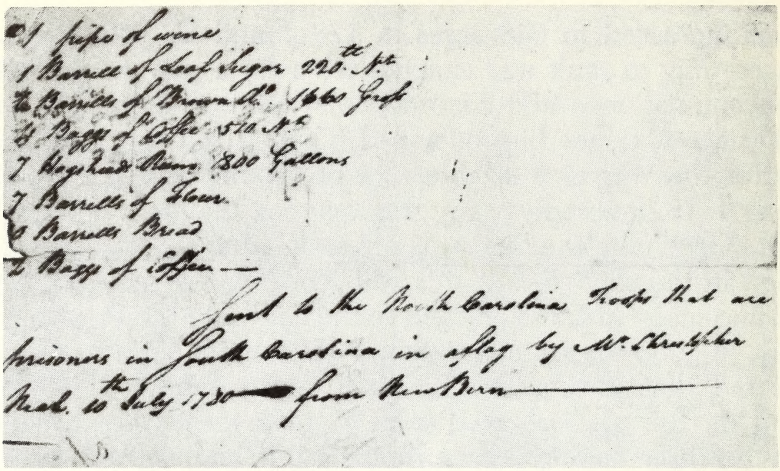
This was increased to 640 acres in 1781[8] and in 1782 a graduated scale according to rank was enacted whereby a private got 640 acres and noncommissioned and commissioned officers received from 1,000 to 12,000 acres, depending on rank.[9] Thus, a soldier could look forward after the war to a sizable plot of ground and a slave to help him farm it. Undoubtedly many soldiers took the cash value in lieu of the slave. Originally the land was nonassignable so long as the person remained in the service, but this restriction was removed by the act of 1782 and many of those entitled to the land sold their rights for cash.

Lastly, in 1783 the state recognized that the paper currency had so depreciated that it was "not worth a Continental." This worked a hardship on the soldiers, particularly since they were usually paid late. By the time they received their pay, it had depreciated considerably. By 1782 it was computed that it took 800 paper dollars to make one dollar in gold or silver. So a law was enacted whereby the value of paper money in relation to specie was computed for each month of the war and the soldier compensated for such depreciation accordingly.[10]

Thus did North Carolina entice and reward her soldiers. As proof that such actions were motivated by a concern for the well-being and comforts of the men, and not merely as a practical means of securing her quota of enlistments, there is evidence of the attention given the citizen-soldier who had the misfortune of being captured by the British. A document listing supplies "sent to the North Carolina Troops that are prisoners in South Carolina" on July 10, 1780, adequately demonstrates the concern the state had for these men. While there was no Red Cross to look after the welfare of prisoners of war in the Revolution, some of its modern functions were nevertheless carried out. The document, believed to have been written by a member of the State Board of War, listed the following items as being furnished:

1 pipe of wine
1 Barrell of Loaf Sugar 220 lb nt.
6 Barrells of Brown d° [sugar] 1660 gross
4 Baggs of Coffee 510 nt.
7 Hogsheads Rum 800 Gallons
7 Barrells of Flour
10 Barrells Bread
2 Baggs of Coffee

[8] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 369.
[9] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 420.
[10] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 485.



List of supplies sent to North Carolina soldiers imprisoned in South Carolina. From the collection of Paul V. Lutz.

On the back is a list of figures totaling 10,900. While there is no explanation for these, from the number it appears they show the cost of the various items, that is, $10,900.[11]

Since it was the duty of the British to supply the necessities of life to prisoners, it can be seen that the state was only furnishing supplements or extras to make life a little more pleasant for these men. The document shows that the devotion of soldier to his country was met by devotion of country to her soldiers. Both were well founded and deserve recognition and remembrance.

[11] Document in the author's collection.

AN INTELLECTUAL ON POLITICS: WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN AND THE IDEAL OF A TWO-PARTY SOUTH

By Bruce L. Clayton *

Today, as the political walls of the "Solid South" seem to be crumbling, the fact that southern political thought since the Civil War has not been as uniform as many politicians and pundits seem to think should be recognized. Dissident voices have cried out for a two-party system for many decades and large pockets of Republican sentiment have dotted Dixie ever since Appomattox. One of the most articulate of the South's advocates of a two-party political structure, William Garrott Brown, was an Alabama-born, Harvard-educated, intellectual.[1] Brown, who lived in North Carolina during the first decade of this century, was a historian and journalist who became convinced that many of his native region's ills stemmed from the fact that it was solidly Democratic. As a tubercular resident in an Asheville sanatorium, he met influential Tarheel Republicans and threw himself into the fight to rebuild that party in North Carolina and in the South.

William Garrott Brown thought the South needed a strong, respectable Republican party to criticize the Democrats and to give the people a chance to exercise their right of choice in elections. Personally, he preferred the Democratic party as represented by Grover Cleveland and other conservative, "sound money" men, before the days when Bryanism was dominant.[2] Yet Brown never abandoned his belief that the South needed two parties. At the time of his death in

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[1] For sketches of Brown's life see John Spencer Bassett, "My Recollections of William Garrott Brown," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, XVI (April, 1917), 97-107; Francis G. Caffey, "William Garrott Brown," in Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index [1928—]), III, 158-159; Wendell H. Stephenson, "William Garrott Brown: Literary Historican and Essayist," *The Journal of Southern History*, XII (August, 1946), 313-344.

[2] For a detailed account of the free-silver controversy, see C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, Volume IX of *A History of the South*, edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press [projected 10 volumes, 1948—], 1951), 235-291, hereinafter cited as Woodward, *Origins of the New South.*

1913, when Woodrow Wilson had been elected president and many southerners were slated for key government positions, Brown was still advocating a strong Republican party in Dixie. Although at first glance it might appear that his motivation was primarily political, Brown's position was rooted in a sense of fairness and idealism and only superficially prompted by political considerations.

Brown lived during an era when the South was politically impotent on the national level.[3] The son of an Alabama banker and merchant, he was born in Marion, Alabama, in 1868. Free public schools existed but he was sent to the local, private preparatory school. At the age of eighteen he was graduated from Howard College in Marion, and after a year of independent study he became a lecturer in English at the Marion Military Institute. After two years in this position, Brown left for graduate study at Harvard in 1889. He took a second B.A. in 1891 and an M.A. in 1892; at each of the three graduations he finished with highest honors.

In 1892 he was placed in charge of the Harvard University Archives. Brown would have liked to enter politics but his hearing, which had been defective since birth, grew worse in the late 1880's, and he decided that library work would allow him to make a living and continue certain historical studies he had begun as a student. He was active in the library until 1901, when he was appointed lecturer in American history. At the end of the year he gave up this position and left Harvard to make his way in the world with his pen. His next 11 years (he died of tuberculosis at the age of forty-five) were spent in traveling and living in the South, and in writing books, articles and political editorials for *Harper's Weekly*. As a writer he gained an enviable reputation. Editors were eager for him to contribute to their magazines and such important political figures as Woodrow Wilson, William Howard Taft, and Theodore Roosevelt commented approvingly on his writings and ideas.[4]

During the closing years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, the South was politically isolated in national

[3] Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 456-459; William Garrott Brown, "The South in National Politics," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, IX (April, 1910), 103-105, hereinafter cited as Brown, "South in National Politics."

[4] For certain editors' views, see Frederick C. Howe to Brown, November 18, 1903; J. Henry Harper to Brown, September 24, 1905; Alexander Jessup to Brown, December 8, 1903; H. W. Mabie to Brown, June 3, 1903; Shailer Mathews to Brown, March 17, 1903, William Garrott Brown Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as Brown Papers; for politicians' comments, see Theodore Roosevelt to Brown, December 5, 1908, in Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 8 volumes, 1952), VI, 1,411; William H. Taft to Brown, November 3, 1910, and Woodrow Wilson to Brown, November 7, 1911, Brown Papers.

affairs. At the time when the Republican party dominated the White House and Congress, the South remained solidly Democratic. Accordingly, southerners did not receive Cabinet positions or Supreme Court appointments. Nor did they serve as chairmen of important committees or gain many key positions in Congress. Although the Democratic party had succeeded in electing Grover Cleveland president in 1884 and 1892, his brand of conservatism had alienated many poor farmers and urban workers below the Mason-Dixon line.[5] Brown was satisfied with Cleveland but felt very deeply about the isolation of the South.

Brown and his fellow observers who pined for a stronger South had watched southern Democracy's wavering between a western alliance with Bryan in 1896 and 1900, and with the eastern conservative, Alton B. Parker in 1904. In 1908 when Bryan, again the Democratic standard-bearer, carried the whole South but only three states in the west, it was apparent that the old sectional alliances and balances of power did not offer the solution to the South's isolation.[6] Brown and others reasoned that if the southern states had strong Republican parties, they could demand the attention of northern Republicans.

Political solidarity, Brown believed, also caused ills which were worse than political isolation. One-party politics led to graft and corruption, he charged, and to the very negation of democracy's precepts. A monolithic political structure, "makes for narrowness and bigotry, and against candor and independence. It has frequently caused and may still be causing, persecution for opinion's sake." Moreover, it tended "more and more to drive out of public life men of freedom and independent minds and to give opportunity and power to men who . . . have freely invoked bigotry and prejudice and intolerance to overwhelm manliness and independence in others."[7] Seeing the problem and not fearing to state it in its boldest form, Brown set out to help revive the party of Lincoln in Dixie.

The road which the Republican party had to travel in the South was rough, long, and unaccommodating. Although Republican presidents from Rutherford B. Hayes to William McKinley had attempted to make significant political inroads into the region, by the turn of the century the party had fewer members than in 1876.[8] Everywhere in Dixie the party of Lincoln was derided by Democrats as the "nigger"

[5] Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 175-204, 235-263.
[6] Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 460.
[7] Brown, "South in National Politics," 111.
[8] Vincent P. DeSantis, *Republicans Face the Southern Question: The New Departure Years, 1877-1897* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), 261.

party, as the party of turncoat "scalawags" and unwanted "carpetbaggers." Intimately linked in the popular mind with the pervasive myths of reconstruction, the party was further hampered by the scourge of all organizations, factionalism.

Other more concrete disorders plagued the Republican party in the South. In the age of fierce, personal journalism which bristled with editors who had strong political preferences, the South in the early years of the twentieth century had but one daily Republican newspaper, the Greensboro *Daily Industrial News*.[9] Moreover, the party was at the mercy of the Democrats in many instances. Stuffed ballot boxes, tissue ballots, corrupt election officials (nearly always Democrats) who administered the various suffrage tests and other rules, all tended to hamper the growth of the party.[10] In most southern towns and cities it took a lot of courage to espouse openly the Republican party. The moment one broke from the "white man's party" one more often than not suffered social and economic ostracism. Furthermore, a majority of southerners sincerely believed that the Republican party in the region was made up of greedy, patronage-hungry politicians and postmasters.

The party was not "respectable," men of Brown's ilk contended. It was a farce and it existed only to supply delegates to Republican national conventions. Many believed, as did Brown and his fellow critics, that Republican presidents used their control over federal patronage to assure themselves the support of the southern delegates. The system had developed whereby a "referee," a local, faithful Republican, was awarded the privilege of distributing federal patronage in his state. He, in turn, was to repay the president by seeing that the right delegates were chosen by the state Republican convention. Generally the bulk of the patronage came under the authority of the Postmaster General, for this was in the day when thousands of post-office jobs were filled every four years.[11]

Brown contended that these southern Republican machines existed simply for the benefit of supplying the prostituted delegates and for the chance to control federal appointments. They were not concerned about the party's success or failure at the polls because they simply did not care about local victories. They existed solely because of their greed. To effect a remedy for the affliction of the body politic, Brown

[9] David C. Roller, "The Greensboro *Daily Industrial News* and North Carolina Republican Politics, 1905-1908" (unpublished master's thesis, Duke University, 1962), 10.

[10] Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 102-106, 235-263.

[11] Dorothy G. Fowler, *The Cabinet Politician: The Postmasters General, 1829-1909* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 291-296, hereinafter cited as Fowler, *The Cabinet Politician.*

worked to promote a healthy Republican party in the South, and he wrote, both publicly and privately, that President Taft would have to stop federal patronage to party hacks.[12] Brown believed that a sizable part of the South's population had Republican leanings, and that this could be exploited only if federal appointments were made in consideration of this group. If a southern state had no Republican party except the machine, he thought federal patronage should be given to conservative Democrats. This strategy plus a sincere concern on the part of the Republican party for the southern Republicans, would act, according to Brown, as a stimulus to the development of the second party.

The southern policy of the Republican party's managers in preelection maneuverings of 1908 demonstrated to Brown the political realities of patronage politics. President Roosevelt, who had successfully taken control of the southern Republican machines from Mark Hanna in 1902 by a series of adroit moves and had the southern delegation assured by the time of the national convention in 1904,[13] instructed Frank Hitchcock, First Assistant Postmaster General, to line up the southern delegates for Taft.[14] Knowing that the South cast over one-third of the necessary votes for the nomination, Hitchcock did his job well. Taft, his biographer maintained, was "permitted to know as little as possible about the harvesting of Southern delegates."[15] Regardless of Taft's cognizance or lack of it, he had the southern vote in the national convention in 1908.

In the summer of 1908 Brown attended the North Carolina Republican party's state convention. At the instigation of an Asheville Republican, Thomas Settle, Brown wrote a significant part of the party's platform. There, at first hand, he was able to see the methods by which the delegation to the national convention was chosen. Writing shortly thereafter Brown said, "I felt that Taft, though perhaps a fit man, was

[12] William Garrott Brown, "Appointments and the Suffrage," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (March 20, 1909), 4, hereinafter cited as Brown, "Appointments and the Suffrage"; William Garrott Brown, "Mr. Hitchcock's Power," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (May 21, 1909), 5, hereinafter cited as Brown, "Mr. Hitchcock's Power"; William Garrott Brown, "Taft's Southern Appointments," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (May 29, 1909), 4, hereinafter cited as Brown, "Taft's Southern Appointments"; William Garrott Brown, "The Referee System," *Harper's Weekly*, LIV (May 21, 1910), 4-5; Brown to William H. Taft's secretary, Charles W. Norton, October 13, 1910 (copy), and Brown to Taft, May 30, 1911 (copy), Brown Papers.

[13] John Morton Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954), 43-48. Blum concludes that "the one consistent, continuing result of his [Roosevelt's] patronage policies was his surer control of the Republican party."

[14] Fowler, *The Cabinet Politician*, 291-296; Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 2 volumes, 1939), I, 347, hereinafter cited as Pringle, *Life of Taft*.

[15] Pringle, *Life of Taft*, I, 347.

not fairly named, and democracy may require us to vote for Bryan."[16]

But this was probably Brown in a temporary mood of frustrated idealism. Bryan was simply too much of a "heretic" on monetary questions to satisfy Brown, who immediately set to work to persuade Taft to come South during his campaign. Taft had spoken in 1906 at Greensboro. On that occasion he had appealed to Brown by denouncing the corrupt southern Republican machines and declaring that in states where no respectable party existed federal patronage should be given to Democrats.[17] Republican presidential nominees had fallen into the habit of bypassing the South in their campaigns. Brown deplored this because it demonstrated to southerners that the party had no real interest in the South. It is not known how influential Brown was in Taft's decision to campaign in the South, but Brown wrote in 1908 that he had "set a number of influences at work to induce Taft to come South."[18] Taft did campaign in the South, and his total popular vote was larger in every southern state than Roosevelt's had been in 1904. During the campaign, Taft declared that he wished to be the president of the whole country, not just of half. This pleased Brown immensely, and after Taft's victory Brown arranged for Walter Hines Page, the North Carolina-born, New York editor, to meet Taft and persuade him to speak at a meeting of the North Carolina Society of New York.[19] Brown and Page were anxious for Taft to announce his "Southern policy." They were successful, and the president-elect spoke early in December, 1908, on the subject of "The South and the National Government."[20]

Taft's speech won Brown. The president-elect praised the past loyalties of the South and said that he was not going "to rehearse the painful history of reconstruction. . . ." He applauded the respectable Republican parties in the South and the movement to build up more such groups, and he guaranteed the region that the Fifteenth Amendment was not "inconsistent with the South's obtaining and maintaining what it regards as its political safety from the domination of an ignorant electorate. . . ."[21] Soon Taft went South again; he made several speeches in which he attacked the southern Republican machines and "reiterated the shibboleths of White Supremacy."[22] Both Taft and

[16] Brown to Charles W. Thompson, June 23, 1908, Brown Papers.
[17] Josephus Daniels, *Editor in Politics* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 488.
[18] Brown to J. Elwood Cox, November 14, 1908, Brown Papers.
[19] Brown to William R. Thayer, November 13, 1908 (copy), Brown Papers.
[20] William Howard Taft, *The South and the National Government* (n. p., n. d.), Duke University Library, hereinafter cited as Taft, *The South.*
[21] Taft, *The South,* 11-15.
[22] Woodward, *Origins of the New South,* 468.

Brown were optimistic in 1908.

The increase of the Republican vote in the South in the election of 1908, the high-sounding utterances of the new President, and the general optimism generated by the victory, prompted Brown to write more about southern Republicans in the pages of *Harper's Weekly*.[23] Shortly after Taft's inaugural address in which he stated that he did not wish to be president of just half the country, Brown declared that "there is displayed a general interest in the Southern question as we have not seen matched in any President since Lincoln."[24] "The South," affirmed Brown on another occasion, "warmly responds to [the] challenge."[25]

Throughout the first months of Taft's administration Brown kept a close eye on Hitchcock's handling of the patronage and frequently warned the Postmaster General not to treat the South indifferently.[26] But the President's early appointments in the South seemed further proof to Brown that Taft was sincere and honest. When in May, 1909, the new President appointed a conservative Democrat to the post of Commissioner for Internal Revenue for South Carolina, Brown applauded.[27] His satisfaction mounted when Taft appointed Democrats to federal judgeships in Alabama. Taft's attitude and his southern appointments had "fairly knocked the breath out of more than one Southern Republican machine," Brown wrote. Furthermore, Brown stated that Taft had determined that "Southern Republican machines shall not be any longer."[28]

Brown viewed the election of 1908 as a milestone in southern political development. Thinking Taft to be serious in his desire to clean up the southern Republican machines, and believing that there was a significant drift of opinion in the South in favor of a revitalized Republican party, Brown looked hopefully upon the large Republican gains in Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina. He noted that both Tennessee and North Carolina would have gone for Taft with the change of a few thousand votes. What a show of independence it would have been, Brown asserted, if North Carolina had gone Re-

[23] William Garrott Brown, "To William Howard Taft: Greetings," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (March 6, 1909), 6-9, hereinafter cited as Brown, "To William Howard Taft: Greetings." See also, William Garrott Brown, "President Taft's Opportunity," *The Century*, LXXVIII (June, 1909), 252-290, hereinafter cited as Brown, "President Taft's Opportunity."

[24] William Garrott Brown, "Mr. Taft, the South, and the Negro," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (March 20, 1909), 4.

[25] Brown, "To William Howard Taft: Greetings," 7.

[26] Brown, "Appointments and the Suffrage," 4; Brown, "Mr. Hitchcock's Power," 5; Brown, "Taft's Southern Appointments," 4.

[27] William Garrott Brown, "He [Taft] Means What He Says," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (May 29, 1909), 4.

[28] Brown, "Taft's Southern Appointments," 4.

publican. "The dramatic effect of such a *coup* would have been great." [29] And shortly after Taft's inauguration Brown predicted that "it is only a question of time until a majority in some southern state will favor the Republican party. . . ." [30]

The Taft administration, Brown contended, had a real opportunity to foster and nurture Republican sentiment in the South. Writing early in 1909, Brown stated that Taft should proclaim that southerners were safe to vote as they believed. They were to be safe because the Republican party was going to make its southern policies fair and honest. Brown went on to say that:

> It [the Republican party] cannot ask southern men to vote for policies they disapprove merely because it is desirable to have a live Republican party in the South, nor even because by turning Republican they can win for the South a stronger voice in national affairs. It cannot ask them to do more than vote as they believe.[31]

In the spring of 1910 Brown began what proved to be a fruitful and warm friendship with John M. Morehead, scion of a distinguished Tarheel family and a Republican in the United States House of Representatives. Thomas Settle, whom Brown had met in Asheville, and who had persuaded Brown to join the reform-minded Republicans, had written Morehead about Brown's feelings. Welcoming Brown to the Republican movement, Morehead wrote:

> I have heard so much of you through Settle and of your interest and potential activity in what I believe to be not only the right, but only effective solution of the North Carolina situation, that it does not come as from a stranger.[32]

Brown, Settle, and Morehead were in such complete agreement that Brown was given the task of writing the party platform for the state convention which was held at Greensboro in August, 1910. Morehead had endeavored to persuade President Taft not to make any more federal appointments in North Carolina until the party could be reorganized. Writing in a vein that pleased Brown profoundly, Morehead said:

> A reorganization of the party is essential to success at the polls for the reason (if for no other) that recruits will not come to us as long as the

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[29] William Garrott Brown, "The New Republican Party in the South," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (January 9, 1909), 5.
[30] Brown, "President Taft's Opportunity," 265.
[31] Brown, "President Taft's Opportunity," 270.
[32] John M. Morehead to Brown, March 8, 1910, Brown Papers.

party has for its chief aspect of existence the control and dispensation of the patronage. It is believed . . . that this one feature constitutes seventy-five per cent of the Republican viewpoint and excuse for existence as the party is today.[33]

Shortly after the convention opened Brown presented the platform and it was accepted. The platform demonstrated Brown's ability to think and act on a national scale. As an orthodox Cleveland Democrat concerning the tariff, Brown personally never wavered in his belief that the tariff should exist only for revenue and not for protection. Yet when he designed the Republican party's platform he wrote:

We renew our allegiance to the Republican policy of protection. The Southern States, and North Carolina in particular, have profited by that policy in the past, and have every reason to expect increased benefits from it in the future.[34]

Brown wrote in such a manner because he believed that the idea of a protective tariff would attract a significent number of new voters to the Republican party. He believed that there was a growing number of southerners who were becoming protectionists. His ability to write this plank suggests his conscientious and pragmatic approach to the concept of a two-party South. The platform ended on a high-sounding note by proclaiming that the North Carolina Republican party did not serve merely as a "machine for distributing federal offices and electing delegates to national conventions." [35]

The conduct of the southern Republican delegates in the national nominating conventions prompted Brown to single them out for frank criticism. He contended that the delegates were for sale and would support only the nominee who would promise the most patronage. Brown called their conduct in the conventions, "one of the worst of our open political scandals." "Plain patriotism," he repeatedly admonished his fellow southerners, "should set everyone against continuing such a practice." [36]

In September, 1910, Brown began a series of interviews and correspondence about the southern situation with President Taft, through his personal secretary, Charles W. Norton. Fearing that Taft was losing his interests in rebuilding the Republican party in the South, Brown contended that Republican sentiment was increasing in the southern states. He pointed to the growth of southern industry and

[33] John M. Morehead to Brown, July 2, 1910, Brown Papers.
[34] North Carolina State Republican Platform, Brown Papers.
[35] North Carolina State Republican Platform, Brown Papers.
[36] Brown, "South in National Politics," 110.

to the concomitant demand for protection. He argued that the textile and iron industries had grown to such proportions in Louisiana and Alabama that protectionists were starting to make their voices heard.[37]

Brown thought there were discontented groups within the Democratic party. He believed certain Gold Democrats had had enough of Bryanism and were ready to support a healthy Republican party. Two North Carolinians, John M. Morehead and Daniel A. Tompkins, Brown asserted, had already become out-and-out Republicans. Believing that more southern people were eager to have the South shake off its political isolation, and that the disfranchisement of the Negro race had demonstrated that the Republican party had acquiesced in white supremacy, Brown argued that the time was ripe for a concerted effort to rebuild the Republican parties in the southern states. Taft and the Republican party should, in Brown's opinion, make clear that the South's interests would be recognized.[38]

Concerning federal patronage, Brown asserted that the quality of federal appointments in the South had degenerated steadily since 1904. He stated that the practice of giving federal favors to assured delegates was occurring and that the person responsible was the Postmaster General, Frank Hitchcock. Calling the southern conventions that selected delegates a "disgusting mockery of representative government," Brown said:

> I will be perfectly candid, knowing that by so doing I risk any chance there may be of my suggestions being heeded, and add that the only person in Washington whom anyone can now suspect of playing the role [giver of federal patronage] is the Postmaster General. I do not believe that the President would knowingly condone the continuance of a practice he has so admirably denounced.[39]

Taft, cognizant of Brown's views and enthusiasm, answered, "I have never read an article that is so illuminating and satisfactory on the southern situation as your letter. I agree with you in every particular."[40] Prompted by such kind and reassuring words from the chief executive, Brown decided upon a bold scheme that, had it been carried out, might have had some practical results. He proposed to Charles R. Miller, editor of *The New York Times*, that his newspaper should conduct a state-by-state investigation of the southern Republican machines by a qualified newspaperman. Brown's part would entail writing a general introductory article, helping the reporter make

[37] Brown to Charles W. Norton, October 13, 1910 (copy), Brown Papers.
[38] Brown to Charles W. Norton, October 13, 1910 (copy), Brown Papers.
[39] Brown to Charles W. Norton, October 13, 1910 (copy), Brown Papers.
[40] William Howard Taft to Brown, November 3, 1910, Brown Papers.

contact with influential men in each state, and writing a concluding article. Brown revealed his inclinations when he wrote that the job should be undertaken "by a high-class newspaper man (not a muckraker), preferably one with Washington experience . . . [and] a southerner."[41]

But *The Times,* reluctant to take on such a project, rejected the offer. Turning again to the President, Brown called on him to make a general announcement that no man was to use the power of patronage to win favorable delegates. Furthermore, Brown would have had the President declare:

> If any such agreement or bargain is made, it will not be honored. If, in an application, for office, any such agreement or bargain is alleged, the allegation will be regarded as *prima facie* evidence of the unfitness of the applicant. Furthermore, the President desires to warn all federal office holders against neglecting their duties for unrelated political activities, and against any and every improper and unfair use of their official positions in political contests.[42]

Brown believed that Taft could do this with complete political safety because the President would surely be nominated in 1912 and the real fight would come in the election. Taft's popular following, Brown continued, would be enhanced by this pronouncement. But apart from any and all practical considerations, he argued that "the step is demanded, as it has for years been demanded, by every consideration of fairness and square dealing." Moreover, ". . . it is right in itself, because the practices aimed at are wrong and mean and dangerous to our institutions."[43]

To make certain that his proposal would reach Taft with good recommendations, Brown wrote Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Republican from Massachusetts, Charles B. Hillus, one of Taft's personal secretaries, and A. Piatt Andrew, Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, sending to each a copy of his letter to Taft along with a request that he urge the President to give it his utmost attention. Each answered that he would. Lodge, who was aware of the southern situation, answered: "I have been in many Republican conventions and I well know not only the character of the southern delegates but the part which they have played." He added that "In . . . [some] states there is no party at all except the office holders."[44]

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[41] Brown to Charles R. Miller, January 3, 1911, Brown Papers.
[42] Brown to William Howard Taft, May 29, 1911 (copy), Brown Papers.
[43] Brown to William Howard Taft, May 29, 1911 (copy), Brown Papers.
[44] Henry Cabot Lodge to Brown, June 1, 1911, Brown Papers.

Taft's secretary, Hillus, replied that the President was pleased with the gains the party had made in North Carolina. He added that he was glad to know that Brown had had a leading role in the reorganization of that state's party. "I frequently said to the President that to my mind it was the most hopeful development in the South in our generation. I have commended it to men of the right sort in other southern states." [45]

But Taft made no general announcement. He soon became aware of his need for those very southern delegates whom Brown so altruistically demeaned. Theodore Roosevelt had thrown his hat into the ring. Roosevelt had made sure that Taft had the support of the southern delegates in 1908. William H. Taft wanted to make equally sure that Roosevelt did not have them in 1912.

Brown realized by June, 1911, that Taft was not going to take any formal stand on his proposal. Assistant Secretary Andrew informed Brown that the President had spoken as if he agreed with the proposal, but that he was not willing "at the present moment" to commit himself to a "declaration that in all the southern states a radical change or policy was to prevail." [46]

Disappointed but undaunted, Brown continued writing weekly editorials condemning the southern Republican machines and began to reconsider an exposé of the machines.[47] He began collecting information and evidence. From Texas Edward M. House, who was soon to become nationally prominent in the Wilson administration, answered that Cecil Lyon had been the sole distributor of federal patronage in Texas under both Roosevelt and Taft. House opined, "During the Roosevelt administration no man not named by Colonel Lyon was appointed and I think President Roosevelt himself said on one occasion that this was true." [48]

Alfred H. Stone, planter and author, whose book *Studies in American Race Relations* charged that Roosevelt had used the "referee" system to his own advantage,[49] answered from Mississippi. Stone admitted that he knew "next to nothing of his state's Republican machine, but he offered to give all the assistance he could.[50] Through his

[45] Charles D. Hillus to A. Piatt Andrew, June 2, 1911, Brown Papers.
[46] A. Piatt Andrew to Brown, June 18, 1911, Brown Papers.
[47] William Garrott Brown, "The Tariff and the Southern Republicans," *Harper's Weekly*, LV (August 19, 1911), 4; William Garrott Brown, "Alabama's for Taft," *Harper's Weekly*, LV (September 16, 1911), 4; William Garrott Brown, "The Insurgents and the Southern Postmasters," *Harper's Weekly*, LV (November 18, 1911), 5.
[48] Edward M. House to Brown, December 14, 1911, Brown Papers.
[49] Alfred H. Stone, *Studies in American Race Relations* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1908), 143.
[50] Alfred H. Stone to Brown, January 1, 1912, Brown Papers.

own family connections, Brown knew about conditions in Alabama, and his intimate knowledge of North Carolina politics made him aware of the situation there.

While writing to his friends for information, Brown had also been busy seeking a magazine or newspaper that would agree to conduct the investigation. Late in November, 1911, he stated his purpose candidly when he proposed the plan to *Harper's Weekly*: to expose and break up the "old system of control by 'referee' and little cliques of office holders, maintained by swapping delegates for the right to distribute the federal patronage." [51]

But the editors of *Harper's Weekly* said they did not have the staff to undertake such a venture. Brown, however, was allowed to keep firing away in his weekly editorials at the southern Republican machines and at the opponents of a revitalized Republican party. Taking dead aim, Brown caustically wrote:

> The mass of Southern Republican delegates chosen this year are not merely products of the same old methods employed in 1908. They are . . . the very same men or the same kind of men that have been coming up to the Republican conventions and naming Republican candidates for something like forty years. This scandal has been flagrant for decades, but this year it is so very flagrant that one cannot help hoping something will, at last, be done about it.[52]

Harper's Weekly was well known for its support of Woodrow Wilson. The owner, George Harvey, had supported Wilson since 1906.[53] Wilson was an appealing candidate to Brown as long as Wilson kept "safe" on monetary questions. This strong bias might help explain, along with Brown's general disappointment with Taft's southern policy, why Brown tore so savagely into the Republican party during the campaign of 1912. Once he wrote that the Republican leaders had been completely cognizant of the southern situation and that they had "striven ignobly among themselves for the personal profits of it. If their strife has at last aroused and disgusted the country, they have themselves alone to thank for their own and their party's shame." [54]

The presidential election of 1912 was a major event in the South's history, and Brown was fully aware of the election's significance. Both Wilson and Roosevelt could claim southern backgrounds and both

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[51] Brown to Edward S. Martin, November 27, 1911, Brown Papers.
[52] William Garrott Brown, "The Scandal of the Southern Delegates," *Harper's Weekly*, LVI (May 25, 1912), 5, hereinafter cited as Brown, "The Scandal."
[53] Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1947), 359.
[54] Brown, "The Scandal," 5.

were determined to show their "southernness." Taft, so Brown believed, had failed as president. In reality only one of the candidates would ever appeal to Brown, and that was the soft spoken, former president of Princeton, Woodrow Wilson. Roosevelt was simply too radical for Brown. Considering the "Bull Moose" much more of a threat than Taft to Wilson's chances, Brown and *Harper's Weekly* devoted themselves to stopping Roosevelt. Writing before the Republican convention met, Brown privately confessed: "I am not a Republican, but have thought the most pressing duty of the moment was to smash Roosevelt, and have contributed my editorial mite chiefly to that end." [55]

Woodrow Wilson's election signified a return of the Democratic party, and more particularly of southerners, to national power. The isolation of the South had ended, and none was happier than the editorialist who had done all he could "to smash Roosevelt." Although Brown had little time left to enjoy the South's return to power, he was aware that Wilson's triumph was a portent of greater things for his region. Brown, however, was concerned with the South's responsibilities and whether the South would be able to act in a national manner. He hoped "the South . . . feels to the full the immense responsibility which it thus incurs." [56]

Brown warned the South that if it did not act responsibly and in a national manner, it could not hope to stay in power. Fearful lest the southerners not act as Americans, Brown urged:

> Let every Southerner at Washington take that view [to act as Americans] of his duties and his opportunities under the new dispensation, let the South itself, through its newspapers and other organs of public opinion, sustain its representatives in that attitude, and the country will not regret what it did election day.[57]

Which was more important to Brown, the return of the South to national political power, or the building up of a two-party South? He worked to revitalize the Republican party in the South as a possible solution to the South's isolation. He was also keenly aware of the effect of a one-party system on southern society. That Brown was not simply desirous of southern political power can be proved by noticing an editorial he wrote early in 1913. Wilson had been elected and rumors were rife that several southerners were slated for Cabinet

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[55] Brown to Jeremiah Smith, May 5, 1912, Brown Papers.
[56] William Garrott Brown, "The South and the Election," *Harper's Weekly*, LVI (November 16, 1912), 4, hereinafter cited as Brown, "The South and the Election."
[57] Brown, "The South and the Election," 4.

positions. Well aware that the South's political isolation was over, Brown editorially castigated an Alabama newspaper, the Birmingham *Ledger,* for its statement that to speak of Republicans in the South was as funny as Mark Twain. The *Ledger* had contended that there were not enough Republicans in Alabama to "'hold a state convention in a big hall!'" [58]

Brown saw nothing funny in this. After dismissing the *Ledger* as "not much of a paper," he tore into the South for its lethargy:

> . . . too many southern men and newspapers take the South's political situation [too lightly]. . . . Too many southern men and too many southern newspapers accept as final the present arrangement under which they are governed by one party. It was ridiculous, for instance, during the recent campaign to note how, in states perfectly certain to go Democratic, all orators and editors spend their mind and fury on the utterly hopeless Republican candidates, state and national, and avoid the real and important issues between the factions and candidates of the dominant Democratic party.[59]

This was the safe way, he explained, to keep out of trouble, and to make sure of being elected. The politicians and editors, he continued, wanted to keep their hold "on a too unanimous public." "We," Brown asserted, "are tempted to use Grant's language and say 'a too damned unanimous public.'" [60]

Charging on, Brown hit again at his favorite target, the "little cliques and machines" that controlled the Republican parties in the southern states. He went on to define what he considered to be the task of all true patriots in the South: ". . . no well-wisher of the South can be content to see its political life unhealthily different from the rest of the Union." [61]

Further proof of Brown's objectivity and vision may be found in his reactions to Wilson's Cabinet appointments. Pronouncing the Cabinet the "weakest in my recollection," he complained that too many southerners were being given high positions in the administration.[62] In reply to House's assertion that the party was having a difficult time finding good Democrats in the North and West, Brown replied that he knew of many qualified Democrats in Massachusetts alone.[63]

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[58] Quoted in William Garrott Brown, "The Republicans and the South," *Harper's Weekly,* LV (January 18, 1913), 4, hereinafter cited as Brown, "The Republicans and the South."
[59] Brown, "The Republicans and the South," 4.
[60] Brown, "The Republicans and the South," 4.
[61] Brown, "The Republicans and the South," 4.
[62] Brown to E. S. Martin, March 2, 1913, Brown Papers.
[63] Brown to E. S. Martin, March 2, 1913, Brown Papers.

Early in April, 1913, Brown charged that *Harper's Weekly* was not criticizing the new administration enough. "In my judgment," he wrote, "we are coddling the administration too much . . . [and] we ought to live up to our promises to treat it just as we have others."[64] But Brown never got the chance to see his suggestions carried out. Shortly after his remark the *Weekly* changed owners and he was notified that the magazine would be changed radically. The sale shocked Brown who had grown to love his association with the magazine. His despondency and life were cut short, however, within a few months by a violent attack of his chronic tuberculosis which caused his death in October, 1913.

William Garrott Brown lived to see only a partial fulfillment of his dream of a rejuvenated, politically powerful South. Brown was devoted to a two-party South—that his dream of a strong, independent Republican party in Dixie has not been realized even today suggests the complexity of the problem he was trying to solve. Brown loved his region but he was not blind to some of its faults. His candid and forthright attempt to better the South has earned for him a high place in the roll of southerners who are true statesmen, capable of acting in a national manner, and who are, in the words of Sidney Lanier, "tall enough to see over the whole country."

[64] Brown to E. S. Martin, April 3, 1913, Brown Papers.

THE IRONIC FATE OF THE "SOUTHERN STAR"

By Thomas C. Parramore *

On the morning of April 16, 1857, the Hertford County roads leading into Murfreesboro were crowded with people on their way to witness what, for many, was the spectacle of the decade: Jesse Jackson was going to launch his steamboat. Undeterred by a cold and disagreeable morning, "men, women and children came flocking into the borough on every road, in almost every kind of conveyance that the country affords."[1] The two female academies in Murfreesboro had declared a holiday for, after all, this was no ordinary launching. High and dry on her ways, the "Southern Star" was a 460-ton behemoth, the largest vessel ever seen in these waters; the largest ship ever built in North Carolina. By 11:00 A.M. the crowds were assembled on the banks of the Meherrin River at the launching site a short distance from town. After some oratory came the moment for the christening. Among the 4,000 spectators was Mrs. Jethro Darden who had ridden from Buckhorn that day for the occasion and who would describe the scene in her diary late that evening. "A goodly number of gentlemen," she wrote, "went on board, and as it moved off every one seemed to be huzzaing in a gay and lively tone, & just as the bottle was raised to be broken to sprinkle and name the boat, the underworks gave way. . . ."[2] With a sickening crunch the steamboat smacked into the Meherrin's muddy bank. The "Southern Star" was an accursed ship.

The slight damage caused by the errant launching of the steamer might have been only an untoward mishap had it not established a pattern for the history of this ill-fated vessel. For in years to come she was destined to bring ruin to her promoters and disaster to the very shores she had been designed to benefit. Maritime annals yield few parallels to the ironic story of Jesse Jackson's steamboat.

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[1] *Daily Express* (Petersburg, Virginia), April 25, 1857, hereinafter cited as *Daily Express.*

[2] Diary of Anne Dillard Darden, 1857, in possession of Mrs. Ethleen Vick Underwood, Murfreesboro. The "Lytle List" enumerates 26 other steamboats built in North Carolina before 1857, the largest being 264 tons. Forrest R. Holdcamper (ed.), *Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States, 1807-1868,* "The Lytle List" compiled by William Lytle (Mystic, Connecticut: The Steamship Historical Society of America, 1952).

Jesse Andrew Jackson came to Hertford County shortly before 1850 from Manasquan, New Jersey.[3] An "adventurous and visionary man," he ran a country store for a while at Parker's Landing on Meherrin River,[4] later established a sawmill on the Meherrin just opposite Murfreesboro,[5] and at length opened a brickkiln there.[6] The latter enterprise, coinciding with the establishment of two female academies in Murfreesboro—one by the Baptists and the other by the Methodists—earned Jackson a handsome profit.[7] By 1855 he had enough capital to turn his active mind to more ambitious projects, and it was then that he conceived the idea of building a steamboat.

In October, 1855, evidently on Jackson's initiative, a group of the wealthiest farmers and merchants in the county assembled at Murfreesboro to set the project in motion. The challenge they faced was amply set forth in the preamble of a charter agreed upon that day:

> Whereas the citizens of the Eastern part of North Carolina, and particularly those residing near, or bordering on the Albemarle Sound and Chowan river, and there [*sic*] tributaries has for a searies [*sic*] of years, and yet continue to suffer great privation and heavy losses in regard to our Export and Import commerce, there seems to be but little, if any hope of Improvement for our relief. Although we have Extensive inland navigation . . . yet it would seem that . . . we must continue to submit to the present vexacions and Expenses since we can get no better inlet than that which nature has given us.[8]

The tone of resentment was anything but accidental. Almost thirty years had passed since Murfreesboro petitioners had called the attention of the state government to the fact that Ocracoke Inlet, their only avenue to the sea, was "so obstructed by shoals, that no vessel drawing more than seven feet of water, can pass without being lightened of a portion of its cargo."[9] The state legislature, while admitting

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[3] *Letters of Edgar Allan Jackson, Sept. 7, 1860-April 15, 1863*, North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as *Letters of Edgar Allan Jackson*. The pamphlet bears the name of no editor or place and date of publication.

[4] John Wheeler Moore, "Historical Sketches of Hertford County, Chapter LXI," *Albemarle Inquirer* (Murfreesboro), January 24, 1878, hereinafter cited as *Albemarle Inquirer*.

[5] Benjamin Brodie Winborne, *Colonial and State Political History of Hertford County* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printers, 1906), 192.

[6] *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878.

[7] *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878.

[8] "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings of the North Carolina and New York Steamboat Company." Ms. in possession of Frank Roy Johnson, Murfreesboro, hereinafter cited as "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings."

[9] *Memorial of Sundry Inhabitants of Murfreesborough, N. Carolina, Praying that a Passage be Made between Ocracoke Inlet and the Atlantic Ocean*, Twentieth Congress, First Session (Washington, D.C.: Duff Green, 1828), North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as *Memorial of Sundry Inhabitants*.

that the bar at Ocracoke cost North Carolina a million dollars a year, nevertheless declined to spend $60,000 to deepen the inlet by three feet.[10] Subsequent appeal to the federal government also failed.[11] In 1855 the obstruction was still there, though the cost to North Carolina farms and businesses had risen enormously.

As the charter went on to note, recent advances in marine engineering had given rise to a new hope for relief:

> Since the introduction of steam propelling suited to navigation similar to ours and yet good seaboats if properly constructed, It is confidently believed by competent Judges that a boat of this class can be successfully and profitably maintained between this place and New York, Imbracing on her outward and inward trips, when sufficient freight to Justify—the intermediate landings and towns below this place including Edenton and Plymouth, N. C.[12]

By the terms of the charter, members of the Murfreesboro group that day pledged some $25,000 and the creation of a joint stock company to build a shallow-draft steamship. The principal promoters were, besides Jackson, Murfreesboro merchants John W. Southall, John G. Wilson, and B. A. Capehart, riverboat captain Hiram Freeman, Winton shipowner John Andrew Anderson, legislators Kenneth Rayner and John Parker Jordan, and Thomas and Henry Gatling, elder brothers of the noted inventor, Richard Gatling.[13] A sizable portion of the stock was also subscribed by the New York commission house of Glines and Graham, which presumably would supervise the northern end of the steam line. Southall was named agent for the receipt of funds until permanent officers could be appointed.[14]

The steamboat company progressed rapidly. Meeting at Winton February 14, 1856, the group chose a board of directors and voted to name themselves "The North Carolina and New York Steamboat Company." Jesse Jackson was authorized to procure labor and materials, plans and specifications for the projected ship; an initial assessment of one-tenth of the value of subscribed shares was levied

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[10] *Report Relative to Occracock Inlet* (Raleigh: Lawrence and Lemay, 1827).
[11] *Memorial of Sundry Inhabitants.*
[12] "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings."
[13] "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings." Others were James M. Wynns, Jacob C. Sharp, Lemuel R. Jernigan, William I. Harrell, John Davidson, James L. Johnston, G. C. Taylor, Charles E. Sparks, J. B. N. Cuffington, Joseph Mizell, James C. Freeman, John K. Kirkman, Alfred H. Lecke, Joseph H. Harrell, and Richard Griffith.
[14] *The Democratic Pioneer* (Elizabeth City), December 4, 1855. Quoting from the Murfreesboro *Gazette*, the paper noted that the stock of the company was "becoming very popular" and that "citizens in the lower and central portions of the county are taking rank hold of the enterprise, and their energy gives an encouraging earnest of the realization of our hopes in the establishment of the line."

on the stockholders.[15] A month later, the board of directors ordered Jackson

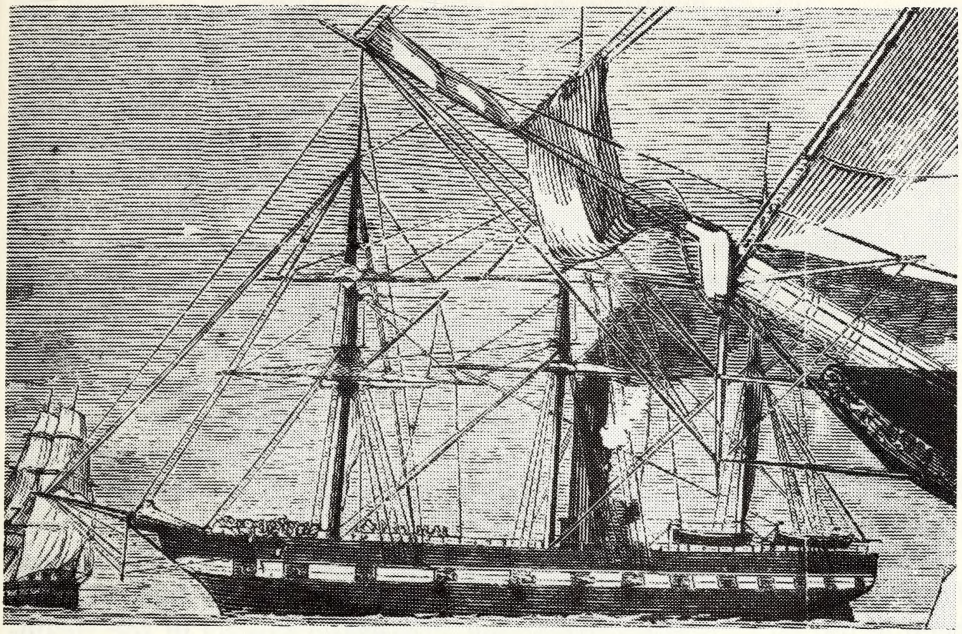
to proceed to Wilmington Del. and obtain suitable workmen to draw draft, make moddle [*sic*] and moulds for the contemplated Boat and make necessary arrangements for building the same, Leave draft for the Boat with some house or company in Wilmington Del. for machinery, but no definite contract to be closed for the present. It is further ordered that sd. J. A. Jackson be authorized to procure and make other necessary arrangements for boarding the workmen engaged in getting timber and building the boat. Also ordered that John G. Wilson be authorized to make & obtain Pork & other necessaries that may be wanting to board the hands.[16]

Jackson, an indefatigable legman, within a month procured from Betts, Pusey and Company in Wilmington plans for two engines and acquired the services of New York shipwright John A. Kirkman to supply hull plans and supervise the construction of the ship. By March, 1856, the company was ready to apply to the General Assembly for an act of incorporation. When the company held its first regular annual meeting at Winton in June, the first loads of white oak timber had been delivered to Jackson's sawmill and the directors, apparently on Kirkman's recommendation, voted to issue $3,000-$5,000 additional stock to have the steamer copper-fastened rather than iron-fastened as originally planned.[17]

Without warning, the firm of Glines and Graham in the fall, 1856, went into bankruptcy, having paid only $400 of a stock subscription of $8,000, a severe blow to the financial integrity of the steamship company.[18] Soon afterward, John G. Wilson, president of the company, ominously withdrew from his involvement—and other stockholders began to grow restive over the security of their commitments. It was a shaky organization that the legislature in December authorized to operate its steamboat

and such other steamers as the want of the company may require from time to time, Employ them in carrying passengers and freight in and between the waters of North Carolina and New York with the privilege of running to and from other parts of the United States and the West India Islands and parts of the Gulf of Mexico and Central America as may appear Expedient for the interest and well being of the company.[19]

[15] The board of directors consisted of Wilson, Southall, Anderson, Wynns, Jackson, Hiram Freeman, and M. R. Glines. "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings."
[16] "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings."
[17] "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings."
[18] *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878.
[19] Copy of Act of incorporation in "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings."



The "Southern Star." From *Harper's Magazine.*

Somehow the "North Carolina and New York Steamboat Company" moved forward. Sam Wheeler, writing to the Petersburg (Virginia) *Daily Express,* observed that Jesse Jackson had "waded through difficulties in the accomplishment of the work, that would have deterred many a man of less nerve." [20] At the beginning of April the ship was almost completed and April 16 was announced as launching day.

The launching itself capped the climax of Jackson's misfortunes. Wesleyan Academy president James Davis, casting a philosophical eye over the scene that day, observed: "The steamship moved off gracefully at first, but the supporters sunk near the water and she sunk with them. How uncertain human events. Our earthly props sink and we sink with them." [21] Murfreesboro made the best of a bad business that afternoon with a dinner in honor of the builders at the St. Nicholas Hotel, highlighted by champagne toasts, "some

[20] *Daily Express,* April 13, 1857. "The inauguration of this new communication," added Wheeler, "will tend very much to resuscitate the commerce of the Albemarle region, which of late years has dwindled to an inconsiderable tonnage. . . ."

[21] Diary of James H. Davis, April 16, 1857, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

of a valedictory, sad character, and some of a very jocular and very laughable sort," [22] including an irrespressible Irishman's rousing invocation: "May the Divil never catch a sailor dead nor alive." [23]

The "Southern Star" was soon afterward floated but misfortune seemed to hang over her like a pall. On April 20 little James Worthington, playing on the deck with schoolmates, plunged headlong through a hatch and "fell striking his head foremost on the hard timbers, nothing breaking the force of his fall." [24] The little fellow suffered a concussion but recovered. Within a few weeks the steamboat company collapsed altogether. Years later, historian John Wheeler Moore recalled that "the North Carolina stockholders, fearful that their investments would end in loss, stopped their advancements. Poor Jesse Jackson got into a sea of troubles. Suits and demands thickened upon him." [25] Finally, in late October, the ship was ignominiously auctioned off at the sheriff's sale and the dream of steam connections with New York vanished.[26] Yet the mischief wreaked by the ship had scarcely commenced.

The "Southern Star" was purchased by Southall and Captain Thomas W. Badger, an Eastern Shore Virginian who had recently been in the public eye for his gallant role in the sinking of the steamship "Central America." [27] Late in the year Southall and Badger arranged to have their ship towed to Wilmington, Delaware, where, during the winter, her two 80-horsepower inclined engines were installed. Placed "athwartships" and geared to a screw propeller, the unit would give the ship a cruising speed of five knots an hour and a top speed of eight knots.[28]

In the summer of 1858 the "Southern Star" made her maiden cruise to Norfolk, Virginia, for caulking, finishing touches on her upper works, and a check of her machinery. The editor of the Norfolk *Argus* thought that she was "well built . . . and does credit to all concerned in her construction," [29] adding that Captain Badger intended to operate her between Norfolk and New York. Fate, however, decreed a new alteration in the destinies of the steamer.

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[22] *Daily Express*, April 25, 1857.
[23] *Daily Express*, April 25, 1857.
[24] *Daily Express*, May 2, 1857.
[25] *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878.
[26] *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878.
[27] *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878. The "Central America" had gone down off Hatteras in a storm on September 12, 1857.
[28] Richard Rush and Others (eds.), *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 30 volumes, 1894-1921), Series II, I, 68, hereinafter cited as *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*.
[29] *Southern Argus* (Norfolk, Virginia), August 20, 1858, hereinafter cited as *Southern Argus*.

In late 1885 the U.S.S. "Water Witch," surveying a channel on the coast of Paraguay, was fired on from shore batteries and the ship's helmsman was killed. Subsequently, President James Buchanan sought through diplomatic channels to secure redress and was at length reduced to outfitting a squadron of warships to impose by force what could not be obtained by negotiation. In September, 1858, it was announced that the "Southern Star" had been chartered by the government for the Paraguay expedition,[30] so hard-pressed was the Navy for seaworthy warships. She was hurriedly taken to the Norfolk



Commander John Newland Maffitt. From the files of the State Department of Archives and History.

Navy Yard and converted to a cruiser by the installation of twelve- and thirty-two-pounder cannon. Captain Alexander M. Pennock was placed in command and in early February, 1859, she sailed for Barbados, en route to the River Plate.[31] Though suffering some damage to her machinery on the cruise south, the ship proved herself a good sailer and in the spring the government decided to purchase her outright for $49,000.[32] The "Southern Star" was renamed the

[30] *Southern Argus*, September 22, 1858.
[31] *Southern Argus*, November 9, 1858.
[32] *Southern Argus*, April 12, 1859.

"Crusader" and thus began the most illustrious phase of her career.

On June 11, 1859, the command of the "Crusader" fell to a brilliant veteran naval officer, Lieutenant John Newland Maffitt.[33] The choice was a particularly appropriate one since Maffitt had spent four years of his life in Fayetteville and regarded himself as a North Carolinian. For a few months Maffitt was assigned only to running errands: up the Mississippi in quest of suspected filibusters and down to Pensacola for a new deck. But late in the year the "Crusader" was dispatched to the West Indies to patrol for vessels employed in the illegal slave trade. It was an arduous, thankless assignment, for Maffitt was required to pursue and investigate practically every ship that appeared in the much-frequented West Indian routes. But there was a correspondent of the New York *Herald* on board in May, 1860, when the hour of glory struck for the "Crusader."

Lieutenant Maffitt had run down and investigated 60 vessels in a week without finding anything suspicious—indeed he had discovered no slavers since taking up the station—when, on May 23, a flagless square-rigger was sighted slipping along the Old Bahama Channel.[34] The "Crusader" quickly overhauled the vessel and with a shot across the bow brought her up short. On boarding, Maffitt immediately realized from the stench that she was a slaveship. The surly French master refused to make any sort of identification, but his fetid holds yielded up some 450 of the human cargo he had brought from the African coast. Taking his prize in tow, Maffitt steamed into Key West and the excited *Herald* correspondent telegraphed to New York a dramatic account of the capture.[35] "From pulpit and editorial page came plaudits for the naval officer whose vigilance had rescued the unfortunate Negroes from bondage."[36]

What could Jesse Jackson and the Hertford County promoters of the "Southern Star" have thought of her being acclaimed for purposes alien to the region that conceived her? Yet, in the drift of the nation toward civil conflict, the "Crusader" would soon be put to uses still more repugnant to North Carolina's interests. The cup of Jesse Jackson's bitterness had not yet overflowed.

The secession of the southern states had already begun when, in January, 1861, Maffitt took his ship into Mobile to cash a check for prize money, "drawn, as was customary, on the Collector of the Port

[33] Emma Martin Maffitt, *The Life and Services of John Newland Maffitt* (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1906), 206.

[34] Edward Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy: The Story of the Florida and her Captain, John Newland Maffitt* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1959), 67, hereinafter cited as Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy*. Maffitt's parents were en route from Ireland when he was born at sea.

[35] Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy*, 67.

[36] Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy*, 67.

and payable to the officers and crew of the warship."[37] True to his North Carolina allegiance, Maffitt was still officially loyal to the union, but the appearance of his ship at Mobile generated a furore of excitement. Alabama, just six days short of secession, was in a bellicose frenzy that was not likely to be dissipated by the appearance of a federal warship. Amid rumors that she was "armed to the teeth" and about to seize the city, payment of the prize check was at first refused.[38] Maffitt received veiled suggestions that he should proffer his vessel to the Confederacy. When this was rebuffed there were rumors that boarding parties meant to storm the ship, a threat Maffitt met with the rejoinder that he would "shoot the first man that touches her."[39] The rebel ardor now cooled sufficiently to allow for the cashing of the prize check and Maffitt was glad to weigh anchor and leave Mobile Bay.

Lieutenant Maffitt's refusal to dishonor his uniform was no indication of his politics. In February he sailed the "Crusader" to New York and, anticipating North Carolina's secession, handed over his ship at Greenpoint Navy Yard and resigned his commission.[40] In the next four years he was to distinguish himself as one of the finest blockade-runners in the Confederate Navy.

The "Crusader" was taken over by Lieutenant T. Augustus Craven, long an intimate of Maffitt but firmly loyal to the Union. Craven was soon ordered to the Carolina coast and the "Crusader" spent much of the war patrolling the coast whose prosperity Jesse Jackson had meant her to enhance. In eastern North Carolina her progress was ruefully followed by those who built her. The Petersburg *Daily Express,* sourly noting in July that the "Crusader" had been dispatched from Fort Pickens in pursuit of the Confederate war steamer "Sumter," voiced the hope that the "Sumter" would meet the Yankee cruiser "and send her to Davey Jones' locker."[41]

While the "Crusader" joined in the ravishment of the Carolina seaboard, her Murfreesboro builders languished. "Jesse Jackson," according to John W. Moore, "never recovered from the blow received in his great disappointment."[42] His eighteen-year-old son, Edgar Allan Jackson, was killed at Chancellorsville in May, 1863.[43] "Fresh

[37] Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy,* 67.
[38] Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy,* 34.
[39] Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy,* 34. Maffitt for a time commanded the Ram "Albemarle," built at Edward's Ferry on Roanoke River, within 30 miles of the launching site of the "Crusader" at Murfreesboro.
[40] Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy,* 38.
[41] *Daily Express,* July 18, 1861. The paper added that the "Crusader" had "the temerity to come up to Petersburg three or four years ago, and was tightly stuck in the bottom of the Appomatox for several days."
[42] *Albemarle Inquirer,* January 24, 1878.
[43] *Letters to Edgar Allan Jackson.*

disasters," wrote Moore, "came upon him and after years of unavailing struggle, at the end of the . . . war he left our county to seek his bread in other quarters. He had not taken fortune at its flood and in disaster alas! found too few to do him reverence."[44]

The "Crusader" ended an honorable service on June 12, 1865, at Washington Navy Yard when she was taken out of commission. Six weeks later she was sold at auction to T. P. Morgan for $9,000.[45] Redocumented the "Kalorama," she reverted to commercial service but about 1875 was sold to a firm on the west coast and successfully undertook the long voyage around Cape Horn. On March 30, 1877, the "Kalorama" burned and sank near her home port, San Francisco.

The "Southern Star" had been doomed from her inception. Had she remained in North Carolina she would have been pressed into service by the Confederacy like all the other steamers in Albemarle waters and would doubtless have shared the common catastrophe of those vessels when Louis M. Goldsborough's fleet swept into the sounds early in 1862. The problems of coastal transportation for which she was designed were not resolved until this century with good rail and highway routes throughout eastern North Carolina. Her construction, however, was achieved by an initiative and enterprise rare enough to be notable in the climactic years of the ante-bellum South.

[44] *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878.
[45] *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series II, I, 68.

BOOK REVIEWS

Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762. By Robert W. Ramsey. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Introduction, preface, illustrations, appendixes, index. Pp. xiii, 251. $6.00.)

Carolina Cradle is a major contribution to the vast body of literature attempting to define and explain the concept of the American frontier. It is a study in depth of the settlement of one segment of the North Carolina frontier—that portion of eighteenth-century Rowan County that lay between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers.

According to the introduction, Professor Hugh T. Lefler considers *Carolina Cradle* to be "one of the really outstanding works on North Carolina." This reviewer agrees completely with Professor Lefler's evaluation. This reviewer also cannot praise too highly the extraordinarily thorough research done by the author. It must have been a herculean task to locate, assemble and evaluate the many documents needed to relate the story of this migration to the eighteenth-century Carolina frontier. The author has made extensive use of passenger lists, deeds and deed books, birth and death records, tax lists, will books, court records, manuscript collections, tavern license papers, and numerous other records located in state and local archives from New Jersey to North Carolina.

Professor Ramsey's work should serve as a prototype for similar studies of other areas and other periods for years to come. He is correct in pleading for additional research in Colonial history to emphasize the "exploitation of the land, and the eighteenth-century evolution of family relationships, clan loyalties, and a cultural homogeneity which in countless cases spanned at least three generations, two continents, and a half-dozen American colonies!"

The University of North Carolina Press has printed the volume in an attractive and readable format. Historians, students, and genealogists should find the work both interesting and useful reading.

John Edmond Gonzales

University of Southern Mississippi

Jonathan Worth: A Biography of a Southern Unionist. By Richard L. Zuber. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. vii, 351. $7.50.)

The life of Jonathan Worth of North Carolina was a study in paradox. He was of the religious faith most closely identified with abolitionism—the Quakers—yet he was a slaveowner. He sponsored the bill in the North Carolina legislature most frequently associated with Jacksonian Democracy, a bill for the creation of a public school system, yet he was a stanch Whig in politics. He was an outspoken opponent of nullification and of secession, which he denounced as madness and suicide, and he was a crypto-Unionist in the wartime administration of Governor Zebulon Vance, yet he rendered vital service to the Confederate government of the state.

Ironically, the climax of this lifelong Unionist's public career came in his capacity as governor of North Carolina during the early years of Reconstruction. In this position, Worth became an implacable opponent of the interference by the Freedmen's Bureau in what he considered to be state affairs exclusively. When North Carolina was placed under military rule by the Radicals, Worth obeyed the orders of the commanding generals, but he did so grudgingly, for he resented the entire program as an invasion of the state's consitutional rights. Believing that Negro suffrage would create an administration based "upon ignorance instead of intelligence," he opposed the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment and advised North Carolina voters to boycott the state elections held in 1868 under Radical auspices. Finally, Worth was removed from office by General E. R. S. Canby, and was replaced by the newly elected scalawag, William W. Holden.

Mr. Zuber's biography faithfully traces Worth's career through its stages as Quaker youth, kind husband and father, successful businessman, farsighted state legislator, effective wartime state treasurer, Reconstruction governor, declining years, and death. The intricacies and vicissitudes of Civil War finance are painstakingly analyzed in showing Worth's role as a successful state treasurer. The most interesting part of the book, however, is that dealing with Worth's career as Reconstruction governor. Here the strongest crosscurrents of his being clashed—his conflicting sentiments of Unionism and state rights—and his southern upbringing asserted itself as the prevailing influence of his life.

This is a sober book about a sober man. Written with careful research and commendable objectivity, it is a valuable addition to the literature of southern biography.

Charles P. Roland

Tulane University

Trinity and Duke, 1892-1924: Foundations of Duke University. By Earl W. Porter. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xiii, 274. $7.50.)

In treating the evolution of a particular institution—Trinity College and its metamorphosis into Duke University—Earl W. Porter illustrates the development of institutions generally. In the case of Trinity and Duke, the study describes a nexus of idealism on the part of a small group of educators and scholars, the practical yet farsighted financial support of a very few industrialists-philanthropists, and the pressing needs and desires for more education typical in the New South at the time. Central to the story is the Methodists' long-expressed and growing concern for education, an important factor in shaping the character of the institution.

Earl Porter, an alumnus of Duke and now assistant to the president of the University of Illinois, has obviously enjoyed his investigation of the evolution of Trinity down to the creation of Duke University, and his readers will share his pleasures, aided by his readable style, an excellent index, and a thorough bibliography that shows Porter's diligence as researcher and scholar.

Although the main body of the study commences in 1892 with the move of Trinity from a small village near High Point to Durham, Dr. Porter properly devotes an introductory chapter to a summary of Nora C. Chaffin's earlier account of Trinity's beginnings in 1839 down to 1892 and to John F. Crowell who as president had the vision of greatness for Trinity, infusing his small faculty with enthusiasm for excellence in education while recognizing Trinity's need to serve North Carolina and Methodism.

The main story of Trinity's maturation between 1892 and 1924 deals with the early poverty of the institution, the growing generosity of the Dukes, the attempt by Josephus Daniels and others to oust John Spencer Bassett from the chair of history, the effect of the 1917-1918 war on the college, and the postwar moves toward university status.

In the Bassett affair of 1903 lies this reviewer's only suggestion for major modification. The Bassett incident, important though it is, receives disproportionately large treatment—the longest chapter—compared to the whole story of Trinity's evolution.

Unobtrusively Dr. Porter deals with the prosaic facets and minutiae of academic evolution: administrative organization and function, enrollments, curriculum development, faculty growth and teaching loans, and professional salaries.

Most important, however, the study is an account of the growth of ideas about higher education. It might well be subtitled: *Aspirations to Greatness.* When Trinity became Duke University in 1924, John F. Crowell wrote across thirty years of physical separation from the institution: "'Let no petty narrowness from any quarter ever lay its cold, freezing hand upon those who aspire to make a great and noble institution.'" Earl Porter's book shows how Trinity successfully fought off the forces that might have made her little and mediocre.

Wesley H. Wallace

The University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

Biographical Directory of the Senate of South Carolina, 1776-1964. By Emily Bellinger Reynolds and Joan Reynolds Faunt. (Columbia, South Carolina: Archives Department. 1964. Pp. ix, 358. $5.50.)

The South Carolina Archives Department has published a useful book on the Palmetto State Senate. The authors, a mother and daughter, have joined their talents to produce a source book on all matters pertaining to the upper house of South Carolina's General Assembly. Mrs. Reynolds was an employee of the General Assembly for many years before she became State Librarian of her native state. Her daughter, Mrs. Faunt, has published works on South Carolina history.

Part of this material appeared previously as *The Senate of the State of South Carolina, 1776-1962.* The authors begin with a summary of the evolution of the Senate through seven constitutions. Changes in the boundaries of election districts are described and shown on three maps. A list of governors, lieutenant governors, presidents and presidents pro tempore of the Senate and clerks of the Senate is followed by the dates for each General Assembly since 1776, the names of members of the upper house, and the districts

each senator represented. At the end there is an alphabetical list of senators with their election districts and dates of service.

New material in this book consists of some 1,400 biographical sketches of all the persons who have ever served in South Carolina's Senate. Forty-one of these men served their state as governor. Many were congressmen. Two were cabinet members and two were presidential candidates. There are generals and farmers, nabobs and demagogues. There was only one woman, Mrs. Mary Gordon Ellis, who represented Jasper County, 1928-1932.

Some sketches are little masterpieces of compressed history. As an example, see the piece on Morgan Brown, native North Carolinian. Or look at the entry for William Dalrymple Johnson, another erstwhile Tarheel. This is the raw material of history, valuable to genealogists and historians alike. Palmetto senators have relatives in every southern state.

The authors took more than eight years to complete research for this book. They acknowledge aid from personnel in the South Carolin Archives Department, many libraries, senatorial research committees, and from descendants of their subjects. Their exhaustive research will facilitate future investigation into the history of South Carolina.

Daniel M. McFarland

Madison College

Mr. Crump of Memphis. By William D. Miller. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Illustrations, index. Pp. xii, 373. $6.75.)

Born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, in 1874, Edward Hull Crump migrated in early manhood to nearby Memphis where in the course of time he became one of the most controversial figures in twentieth-century Tennessee history. First entering business and later politics, he won election to a number of municipal offices, including several terms as mayor, and in addition served two terms in Congress during the early years of the New Deal. Though ousted from the mayoralty in 1915, he retained power behind the scenes in city and county politics, through the organization he had built up while in office, to an extent that for many years he could be characterized as a leading example of that unique type of bossism that has flourished in American municipal government.

In preparing the first biography of "Boss" Crump, William D. Miller, formerly a professor at Memphis State University, had access to Crump's personal papers, unrestricted, he says, except by "the family's overriding expressed interest, stated at the outset, to see that the project was reasonably performed." Nevertheless, the author has dealt with his subject in a friendly manner. While making it clear that Crump was in supreme command of a smooth-running and sometimes repressive political machine for twenty or more years, Professor Miller denies or dismisses as slanders and unjust rumors many of the charges that were brought against Crump on numerous occasions. The emerging portrait, if not entirely uncritical, is at least sympathetic, placing the subject in the same category as the reform mayors Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones of Toledo and Tom Johnson of Cleveland, in contrast to the rather widely accepted stereotype of Crump as a typical self-seeking city boss.

A number of minor errors could have been prevented by a better knowledge of Tennessee history and geography. Burgin E. Dossett later became but was not then "president of one of the state teachers' colleges" when he ran for governor in 1936 (p. 232); E. W. (Ned) Carmack (evidently confused with George Carmack) was a Murfreesboro, not "a Knoxville newspaper editor" (p. 317); and Shelbyville, the home of Governor Prentice Cooper, is by no means in "west Tennessee" (p. 250).

James W. Patton

The University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

The Whole & True Discouerye of Terra Florida. By Jean Ribaut. Introduction by David L. Dowd. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile Edition]. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. lxvi, 139. $8.50.)

The Exiles of Florida. By Joshua R. Giddings. Introduction by Arthur W. Thompson. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile Edition]. 1964. Illustrations, index. Pp. xxx, 333. $8.50.)

The Purchase of Florida: Its History and Diplomacy. By Hubert Bruce Fuller. Introduction by Weymouth T. Jordan. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile Edition]. 1964. Maps, index. Pp. xxiii, 399. $10.00.)

Guide to Florida. By "Rambler." Introduction by Rembert W. Patrick. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile Edition]. 1964. Maps, illustrations, index. Pp. xix, 192. $7.50.)

These books represent four additions to the Floridiana Facsimile and Reprint Series. Except for "Rambler's" *Guide* these volumes have been published to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Saint Augustine.

The Ribaut book is well worth reprinting. It contains Ribaut's narrative of the Huguenot expedition to Florida in 1562, a photogelatine copy of the 1563 text, and an excellent introduction on Ribaut by the bibliophile Jeannette Thurber Connor. This new edition has an especially well-wrought introduction by Professor David Dowd. He has pointed out the many contributions of Mrs. Connor, updated the historiography of the French in Florida, and pursued the ethno-historical themes recurring in Ribaut's narrative. Typical of sixteenth-century chronicles about America, this short propaganda piece enthusiastically describes the "faire thynges," "good clymate," and "people gentill" to be found in the Southeast.

The Exiles of Florida is a different type of book but equally rewarding. Written by Ohio Congressman Joshua Giddings and first published in 1858, this work is at once an anti-slave polemic and a moving narrative of the plight of the Florida Negroes and Indians in the period 1783-1852. Giddings is an articulate abolitionist, who sees the American encroachments on Spanish Florida, 1783-1821, and the subsequent Seminole War as attempts by southern slave owners to recapture runaways who had found refuge among the Spaniards and Indians. His is obviously a simplistic interpretation of very complex events, but despite his abolitionist single-mindedness, the author is neither overly vitriolic nor maudlin. He writes sympathetically and compassionately about the Florida Indians and Negroes without falling prey to sticky sentimentalism.

A diplomatic history of the Florida purchase, 1783-1821, Fuller's book of 1906 is less valuable. Outdated and incomplete, it has neither style nor antiquarian appeal to recommend it. Fortunately an excellent introduction by Weymouth T. Jordan partially rescues the book by pointing out its limitations and putting it in its proper historiographical sequence.

"Rambler's" 1875 *Guide to Florida* is delightful. After outlining the history of Florida, the anonymous traveler gives short descriptions of Charleston, Savannah, Saint Augustine, and towns in north Florida. Tantalizing accounts of excursions on the St. John's, Indian, and

Oclawaha rivers should make one realize how much has been sacrificed to time and progress. The advertisements at the end of the work provide an interesting commentary on the social history of the Southeast in the late nineteenth century.

John J. TePaske

Ohio State University

Loyalists and Redcoats: A Study in British Revolutionary Policy. By Paul H. Smith. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. c. 1964. Preface, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 199. $5.00.)

The author, assistant professor of history at the University of Nevada, has performed in excellent fashion the task he set out to do. For a hundred years after the Revolution, little was written about the Loyalists in that conflict. British historians were not interested and American historians devoted most of their attention to the "patriots." Only about the turn of the last century did two competent scholars, Moses Coit Tyler and C. H. Van Tyne, tackle the subject. Since that time scores of researchers and writers have dealt with the topic, so that now there is a much clearer and fairer picture of the Loyalists than ever before.

One major part of the subject had yet needed to be treated—the part of the Loyalists in British military policy. This Professor Smith has now given.

"Perhaps the only accurate general statement that can be made," says the author, "is that the Loyalists never occupied a fixed, well-understood place in British strategy; plans to use them were in the main *ad hoc*. . . ." Throughout the war the British continued to overestimate the "imagined strength" of the Loyalists. Thus the British government "failed to send adequate re-enforcements to her commanders in America, who were told instead to make greater use of the Loyalists." In the last years of the war, in the South, the British kept right on counting on the Loyalists—kept looking for the aid that was not there—or at least never came. It was this stubborn and persistent searching for a chimera "that ultimately led the British to Yorktown."

The book is of especial interest to North Carolinians, since this state had more Loyalists than did any other. No gifted and able leader ever

sought to organize these Loyalists on a large scale and over a long period of time. Had such a leader appeared, the outcome might have been different.

Christopher Crittenden

State Department of Archives and History

Colonials and Patriots: Historic Places Commemorating our Forebears 1700-1783. By Frank B. Sarles, Jr., and Charles E. Shedd. Edited by John Porter Bloom and Robert M. Utley. (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. [Volume VI, *The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings*]. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xvii, 286. $2.75.)

The National Park Service and the National Trust for Historic Preservation have co-operatively produced a very fine "guidebook into history" as a result of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The first part presents a brief historical background of American history for the period from 1700 to 1783, clearly and interestingly covering the highlights of the gestation and birth of a new nation. Well illustrated with concise maps and photographs of historic sites and buildings relative to the text, this section presents an excellent background for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings which follows in the second part of the book.

The second and major part of the book is designed to present a summary of the historic sites and landmarks of value in a study of America's heritage, and through these sites to lead the reader into a more intimate knowledge of the "third dimension" of history, the dimension of place. Fifteen sites in the National Park System are discussed followed by a list of four nonfederally owned sites of importance. Sixty-two sites eligible for the registry of National Historic Landmarks are outlined, with accompanying photographs which help give the reader an increased awareness of place. Historic districts such as Old Deerfield, Massachusetts; Charleston, South Carolina; and Williamsburg, Virginia, are also summarized, followed by a survey of 96 other sites considered, that are presented according to state. The criteria for selection of the historic sites of exceptional value are presented, and provide the reader with the yardstick used in the survey.

In a work of this type where the authors are by necessity forced to rely upon the research of others to a considerable extent, errors are likely to occur; one such is the placing of the Battle of Alamance in

western North Carolina in the text, but correctly placing its position on the map. Other errors in the section on Brunswick Town, with which site the reviewer is most familiar, reflect not the authors' error but the unreliability of the source from which they obtained their information on the Brunswick Town site. The "Stamp Act Defiance" at Brunswick Town occurred in November, 1765 (which was not mentioned), and was followed by another incident in February, 1766, which was listed as the primary incident. The church at Brunswick is said to have been Episcopal, which it never was, and was said to have been constructed from 1740 to 1765, when actually the records clearly indicate it was begun in 1754 and completed in 1768. The 1740 to 1765 date comes from an unreliable source of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The errors in the half page on Brunswick Town do not, it is hoped, reflect the proportion of errors throughout the book, but only the unreliability of the source for this particular site.

Colonials and Patriots is a fine survey of the historic places commemorating our forebears, and will no doubt be carried by many Americans as a guidebook into history as they visit the sites.

Stanley South

State Department of Archives and History

George Washington: The Virginia Period, 1732-1775. By Bernhard Knollenberg. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1964. Appendixes, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. x, 238. $4.50.)

This is a simple chronological account of George Washington from childhood until he was chosen to serve as Commander in Chief of the Continental forces in 1775. It is not a debunking book of the style that was common fifty years ago, yet it destroys whatever was left of the image of young Washington, honest and truthful, who led the Virginia militia with selfless devotion while frequently being frustrated by incompetent and dilatory British officials.

Knollenberg's Washington is a man eager for commissions, power, fame, and money, and willing to malign his American rivals and British superiors whenever it served his own purposes to do so. The author finds that the names Governor Dinwiddie, General Forbes, and others have been unfairly besmirched by Washington's adverse and

"untrue" comments. He accuses Washington of cheating his comrades in arms by obtaining for himself "the 'cream' of the land" out of the tract set aside by Dinwiddie's proclamation of 1754.

The evidence presented is insufficient to justify full credence to these caustic criticisms of Washington. For instance he acuses Washington of a deliberate misstatement of fact when claiming that he had paid the "greater part" of the costs of obtaining the lands of the 1754 grant and had not been reimbursed. The record shows, says Knollenberg, "total direct contributions," of £180.6 of which Washington's share was but £ 26.5 plus, possibly, £12 or £15 for postage. The full story, if it could be found, might well reveal that Washington loaned to his fellow officers the major portion of funds listed as paid by them—and they may not have repaid him. It is difficult to believe that the character of Washington—truly magnificent in later years—could have been built upon beginnings as shabby as Knollenberg describes.

The evidence of scholarly research is impressive. The 115 pages of textual material are supported by 57 pages of footnotes and 28 pages of index. Washington truly stands forth as a man of flesh and bones, yet one of grasping ambitions and groveling methods. The research was weakest at the points where Washington's character is most pointedly attacked.

Gilbert L. Lycan

Stetson University

Naval Documents of the Revolution, Volume I. Edited by William Bell Clark. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, for the Naval History Division, United States Navy Department [projected 15 volumes, 1964 —]. Foreword, introduction, preface, appendixes, bibliography, index. Pp. xliii, 1,451. $9.00.)

This massive tome is the first of at least fifteen projected volumes covering the various aspects of sea power in the American Revolution. Volume I is the result of seven years of research and collection of material by the Division of Naval History, under the directorship of Rear Admiral E. M. Eller, who, incidentally, is a native of Wilkes County. An outstanding editorial job has been done by William Bell Clark, also a North Carolinian, a resident of Brevard. Clark, an industrialist turned historian, has been collecting and writing the naval history of the Revolution for more than a half a century, and his selection for this formidable task was obviously a wise one.

To quote Admiral Eller, "The meaning of the sea to the United States in the War for Independence has been comprehended by few Americans." This observation has been borne out by the fact that historians, with few exceptions, have tended to cover in some detail the exploits of such naval heroes as John Paul Jones to the exclusion of the broader impact of the influence of sea power upon the outcome of the struggle for independence.

The paucity of available source materials has been responsible to a considerable degree for the failure of historians adequately to cover the importance of sea power during the Revolution. With the completion of this long needed project by the Division of Naval History, however, researchers will have available in the fifteen-volume series a major portion of the documentary evidence on the subject to be found on both sides of the Atlantic.

Archival institutions, historical societies, libraries, and private collections in the United States, Canada, and Europe have yielded a rich and voluminous collection of materials for this project. These include public and institutional records, diaries, personal letters, newspapers, ships' logs, and a wide variety of other documents of pertinence and interest. Coming as they do from both sides of the Atlantic, the documents portray events not only as seen through American eyes but also from the point of view of England and other European nations as well.

An interesting arrangement of the documents has been devised. They are arranged both chronologically and geographically. Chronologically the arrangement is as follows:

American Theater: December 1, 1774-May 20, 1775
European Theater: December 6, 1774-June 26, 1775
American Theater: May 21, 1775-September 2, 1775
European Theater: June 29, 1775-August 9, 1775

Within the American Theater the geographical sequence is from north to south: Canada, Nova Scotia, Maine, New Hampshire, and so on to the West Indies. In Europe the usual sequence is, for example, Ireland, Scotland, England, Scandinavia, and intervening nations across the continent to Portugal.

There is a foreword by the late President Kennedy, an introduction by Admiral Eller, and a preface by Mr. Clark. More than 150 illustrations add to the value and attractiveness of the book. Finally, the Director of Naval History is still searching for material and will wel-

come the assistance of readers who may possess, or have knowledge of, any documentary or iconographic material which might conceivably be included in subsequent volumes of the series.

A. M. Patterson

State Department of Archives and History

Baroness von Riedesel and the American Revolution: Journal and Correspondence of a Tour of Duty, 1776-1783. Translated and edited by Marvin L. Brown, Jr., with the assistance of Marta Huth (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. 1965. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xlvii, 222. $6.00.)

The journal of Mrs. General von Riedesel, as the Baroness liked to be called, is one of the most charming accounts of the American Revolution. A story such as this chronicle of the love and devotion with which she and her children followed her husband, the commander of the Brunswick troops in the service of George III, to a strange continent and there into battle at Saratoga and subsequently into captivity might be more readily expected in a novel. Her observations on her journey afford useful comparisons of dress, eating habits, and other social customs of the several countries through which she traveled. Of political comment there is a dearth, stark contrast to the letters of Abigail Adams, who gave similar wifely support and encouragement to a leader of the other side. Mrs. "General" was a German aristocrat, to whom the issues of the war she helped to wage were another world. As a European woman and the wife of a mercenary, her duty was to assist her husband in whatever task he undertook.

First published in German in 1800, the Baroness' journal and letters have been best known in English through the translation of William L. Stone in 1867. In the 1930's Mrs. Marta Huth obtained access to the original manuscripts, which were then in the possession of descendants in Germany but since have disappeared in the war. Carefully comparing them with the 1800 edition, Mrs. Huth copied down all discrepancies and omissions. Though in the case of the journal these were minor, there were major deletions in the published letters and 27 that were left out entirely. Collating these notes with the materials previously printed, Professor Brown has prepared a completely new translation of the whole, the first complete edition of the Baroness' papers in any language.

The editorial comments, for which Professor Brown gives much credit to the pioneering work by Stone, are spare though adequate. The introduction furnishes the necessary biographical information but dwells too long on the story that the journal is about to tell with correspondingly less attention to matters it does not touch upon. There is no explanation, for example, why the British had to seek German aid. Moreover, the erroneous dating of the Waldeck Treaty as April, 1775 instead of 1776, and the emphasis placed upon it, give a misleading impression of the development of British policy during the first year of war. In general, however, the work well satisfies the need for a corrected, modern translation of this intriguing journal.

John E. Selby

Colonial Williamsburg

Guide to the Military Posts of the United States 1789-1895. By Francis Paul Prucha. (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1964. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. Pp. xiii, 178. $7.50.)

In June, 1784, Congress resolved that

> Standing armies in time of peace are inconsistent with the principles of Republican Governments, dangerous to the liberties of a free people, and generally converted into destructive engines for establishing despotism. . . . the commanding officer is hereby directed to discharge the troops now in the service of the United States except twenty-five privates to guard stores at Fort Pitt and fifty-five to guard stores at West Point. . . .

Five years earlier the American flag had been hoisted at West Point, thus making it today the oldest American military post at which the flag, once raised, has never been lowered. Of particular interest to Tarheels is the further fact that West Point was permanently acquired by the United States from its owner, Stephen Moore of Caswell County, by Act of Congress approved July 5, 1790.

The foregoing information is, regrettably, not to be found in Father Prucha's book, although Fort Pitt is described as one of "only six establishments on the western frontier that could in any sense be considered military posts" when President George Washington assumed office in 1789. By this statement, the author, associate professor of history at Marquette University and writer of several works dealing with the westward expansion of the United States, provides a clue to the real nature of the present volume. Despite its all-encompassing and rather

misleading title, the book is a brief reference manual concerned almost exclusively with some 467 army installations associated with the extension of this country's land frontiers. This figure is less than one-tenth the number of posts, camps, and stations listed in the records of the Department of the Army for the period covered by the book.

The work comprises five parts: a lengthy introduction treats the subject of the country's "military frontier"; an alphabetical catalog of the posts involved in United States territorial expansion; a series of excellent maps showing the locations of these posts; a series of appendixes; and, finally, a select bibliography.

Those who consult this book may be confused, not only by its inaccurate title, but by the ephemeral nature of much of its subject matter. This country's military installations during the period under study were often subject to a bewildering number of deactivations, reactivations, relocations, and name changes. While Father Prucha's work affords some help in clarifying these developments, this help is often inadequate. For example, Fort Bragg, California, which was active from 1857 to 1864 is included in the catalog, but no mention is made of the present-day installation of the same name in North Carolina because the latter post was established after the closing date of the study. In like fashion, Fort Custer, Montana, established in 1877 (and shown as still active, which seems doubtful) is included whereas Fort Custer, Michigan, constructed during World War I, is ignored.

Specialists in the study of the westward movement of the American people following the Revolution and throughout the nineteenth century will find this book useful.

John D. F. Phillips

Raleigh

Jacksonian Democracy and the Historians. By Alfred A. Cave. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1964. University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences, No. 22. Pp. 88. $2.00, paper.)

In recent years Charles G. Sellers, Jr., Harry Stevens, and John W. Ward have written short essays on Jacksonian historiography. Now Alfred A. Cave, in a revision of his 1961 doctoral dissertation at the University of Florida, has produced a fuller and more comprehensive guide to the historical literature dealing with the Jacksonian movement. This is the third study dealing with Jacksonian politics to be published in the *University of Florida Monographs* series, originated

in 1959. The other two were Herbert J. Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida* (1959), and Arthur W. Thompson, *Jacksonian Democracy on the Florida Frontier* (1961).

The scope of this study is regrettably more limited than that of Cave's original dissertation, which also included discussion of the Jacksonian movement as seen by the Whigs and Democrats of Jackson's own day. Cave noted in his earlier study that "many of the major interpretations of the meaning and significance of the Jacksonian political struggles were first advanced, in highly incomplete and greatly exaggerated form, by the historical actors themselves and may be found in the sources of the period."

Cave, who does not espouse any particular interpretation of the Jacksonian era, emphasizes that "a pronounced degree of 'presentism' . . . has always characterized the historiography of Jacksonian Democracy." While maintaining that recent scholars have "evinced a higher degree of sophistication in handling source materials and a greater degree of detachment" than earlier historians, he does not believe that "the passage of time will totally efface the partisan conflict of Whig versus Jacksonian." "By careful effort," he says, "the historian may minimize the distortions of the past produced by his own partisanship and by the frame of reference of the present; as a competent scholar he should struggle to do so. It is doubtful, however, that he will completely succeed."

Edwin A. Miles

University of Houston

Albert Sidney Johnston: Soldier of Three Republics. By Charles P. Roland. (Austin: The University of Texas Press. 1964. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 384. $6.50.)

Proponents of Albert Sidney Johnston will find no laudatory account of their hero in Professor Roland's study, but they will discover a full-length, sympathetic biography. More than two-thirds of the book describes the career of Johnston from his birth in Kentucky until his resignation as commander of the Pacific Department of the United States Army. His work as a Confederate general is told in four chapters, two of them relating to the loss of important river forts and the others detailing the Shiloh campaign.

In youth and early manhood, Johnston relied on his half brother, Josiah Stoddard Johnston, for advice and help. From him he received

an appointment to the United States Military Academy where he associated with his juniors—Jefferson Davis, Joseph E. Johnston, and Robert E. Lee—whom he later joined in Confederate service. But Albert Sidney turned to Josiah Stoddard for direction and approbation in questions of marriage, service on the frontier against the Indians, and resignation from the army. After the sudden death of his mentor and the loss of his first wife, the foot-loose Johnston found haven and responsible positions in Texas. He brought his second wife, began a second family, and put down roots in the Lone Star State. The annexation of Texas and the Mexican War gave him the opportunity to satisfy a yearning to smite the Mexicans for their "perfidy and brutality toward Texas." As commander of the Texas volunteers he won fame at Monterrey. After the war, neither his land speculation nor his plantation operation brought him financial rewards.

The salary as paymaster for a part of the Department of Texas enticed Johnston back into federal service. Success in this arduous task led to his most important assignment as a United States officer: command of the forces sent to subdue the Mormons. While he chafed because of delays and wanted to test the Mormons in battle, he maintained a disciplined soldiery and reluctantly accepted compromise without bloodshed. He was transferred from Utah to the Pacific, and later resigned his commission as brevet brigadier general and traveled eastward to seek assignment in the southern army. On arriving at Richmond in September, 1861, Davis made Johnston the ranking field general of the Confederacy and assigned him command of most of the trans-Appalachian region.

Nothing in his previous military experience had prepared Johnston for the task ahead. In Professor Roland's opinion, Johnston "made the most grievous error of military judgment in his career" by hesitating between the decision to defend or abandon Fort Donelson. Although a want of boldness and ingenuity lost this and other river forts, the author claims that the plan, his will to fight, and the courage he demonstrated in the Shiloh campaign should rank Johnston high among Confederate commanders.

There are deficiencies in this biography. Neither the causes of the "Mormon War" nor the settlement of it are adequately explained. On the whole, however, this biography is a well-researched and well-written addition to Civil War literature.

Rembert W. Patrick

University of Florida

Infernal Machines: The Story of Confederate Submarine and Mine Warfare. By Milton F. Perry. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xi, 231. $5.95.)

On December 12, 1862, while cruising up the muddy Yazoo River, the Federal gunboat "Cairo" struck two floating mines and sank in a matter of minutes. On May 12, 1865, another of the Confederates' "torpedoes" bumped against the hull of the "R. B. Hamilton" and sent that Federal transport to the bottom of Mobile Bay.

These were but the first and last victims of Confederate devices employed against Union warships patrolling the rivers and harbors of the South. These "infernal machines" included a variety of torpedoes (mines), such torpedo boats as the "David," and H. L. Hunley's famous submarine. All told, these novel instruments of destruction sank more Federal vessels than did the entire Confederate navy. Numbered among the "kills" were the 32-gun frigate "New Ironsides" and the 1,034-ton monitor "Tecumseh."

In this narrative history Milton Perry presents the first comprehensive story of Confederate countermeasures against the ever-pressing Federal fleets. All of the necessary ingredients in the story are here—the inventors, the many early failures, the countless experiments, the few but spectacular successes. The scenes of action shift from Norfolk, Virginia, to Galveston, Texas, and from the tributaries of the Mississippi to the inland waters of the Roanoke. The subject matter and the author's fresh style together make this a volume of fascinating reading, in spite of an occasional paragraph of overly technical data.

A slight imbalance of material is the book's only weakness. Too much discussion is given to weapons that were pathetic failures. Conversely, Farragut's immortal damning of the torpedoes in Mobile Bay receives only cursory attention; and the sinking at Plymouth of the Confederate ram "Albemarle"—which the author himself terms "the most celebrated torpedoing of the war"—gets but a passing reference. The book's subtitle clearly defines it as a work on Confederate weapons; yet no treatment of the subject of torpedoes can justifiably skim over these most famous episodes.

This is a relatively small flaw in an otherwise commendable study. For the pleasure-reader, this volume will have popular appeal. For the historian—once he is accustomed to the footnotes piled together at the back, *Infernal Machines* is a new reference guide to southern ingenuity in the 1860's.

James I. Robertson, Jr.

United States Civil War Centeninal Commission

The American Civil War: An English View. By Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley. Edited by James A. Rawley. (Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia. 1964. Introduction, notes, index. Pp. xxxvii, 230. $5.00.)

This book is a compilation of the writings on the American Civil War by the noted British soldier, Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley. In 1862 Wolseley was a lieutenant colonel in the British army stationed in Canada. Here he followed with great interest the massive struggle going on to the south of him. Soon after the Antietam campaign commenced, he managed to have himself smuggled into the Confederacy, where he inspected the city of Richmond and visited Lee and Jackson in the field. Out of this experience came his only piece of contemporary writing, "A Months Visit to the Confederate Headquarters." Later, however, Wolseley vividly recalled his interview with Lee and wrote an extremely laudatory sketch of the General which Douglas S. Freeman called a "classic of Confederate literature." In the 1880's at the request of the editor of the *North American Review* he also wrote a series of seven articles on the newly published *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.*

As a professional soldier, Wolseley was "drawn first and foremost to the strategy and tactics employed by the combatants." Jackson's Valley campaign excited his highest admiration. Wolseley's "reflections upon strategic and tactical noteworthiness of the American Civil War are perhaps his most consequential contribution. At the same time he . . . discerned valuable lessons in the example of noble lives. To Wolseley the figure of R. E. Lee transcended all others on the American scene; he found him the greatest soldier of the age. . . ."

The third great lesson Wolseley read in the war was the need of the United States and England to have "a well-organized standing army in the highest state of efficiency and composed of thoroughly trained and full-grown men." Finally, he "found instruction in the Civil-military relationships that existed on both sides in the war."

Professor Rawley's lengthy introduction is excellent. It contains not only a sketch of Wolseley's military career but also a penetrating and thorough analysis of his writings.

John G. Barrett

Virginia Military Institute

The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877. By Kenneth M. Stampp. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1965. Bibliographical note, index. Pp. ix, 229. $4.95.)

This well organized monograph, without footnotes except when recent historical works are quoted but with ample discussion of bibliographical materials following the conclusion of the narrative, is a revision of the lectures given by the author at the University of London in 1960.

The book begins with an analysis of the factors which led many authors to portray the Reconstruction period in an unfavorable vein. There follows a discussion of Lincoln, with emphasis on his conservative background, and of Johnson as a political composite of various ideas which would determine his attitude as president. The forces that resulted in the implementation of Radical reconstruction are examined at some length and those that were responsible for its undoing receive due treatment.

The author challenges what he calls "The Tragic Legend of Reconstruction" and, as a revisionist, goes a long way in the other direction. Instead of viewing as unwise and precipitate the great civil and political revolution fashioned for the South by force within two years after the slaves were freed, he is sympathetic to that revolution, though granting some shortcomings. His view is defended on the ground that the southern states would not give equal civil and political rights to the Negro; that Johnson was co-operating with the political leaders of the old South (for whom Professor Stampp seems to have a special dislike) in withholding these rights and that the only way they could be attained was by federal compulsion. The author holds that various motives, including political and economic ones, were behind the Radical program, but emphasizes the moral one. He grants that the idealism which he feels was so pronounced in the 1860's had largely disappeared ten years later but concludes that Congressional reconstruction was quite worthwhile, since its creations, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, were, after the lapse of many years, vital in connection with the struggle for Negro rights.

There are conspicuous gaps in the monograph. The "Black Codes" are unequivocally condemned as purposely designed to oppress the Negro, but no explanation is given of the labor conditions, produced in part by activities of the Freedmen's Bureau, which led to codes regulating contracts and vagrancy. Hostility to Negro suffrage in the North, limitations upon white suffrage in the South and the activities

of Union Leagues in the South have significance in the Reconstruction controversy far out of proportion to the scant attention paid them.

Henry H. Simms

The Ohio State University

A Century of Dishonor: The Early Crusade for Indian Reform. By Helen Hunt Jackson. Edited by Andrew F. Rolle. (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper and Row. 1965. Harper Torchbooks. Pp. xxii, 342. $1.95.)

"The question of the honorableness of the United States' dealings with the Indians," wrote Helen Hunt Jackson, "turns largely on a much disputed and little understood point. What was the nature of the Indians' right to the country in which they were living when the continent of North America was discovered?"

In her conclusion, she wrote, "Cheating, robbing, breaking promises—these three are clearly things which must cease to be done. One more thing, also, and that is the refusal of the protection of the law to the Indian's rights of property, 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

"When these four things have ceased to be done, time, statesmanship, philanthropy, and Christianity can slowly and surely do the rest. Till these four things have ceased to be done, statesmanship and philanthropy alike must work in vain, and even Christianity can reap but small harvest."

Between these paragraphs Helen Hunt Jackson poured forth more than 300 pages of impassioned words, a vivid catalog of wrongs done to a much-abused minority group. The tribes covered were the Delawares, Cheyennes, Nez Percés, Sioux, Poncas, Winnebagoes, and Cherokees. A childhood friend of Emily Dickinson, she did not turn to writing until after the loss of her husband, Major Edward B. Hunt, and two sons. In 1865, at the age of thirty-five, she began writing books and articles under various pseudonyms. Although she wrote more than 30 books, only two of them are remembered today: the present study and *Ramona.*

In 1879, after her marriage to William Sharpless Jackson, she attended a lecture in which the Ponca Chief Standing Bear recounted the sufferings of the Plains tribes. Though her first husband had lost his life during the Civil War, she had never been aroused over the

fate of the freedmen. The Indians were a more suitable subject for a romantic, and she embraced their cause with tremendous enthusiasm, eloquence, and righteous indignation.

There is no doubt that American treatment of the Indians has been callous, brutal, and characterized more by indifference than by a sense of justice. It has also appeared, at least from a distance, that the makers of Indian policy were rogues and scoundrels. Recent research, such as that of Father Prucha, has raised doubts as to the basic villainy of nineteenth-century Congressmen, and has made it necessary to consider the possibility that they may have been trying to treat the Indians by prevailing standards of justice. Whatever their motives, for the Indians the results were calamitous.

Donald E. Worcester

Texas Christian University

Atlantic Hurricanes. By Gordon E. Dunn and Banner I. Miller. (Louisiana: State University Press. Revised edition. 1964. Illustrations, tables, figures, index. Pp. v, 377. $7.50.)

Authors Dunn and Miller are particularly qualified by background and occupation to write an all-encompassing text on hurricanes. Dunn is Chief Meteorologist and Miller Research Meteorologist of the National Hurricane Center at Miami. Their aim, "the diffcult task of explaining the complicated facets of the hurricane for the layman while giving a reasonably technical and scientific, although nonmathematical, description of their physical processes for the student," is accomplished in the later intent, but this lay reader admits to difficulty in comprehending the technical aspects. Many figures, charts, and tables give detailed explanation and illustration of facts and theories outlined. The average reader, however, will probably derive more information from general definitions of scientific terms, eye witness accounts, and historical chronology.

The importance of classifying tropical storms is stressed and further developed in a chapter concerning their characteristics. Hurricane formation is explained in an enumeration of five essential steps to development and seven principal conditions favorable to culmination. In writing of the establishment of a hurricane warning system, the history of forecasting is traced from Christopher Columbus' entry in his logbook to the invention of wireless and radio with consequent

means of transmitting observational data from oceanic and tropical areas. Elaborating on the techniques of forecasting, the authors conclude that few are completely objective and prediction is still more art than skill.

"Nature on the loose," in all its destructive force, is graphically illustrated by examples of wind and water damage in three of the most destructive storms in American history—the Charleston storm of 1893, the Galveston tidal wave of 1900, and the Florida Keys hurricane of 1935. More recent hurricanes, such as Hazel in 1954 and Helene in 1958, are described in detail.

Recent advances include collection and recording of "million bits" of data, giving a fairly complete description of the structure of a mature hurricane, but perhaps the most spectacular development in meteorology is the use of artificial earth satellites in photographing cloud systems.

Appendixes include a glossary of meteorological terms, 31 tables listing hurricanes affecting the United States, and a chronological account of hurricanes of the twentieth century. A list of references gives titles to writings of individuals mentioned in the text. Subject and name indexes are very brief.

Beth G. Crabtree

State Department of Archives and History

Wilson: Confusions and Crises, 1915-1916. By Arthur S. Link (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xiv, 386. $8.00.)

This is Professor Link's fourth volume in his monumental biography of Woodrow Wilson; he continues the sympathetic treatment of Wilson that has characterized his previous volumes. As heretofore he gives proof of having done meticulous research, not only in American archives but also in those of Great Britain, France, and Germany. As always, he has made an excellent selection of facts to support his thesis and to reveal the perplexing personality of his subject. This volume is devoted almost wholly to foreign affairs; Wilsonian diplomacy from 1915 to mid-1916 is scrutinized.

In 1915 Wilson decided to initiate a preparedness program which threw consternation into the ranks of both the Bryan pacifists and the Progressives. With Bryan speaking over the country and with a stubborn opposition appearing in Congress, Wilson went to the coun-

try in a series of around the circle speeches. The people, the President learned, depended on him to keep the nation out of the European war.

Early in 1916 President Wilson sent his trusted friend Colonel Edward M. House to Europe to confer with ranking officials of England, Germany, and France about peace and the possibility of the United States acting as mediator. House found selfishness, cant, stubbornness, and incompetent statesmanship generally; his efforts were actually opposed by Walter Hines Page, the American Ambassador to England. Certainly, House was incorrect when, upon returning to the United States, he informed the President that his plan for American mediation was immediately acceptable.

Wilson and Secretary Lansing sought to have the Allies disarm merchant vessels in the belief that the German submarines would not sink an unarmed ship. England refused because she said Germany would then sink all ships. The President hoped that unarmed ships could pave the way for mediation under the House-Grey Memorandum. Such, however, was not to be the case.

The President was at loggerheads with Congressional leaders over the McLemore and the Gore Resolutions advising Americans to stay off belligerent ships, armed and traveling on the high seas. By the use of German sources Professor Link was able to give an objective analysis of these issues. This reviewer, however, believes there are too many long quotations from too many documents. The author could have written a more effective narrative had he paraphrased much of the documentary material quoted.

In several German submarine crises Wilson was handicapped in dealing effectively with the German government by the ineffectiveness of the ambassadors in Berlin, by the attitude of the German ambassador in Washington who believed that Wilson was only bent on re-election in 1916, and by the strong pro-English proclivities of Secretary Lansing. Although, as Link shows clearly, Wilson's statesmanship was tested severely, he won ultimately. In May, 1916, Germany agreed to withhold relentless submarine warfare. Lauded by the American press for his powerful pen Wilson became, for the first time, a principal actor in the European tragedy.

As the European plot thickened, America careened toward war with Mexico. Despite Villa's raids on American soil, and the clamor for war with Mexico, Wilson said stubbornly: "There won't be any war with Mexico if I can prevent it." Sending Pershing into Mexico in search of the elusive Villa, the President announced that America

would not infringe on Mexico's sovereignty, nor protect American property in Mexico. In his effort to capture and punish Villa, Wilson failed. When Carranza opposed Pershing's punitive expeditions and almost caused war, Wilson went before Congress and explained the crisis.

This well written book ends with a domestic note in which the author deals with Wilson's decision to make the Democratic party more liberal than formerly and with the legislative program which he prevailed upon Congress to enact. Confusions were replaced with certitudes in both domestic and foreign policies and Wilson gave evidence that future crises would be met with courage and resolve.

George Osborn

University of Florida

F.D.R. and the South. By Frank Freidel. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 102. $3.25.)

This book, consisting of the three Walter Lynwood Fleming lectures delivered at Louisiana State University in 1964, is the result of Professor Freidel's mature scholarship on Franklin Delano Roosevelt, directed toward the President's special relationship to the South during the days of the New Deal. In the first essay Roosevelt, the gentleman farmer, is depicted at Warm Springs discussing the problems of the local farmers, and occasionally suggesting experiments to his neighbors or trying them himself. Southern poverty etched itself sharply on his mind and influenced later decisions. The author constantly refers to Roosevelt as a progressive, yet also maintains that "First, last, and always he was a thoroughgoing Jeffersonian Democrat" who wished to overcome the urban-rural schism in the Democratic party, concepts which seem somewhat contradictory.

In the second lecture, entitled "The New Deal versus Bourbonism," Professor Freidel describes the initial support of the new President by the "Bourbon" members of Congress and points out their gradual cooling off as the status quo was threatened through changing wage scales, slum clearance projects, and electric power programs. The interplay between F.D.R. and Carter Glass, B. Patton Harrison, Joseph T. Robinson, and Josiah W. Bailey is neatly handled. However, the brief mention of Bourbon fear of government spending is inadequate. The focus should be sharpened on the conflict between the men who

wanted to save money and the voters who for the first time had more cash money than they had seen for years.

The final lecture considers the civil rights dilemma faced by the President. The newly-won northern urban Negro vote might spell the difference between victory and defeat, yet the South could not be disregarded. The chief battleground was the proposed anti-lynching law, which the President characteristically solved by applying pragmatism. The author concludes that Roosevelt "somehow pursued a policy not entirely repugnant to either side and did so with considerable dignity and decency." In the reviewer's opinion, however, this lecture is a concession to concern with present civil rights problems rather than a correct interpretation of the situation at the time. The author seems to attribute Bourbon opposition to federal spending to the fear of upsetting the racial status quo, ignoring the role played by southern religious orthodoxy based on nineteenth-century Scottish Realism.

Professor Freidel reveals a strong bias in favor of F.D.R. and overly credits him with deliberate, long-range plans to reconstruct the South into a progressive image. While no especially new interpretations are presented, this book is a pleasant hour's reading summarizing one aspect of the New Deal.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon

Meredith College

Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, January 1 to December 31, 1949. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, for the National Archives. 1964. Appendixes, index. Pp. xxxiii, 671. $6.75.)

This fifth volume of the public papers of President Harry S. Truman provides a convenient documentary record of his administration for the year 1949. The basic text of 274 items includes a wide variety of materials arranged chronologically on double-columned pages. The skillful editorial hand of Warren R. Reid which is especially evident in the explanatory notes, excellent index, and informative appendixes substantially enhances the value and accessibility of these documents.

A majority of the items in this volume deal with the fate of the Fair Deal during Truman's first year as president "in his own right." To a large extent, they tell a story of frustration and disappointment.

Neither the President's extraordinary triumph at the polls in 1948 nor the demise of the Eightieth ("do-nothing") Congress insured success for his domestic program. The presence of a hostile coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats in Congress, the pressure of foreign affairs, and the mounting hysteria over Communism frustrated much of the social legislation envisioned by the Fair Deal in 1949. Although Congress acted favorably upon Truman's request for a new housing law and an increased minimum wage, it rejected such measures as federal-aid-to-education, national health insurance, Brannan's plan for agriculture, and additional river-valley projects. On the other hand, the success of Point Four, NATO, the Mutual Defense Assistance Act, and other steps designed to "contain" Communism suggests that the President's foreign policy fared better than his domestic program.

The Truman style is apparent in virtually every item in this volume, whether it is a comment on General Harry Vaughan's "deep freeze," a message to Congress, or a speech to the National Council of Negro Women. The terse phrase, disarming candor, and amiable cockiness so characteristic of the man are best displayed in the verbatim transcripts of the presidential news conferences. These transcripts not only reveal much about the President's personality, but also provide a wealth of information about his reactions to national and international developments and his relations with newsmen. They record, for example, his bitter disappointment over the failure of Congress to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and his contempt for the irresponsible generators of the "Red hysteria."

North Carolinians will find this volume of particular interest because of the numerous references to Tarheels associated in various capacities with the Fair Deal. Among the names mentioned most frequently are those of Kenneth Royall, Gordon Gray, Frank Graham, and Jonathan Daniels.

Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.

The University of Georgia

American State Archives. By Ernst Posner. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 397. Appendixes, index. $7.50.)

When Ernst Posner came to the United States in 1939 and introduced himself as a Prussian archivist, American archivists felt as might the native plumber of a central African palace, who had learned his craft from books, when he met his first colleague from the United

States. Indeed, Dr. Posner was the first true professional in the United States, and his great influence through his teaching at the American University and his services in the Society of American Archivists has really shaped the development of the craft in this country. He was, therefore, the ideal choice to make this survey of the American State Archives, and to draw conclusions and make recommendations with a perspective which no other man in this generation has.

Dr. Posner begins with a history of the American State Archives which describes the numerous false starts and blind alleys of experience, and explains the incredible diversity of the present situation. There is much that is new in this section, and much to ponder. For example, the first building erected specifically for archives purposes (in 1906) in the United States was in Hawaii, the fiftieth state. And there are sad stories, such as that of Iowa, which was the leader among the states in 1938, but is now among the most backward.

The greater part of the book is given over to a survey, state by state, describing the background, organization, and function of each archive, with evaluations and suggestions. The incredible diversity of the American scene suggested by the difference in the organic laws is pointed up by records of public use of the different archives; many of the states have no idea of furnishing services which other states regard as reasons for their being. Every historian proposing to work in state archives will find areas in which the services he seeks are simply not available.

Dr. Posner's summary of findings is an utterly convincing distillation of his sections on the 50 states. If it errs in any way it is perhaps because as a former Prussian, he is careful not to be dogmatic. In some instances his words echo those of state archivists who are too optimistic about the organization for which they are responsible. The Summary would have been less encouraging had it been written by historians who have done research in the state archives. For a European-trained archivist, Dr. Posner is very charitable toward the popular and historical functions which have been frequently married to state archives. Indeed, his stress on selling archival services to the public is questionable. He notes with approbation cases in which master's and doctoral candidates have been induced to do their research in state archives without considering the burden this kind of teaching service places on those offices. One doctoral candidate may call for more service than a dozen mature scholars, and a half dozen arriving at once will, by their needs, bring to a halt the regular work of any state archive staff.

The last section of Dr. Posner's book deals with standards for state archival agencies; would that it could be required reading for every state official whose office creates records. Here again, however, Dr. Posner is too gentle and too optimistic. Those who have battered their heads against the stupidities of state governments in efforts to obtain modern archival legislation will smile wistfully at his standards. He does, as in the case of Louisiana, name names when pointing out the results of appointing incompetent political favorites to offices requiring archival training, but he avoids the horror stories, such as that of the state in which after long effort, the office of Records Manager was created, only to be filled by the governor with his chauffeur's brother, who was disappointed to find that the records in question were not the black discs one places on phonographs.

Dr. Posner could have hit much harder in pointing out that archives and records management, an essential public service, is a Cinderella, put off with a pittance while appropriations are lavished on other services. One state which has a totally inadequate archival staff of 11, appointed 100 "inspectors" to watch three dredges work. One state pays doorkeepers and messengers $3,000 a year more than it pays its archivist, a well-known historian. In general, large appropriations go to departments which can employ great numbers of untrained political favorites.

The book concludes with appendixes of budgets, salaries, and holdings, and an excellent basic bibliography, which will prove invaluable. Having this material readily available will make the legislative task much easier. Even North Carolinians, who have perhaps the best archival and records management systems, will find the appendixes useful in explaining why even in that state there is more work to be done.

Clifford K. Shipton

Harvard University Archives

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm: A Checklist of Early North Carolina Newspapers Available on Microfilm from the State Department of Archives and History, edited by H. G. Jones and Julius H. Avant, has been issued by the department and is available from the State Archivist, Post Office Box 1881, Raleigh, for $1.00. This 100-page booklet lists more than 700 titles of North Carolina newspapers now available on microfilm. Included are practically all newspapers published in the state from 1751 through the year 1900, and a few later ones. Positive microfilm copies may be purchased for $8.00 per reel.

In 1838 the Reverend William Henry Foote was appointed agent of the Central Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. This work led him to visit many counties in Virginia and North Carolina, and it was during this time that he collected the materials for his *Sketches of North Carolina.* Foote's *Sketches* is the history of the "principles, and causes, and springs of action, and moulding influences, that have made society and themselves what they are." It contains the history of the signing of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and the War of the Regulation; and then begins the history of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina with an account of a colony from Ulster, Ireland, which settled in Duplin County about 1736. The volume covers the history of the Presbyterian Church and its ministers and laymen from its beginnings down to 1845, though there is little material for the years after 1812. Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina* has been called "the most authentic in existence on Presbyterian churches and ministers and some of the leading laymen of North Carolina for the period down to 1846." The present reprint is an exact facsimile of the original 1846 edition, each page of the original having been photographed and reproduced by offset printing. Additions in this edition include an introduction and an index. Published by the Synod of North Carolina, Presbyterian Church of the United States, copies of the 593-page book are $15.00, and may be ordered from Dr. Harold J. Dudley, Presbyterian Historical Society, P. O. Box 10875, Raleigh.

The sixth in a series of monographs by Dr. Charles Crossfield Ware has been published. *Star in Wachovia: Centennial History of Pfafftown, N. C. Christian Church* covers the historical development of

the rural-suburban church at Pfafftown from its inception to the present. Included in the booklet is a list of the pastors who have served the church and a short biographical sketch of each. Copies are available for $3.00 hardbound, $2.00 paperback from Dr. Ware at Box 1164, Wilson.

From letters and documents belonging to the author, Katherine Wooten Springs, and her husband, Eli Baxter Springs II, comes the book, *The Squires of Springfield.* Neither a genealogy of the Springs family nor a documentary, the book is the story of the Springs family in the Carolinas and Georgia, during the Colonial and Revolutionary War periods, through the Civil War and Reconstruction, and finally to the "new South" and new generations of Springses. Accompanying the text are numerous family pictures, a Springs family genealogy chart, and an index. Copies of the 350-page book may be purchased for $6.75 from William Loftin, Publisher, Charlotte.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Director's Office

The Department's Executive Board held its regular semiannual meeting March 16. Upon request, Governor Dan K. Moore met with the board regarding the status of the new Archives and History-State Library Building, for which the General Assembly of 1963 appropriated three million dollars. The Governor stated that he hoped the structure could be designed so that it could be enlarged later, that a site could be assigned soon, and that the available money could be spent. He was then taken on a tour of the archives so that he might see the extremely crowded and otherwise bad conditions.

The Executive Board held a special called meeting May 20. After luncheon and a business session, the board met jointly with the Heritage Square Commission and others to discuss the present status of the new building. The Archives and History Director, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, read a prepared statement explaining the present unsatisfactory situation. The Acting State Librarian, Miss Elaine Von Oesen, made a statement indicating the acute need of the State Library for more adequate quarters. Questions involving land acquisition, the exact location of Heritage Square, the present stage of the plans for the new building, and allied subjects were discussed. The architect, Mr. F. Carter Williams, Raleigh, made a statement. Though no formal action was taken, it was the consensus of many of those present that a better understanding of the problems involved and of possibilities for the future had been reached.

The George Washington Statue Commission, of which Senator Hector MacLean of Robeson is chairman, held two luncheon meetings in Raleigh planning for placing in the rotunda of the Capitol a replica of Canova's statue of Washington, which was destroyed when the State House burned in 1831.

The Tryon Palace Commission, of which Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro is chairman, held its regular biennial meeting at the Palace in New Bern, March 31.

An act of 1961 gave the department custody of the legislative chambers in the Capitol in order that, "Insofar as practicable, the aforesaid Legislative Chambers shall be maintained and preserved in the condition in which they now are and shall be used exclusively for the purpose of historic shrines and as public attractions. . . ." The department received requests from numerous groups and organizations for permission to use these chambers for meetings, and followed the policy of permitting state official bodies and agencies to meet there, upon request of the governor's office, but discouraged all unofficial meetings. Speaker of the House H. P.

Taylor, Jr., and Lieutenant Governor Robert Scott appointed a committee from each house to work with the department to clarify the situation.

The Historic Hillsborough Commission has continued its active and aggressive program, so that progress has been made along many lines. A notable accomplishment was passage by the General Assembly of a bill changing the accepted spelling of the name of the town back to the old form of Hillsborough.

A bill sponsored by the Historic Bath Commission and introduced into the General Assembly by Representative Wayland Sermons of Beaufort County has become law. It provides that the commission shall consist of three ex officio members and twenty-five members appointed by the governor.

Several meetings of the Executive Mansion Fine Arts Committee have been held, and a program is being developed to furnish or refurnish the mansion in a suitable manner. It is expected that many of the furnishings will be retained; that some of the present pieces, inappropriate for one reason or another, will be removed; and that certain additional pieces, especially those belonging to families that formerly lived in the mansion, will be brought in, but no drastic overhauling is contemplated.

The Raleigh Historic Sites Commission held several meetings. The commission has approved and recommended to the City Council a proposed bill providing for historical zoning in the city. The bill was drafted by the Institute of Government in co-operation with the State Legislative Council and the Department of Archives and History. The City Council approved the draft in principle.

On February 27 the Moores Creek Battleground Association, Inc., held its annual commemorative exercises at the battleground. Mr. Vivian Whitfield, president of the association, presided. Dr. Gertrude S. Carraway, Director of the Tryon Palace Restoration, delivered the principal address.

The department made its request to the Joint Appropriations Committee on March 2. Present were the Chairman of the Department's Executive Board, Mr. McDaniel Lewis, and other members of the board, together with other supporters. Dr. Crittenden was the spokesman. Additional appropriations were requested to continue the Colonial Records Project and the Civil War Roster, and to sound-record the proceedings of both houses of the General Assembly.

The Advisory Committee on Historical Markers met March 19 in Chapel Hill. Inscriptions were approved for ten markers.

Plans are being made for the annual convention of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in North Carolina, October 7-10. Mr. Robert R. Garvey, Executive Director, visited Raleigh in this connection on March 29. Mr. Ralph P. Hanes, Winston-Salem, vice-president, is chairman of the North Carolina hospitality committee for the convention.

The premiere of "The Immortal Showboat," the "Sound and Light" production featuring the battleship "North Carolina," was held at Wilmington April 1, during the annual Azalea Festival. A capacity crowd

was enthusiastic about the new show, which will be produced nightly (except Monday) during the summer.

On April 16 the Institute of Government held a conference in Chapel Hill on municipal historical zoning.

At Old Brunswick Town a nature bridge was presented to the state by the North Carolina Garden Clubs on May 1.

Confederate memorial exercises were held in Fayetteville on May 9.

On May 16 the Raleigh *News and Observer* published its centennial commemorative edition and honored all persons who had been "Tarheel of the Week," a weekly feature started about a dozen years ago. The principal speaker was Mr. Vermont Royster, member of a leading Raleigh family, graduate of The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and now editor of *The Wall Street Journal.*

Dr. Crittenden has met with and addressed various groups, including the Wayne County Historical Society, Goldsboro, April 9, and the Sir Walter Cabinet, Raleigh, April 13.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

State Archivist H. G. Jones was awarded the Ph.D. degree by Duke University on June 7. He attended the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and a council meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Kansas City, Missouri, April 22-24. His article, "What About 'Permanent' Copies?" appeared in *Weston's Record* for Winter, 1965.

The department was saddened by the death on April 14 of Mrs. Lillie Holloman McCoy. For almost six years she was a valued staff member in the Document Restoration Laboratory.

Mr. Donald E. Horton, Photographer II, represented the department at the National Microfilm Association convention in Cleveland, Ohio, May 11-13.

Recent personnel changes are as follows: Admiral A. M. Patterson's classification was changed from Archivist III to Records Management Consultant II, effective April 1. New employees include Miss Elizabeth Donnelly as temporary Archivist I, effective April 6.

Among the more significant recent acquisitions in the Archives were the records of the Mayors' Co-operating Committee on Race Relations, 1963-1964 (1 box); the State Library, 1877-1953 (9 volumes); the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963-1965 (10 boxes); and the Josiah Collins Private Collection, *c.*1760-*c.*1880 (about 10,000 items).

Card indexes have been completed for the Governors' Papers, 1775-1800; the Governors' Letter Books, 1801-1835; and the approximately 2,500 Granville District Land Grants in the Archives. A checklist of the surviving manuscript copies of the journals of the General Assembly prior to 1800 has been completed.

The Local Records Section is continuing the microfilming of the permanently valuable records of Rockingham and Wayne counties, while county

operators continue microfilming in Buncombe, Guilford, and Mecklenburg counties.

Original records have been received from Beaufort, Chowan (previously in custody of Messrs. Grayson H. Harding and Robert B. Smith), Harnett, Jones, Madison, Perquimans, Rockingham, and Wayne counties. A fairly extensive collection of Guilford County papers and a small group of Jones County wills have been processed. Information concerning all of the above records is available in the Search Room. Microfilm copies of Jones County records and of a number of churches have been made available to the public.

The State Records Section since January 1 has given the Correspondence Management and Plain Letters Workshop 14 times to 216 persons representing 14 different agencies.

A plan for the protection of essential operating records in case of a national or a local disaster was circulated to all state agencies on March 22 and was discussed at a meeting on April 15. Lists have been sent to all agencies as guides to the identification and selection of essential records.

A revision of the Department of Agriculture schedule has been approved, as have new schedules for Winston-Salem State College and the Licensing Board for Contractors. A schedule for the Governor Morehead School (State School for the Blind) is awaiting approval; revisions of schedules for the Department of Conservation and Development and the State Board of Juvenile Correction are in process.

Additional shelving to house 9,072 cubic feet of records has been erected on the first floor of the building occupied by the State Records Center, thus relieving a critical space situation. During the quarter ending March 31, 1965, the State Records Center accessioned 4,051 cubic feet of records from 30 different agencies; 1,177 cubic feet were disposed of. The net gain of 2,874 cubic feet brought the total holdings of the Records Center to 36,964 cubic feet. The staff performed 12,216 reference services during the same period.

A project of microfilming original birth certificates, 1913-1945, has been started in connection with a rebinding program in the State Board of Health. Certificates from October, 1913, through 1915 have been filmed.

Division of Historic Sites

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, and Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Restoration Specialist, went to Hope Plantation in Bertie County for a meeting concerning the restoration of the home of Governor David Stone. The Hope Plantation Foundation, Inc., has been established for the purpose of purchasing and restoring the plantation.

On March 9 Mr. Honeycutt met with a group of citizens from Johnston County to organize the Hastings House Association, Inc. This house, built in 1853 by William Hastings, was used during the Civil War before

and after the Battle of Bentonville by Generals Joseph E. Johnston, Braxton Bragg, and Wade Hampton for their headquarters.

On April 11 over 3,000 visitors attended the Halifax Day program which featured an address by Governor Moore. Highlights of the two-day program commemorating the one hundred eighty-ninth anniversary of the Halifax Resolves included a community church service, picnic, dedication of the Eagle Tavern historical highway marker, a parade, Halifax Day ceremonies at the historic gaol, music by the Eighty-second Airborne Division Band, Fort Bragg, commemorative ceremonies at the Constitution House, and tours of the historic sites in Halifax. The Constitution House in Halifax has recently been refurbished. The historic buildings are open Sunday afternoons from 2:00 to 5:00 P.M. Tours during the week may be arranged by contacting the Halifax Public Library.

On May 1 a dedicatory program designating Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site as a National Historic Landmark was held. Dr. J. C. Harrington, Resource Studies Advisor for the Southeastern Region of the National Park Service, made the principal address and presented the National Historic Landmark certificate. A plaque will be installed in the near future. A tour of the site was conducted by Mr. Robert Crawford, Archaeologist-in-charge, Town Creek Indian Mound.

During the recent session of the General Assembly a number of appropriation bills concerning historic sites were introduced. The Historic Sites Advisory Committee met April 16 and May 21 to assess the authenticity, historical significance, and the practicability of the proposed projects. This committee, established by act of the 1963 General Assembly, is to investigate historic site projects, according to a number of criteria, and report its findings to the General Assembly. Mr. James A. Stenhouse, Charlotte, former chairman, recently resigned; Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson, Raleigh, was appointed by Governor Moore to fill Mr. Stenhouse's unexpired term. At the April 16 meeting Mr. James McClure Clarke was elected acting chairman, and five proposed appropriations were acted upon; on May 21, action was taken on thirteen additional proposals.

Historic Bath celebrated its two hundred sixtieth birthday March 7. The Palmer-Marsh and Bonner houses were open to the public free and were visited by more than 3,000 persons. The Historic Bath Commission met in Bath on March 8 and following the business session were guests at a fish fry by the town of Bath at the Bath Fire Station. A gift of $10,000 was presented to the Historic Bath Commission by Mr. Walter Davis, originally of Elizabeth City, but now a resident of Texas. Half of the gift was designated for the construction of an Indian village.

Sixteen challenge grants, totaling $60,000, were presented to North Carolina historical restoration projects by the Richardson Foundation of Greensboro. The State Department of Archives and History will administer the grants, ranging from $1,000 to $10,000, to the following projects: the Burwell School, Hillsborough; the Cupola House and the James Iredell House, Edenton; Historic Halifax, Halifax; the Bell House, Beaufort; Hope Plantation, Bertie County; the Allen House, Alamance Battleground State Historic Site, near Burlington; the "Fort Defiance" restoration,

Caldwell County; the Old Stone House restoration, Rowan County; the Latimer House, Wilmington; the St. Thomas "Glebe House," Bath; the Confederate Gunboat "Neuse," Kinston; the Harmony Hall restoration, Bladen County; the Carson House, McDowell County; the Franklin Academy restoration, Franklinton; and the Harshaw Chapel restoration, Murphy.

A previous grant by the foundation was made to thirteen North Carolina projects in 1959-1960.

Division of Museums

In addition to slide-lecture programs presented by the education staff, the Education Curator, Mrs. Frances Ashford, addressed the assembly of the Governor Morehead School February 18, on the life of Governor Morehead. She appeared on the Bette Elliott show, "Femme Fare," WRAL-TV, March 12, publicizing the re-enactment of the Battle of Averasboro in Harnett County, March 13.

The fourth program in the special Sunday series featured the film story of the North Carolina legislature, "The Ayes Have It," February 28. Guest remarks were made by Wake County Representative, Mr. A. A. McMillan. Members of the Raleigh Recorder Consort presented selections of Renaissance and Baroque music at the fifth program, March 28.

Mr. Robert Mayo and Mr. John Ellington of the exhibits staff spoke on "Exhibits on a Shoestring Budget" March 25, at the North Carolina Museums Council meeting in Hillsborough.

Members of the education staff who served from mid-February to late March as docents at the Governor's Mansion instructed members of the Raleigh Junior Woman's Club who will continue this service.

In addition to meetings of several state and local organizations, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, attended the Southeastern Museums Conference in Jacksonville, Florida, March 14.

A ten-minute color film, "Spinning and Weaving," purchased from the University of Indiana, has been added to the Museum Extension Service Program.

State winners of the 1964-1965 Literary and Arts Competition for members of the Tarheel Junior Historian Association were announced May 23. In the Literary Division, the first place club entry was a history of Cabarrus County Schools, "A Long Rocky Road," by the Stephen Cabarrus Chapter, Harrisburg School, Harrisburg. This is the third year the club has won the group competition. Silk Hope High School, Siler City, and Mount Olive School gained honors for histories of the school and of the community, respectively. Lane Welles of LeRoy Martin Junior High School, Raleigh, won first place in the individual literary category for "The Silver Cup," a dramatization about the Joel Lane family. A biography of Governor John M. Morehead by Gary Melton of Granite Quarry Elementary School was awarded honorable mention. In the Arts Division, the winning model, an authentic reproduction of an old grist mill, was submitted by Silk Hope School. Honorable mention was awarded to Hudson Elementary School, Hudson, for a model of Fort Dobbs, and to Gran-

ite Quarry Elementary School for a model of the Michael Braun House. Contest winners will be presented engraved plaques by the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association at the December meeting in Raleigh. Winning projects will be displayed in the Hall of History, Raleigh.

Division of Publications

Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor, returned from maternity leave June 14. Miss Barbara Radford, Editorial Assistant I, resigned in June and was replaced by Mrs. Nancy S. Bartlett, Editorial Assistant I, who transferred from temporary assignment as Editorial Assistant for the Sanford Papers.

For the first quarter, 1965, total receipts were $5,825 with $5,045 being retained by the department and $780 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Not counted in the receipts were $450 from the sales desk, turned over to the Division of Museums toward payment for souvenirs. Publications distributed included 137 documentary volumes; 7 copies of the *Index* to *The North Carolina Historical Review*; 2 letter books of governors; 256 small books, 8,661 pamphlets, charts, and maps (including 360 Tercentenary pamphlets); 5,870 leaflets and brochures; and 9,050 copies of the list of publications available from the department. Not included in this total of 23,996 were 2,115 copies of the Spring, 1965, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review*, and 2,238 copies of the January, 2,240 copies of the March, and 2,380 copies of the May issues of *Carolina Comments*.

The Papers of John Willis Ellis, Volumes I and II, are now available. The price is $5.00 for each volume plus 25 cents handling charge on each order. Orders should be sent to the Division of Publications.

Colonial Records Project

The Colonial Records Project continued activities formerly reported. The index to inventory reports in the files has been completed.

Pending the appropriation of funds by the General Assembly, preparation of a volume of early records of the General Court will be started soon after July 1.

NORTH CAROLINA CONFEDERATE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr., of the United States Civil War Centennial Commission, was the featured speaker on March 9 in Kinston at the commemoration of the Battle of Kinston.

The Averasboro commemoration was held March 20; Lieutenant Governor Robert McNair of South Carolina dedicated a monument to the South Carolinians who died in the Battle of Averasboro. This was followed by a battle re-enactment.

The commemoration of the Battle of Bentonville was held March 21 with Senator Ralph W. Yarborough of Texas as featured speaker.

The commemoration of the Battle of Asheville was held April 6.

At a meeting of the Sons of Confederate Veterans in Birmingham, Alabama, March 26, Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary, was featured speaker. Commission member Colonel W. Cliff Elder accompanied Mr. Larson and Mr. Robert W. Jones, Public Information Officer, to Richmond, Virginia, April 7, for the meeting of the Confederate Conference. On April 9 they attended the centennial program at Appomattox.

The Bennett Place commemorative program was held on April 25 with Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey as guest and featured speaker.

Mr. Larson and Colonel Elder attended the final National Assembly of the United States Civil War Centennial Commission in Springfield, Illinois, April 29-May 5.

The Executive Secretary, Mr. Jones, and Colonel Elder attended commemorative events in South Carolina on May 7 for the Battle of Rivers Bridge, at Aiken May 8, and at Fort Sumter May 9.

The final plenary meeting of the Commission was held May 13 in Raleigh. The Commission and The University of North Carolina Press received the highest award of the United States Civil War Centennial Commission, bronze medallions, which were accepted by State Treasurer Edwin Gill on behalf of the State of North Carolina and Governor Moore who was unable to attend due to illness.

On May 15 Mr. Larson participated in the mustering out of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band of Winston-Salem. Certificates were given to the Band members and the members of the reactivated North Carolina Sixth Regiment.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. J. Max Dixon has been named Acting Chairman of the Department of History at Appalachian State Teachers College, effective July 1. Dr. Robert Neal Elliott will join the history department of Appalachian as Professor of History on September 1.

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., Chairman of the Department of History at Duke University, has edited a new book, *The United States in the Contemporary World, 1945-1962.*

Dr. Watson and Dr. Anne F. Scott attended the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Kansas City, Missouri, April 22-24. Dr. Scott read a paper, "The Study of Southern Urbanization," in a session on southern cities.

Professor O. W. Furley, Senior Lecturer in History at Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda, was Visiting Associate Professor of History, lecturing on African history. In exchange Dr. Harry P. Porter, Jr., Fellow in International Studies, went to Makerere for the summer term.

Dr. W. B. Hamilton published "Constitutional and Political Reflections on the Dismissal of Lord Grenville's Ministry," in *The Canadian Historical Association, Report, 1964,* and a review article, "Mississippi," in *The South Atlantic Quarterly,* Spring issue, 1965.

Dr. Robert F. Durden was named a Fulbright lecturer in American history for 1965-1966. He will teach at The Johns Hopkins University Center for American Studies at the University of Bologna, Bologna, Italy. He has published *The Climax of Populism: The Election of 1896* (University of Kentucky Press), and "Ambiguities in the Antislavery Crusade of the Republican Party," in *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on Abolitionists* (Princeton University Press).

Dr. A. D. Frank, retired Chairman of the Department of Social Studies at East Carolina College, was honored in dedication ceremonies of the new A. D. Frank Seminar Room, May 9. The ceremonies included an address by Dr. Leo W. Jenkins, the unveiling of a portrait of Dr. Frank, and a reception.

Medical Illustrations in Medieval Manuscripts, by Loren MacKinney, has been published by Wellcome Historical Medical Library, London, England. Part Two of this book is entitled "Medical Miniatures in Extant Manuscripts: A Checklist Compiled with the Assistance of Thomas Herndon." Mr. Herndon is Assistant Professor of History.

Dr. George Pasti, Jr. will be on leave, 1965-1966; he was awarded a National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship to study the Chinese language at the University of Hawaii. Mr. Marvin Hill will be on leave, 1965-1966, to complete his doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago. Dr. Richard C. Todd was awarded the *Buccaneer Citation* which noted his outstanding contributions to the field of history, to the student body, and to East Carolina College.

Elon College was host, May 25, to the North Carolina Alpha Chapter of Pi Gamma Mu National Social Science Honor Society. The lecture, "Yankee Doodle: The Soldier of the American Revolution," was delivered by Dr. Hugh F. Rankin, Professor of History at Tulane University.

Professor Lansford Jolley, Chairman of the Social Studies Department, Gardner-Webb College, served on a Southern Association of Colleges and Schools evaluation committee in McDowell County, April 26-27.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science, Meredith College, addressed the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, April 23, in Kansas City, Missouri, on "Raleigh, N. C.: The 'New South' in Microcosm."

Dr. Frank Grubbs, Jr., taught the WUNC-TV United States history class, March 29. His topic was "America in World War II."

Dr. Thomas C. Parramore published a feature article, "History of Chowan County—A Story of Continued Progress," in the special supplementary issue of *The Chowan Herald,* April 8.

In the Spring, 1965, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review,* it was erroneously reported that Mrs. Rosalie Prince Gates had been promoted to Assistant Professor. Mrs. Gates, a doctoral candidate at Duke University, will come to Meredith in September as Assistant Professor.

John C. Farrell, Instructor in the Department of History at North Carolina State University since 1962, died March 11, 1965, at the age of thirty-two. He had completed a doctoral dissertation on Jane Addams for The Johns Hopkins University and had contributed an article on Jane Addams to the *Encyclopedia of Social Work.*

During 1964-1965 Dr. Ralph W. Greenlaw, Head of the Department of History, edited five new volumes in the D. C. Heath Company series, *Problems in European Civilization.*

In April Dr. Murray S. Downs spoke on the subject "Civil Engineering through the Ages" at the annual meeting of the North Carolina division of the American Society of Civil Engineers in Raleigh.

Dr. Oliver H. Orr, Jr., collaborated with Dr. Arthur W. Cooper and Mr. Sheafe Satterthwaite on the publication, *Smith Island and the Cape Fear Peninsula: A Comprehensive Report on an Outstanding Natural Area* (Wildlife Preserves, Inc., Raleigh, 1964).

Dr. Herbert L. Bodman and Dr. Y. C. Wang were promoted to Associate Professors of History at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Dr. Wang received a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies for 1965-1966 for research on the topic, "Chinese Intellectuals from Yen Fu to Hu Shih."

Professor Hugh F. Rankin of Tulane University taught during the first summer session, and during the second summer session, Professor Warren Kuehl of the University of Akron will teach.

Professor George B. Tindall delivered a paper entitled "The Colonial Economy" at a symposium on Problems of the South held at Duke, April 12, honoring Dr. Paul Gross.

Assistant Professor Ralph Lee Woodward received a Fulbright grant for lecture and research to the Universidad Católica de Valparaiso, Chile.

The North Carolina Collection at Chapel Hill sponsored a dinner at the Carolina Inn on June 3, 1965, to mark the centennial of the birth of Stephen B. Weeks whose Collection of Caroliniana was purchased by the trustees of The University of North Carolina in 1918. The pattern of collecting set by Weeks established the pattern followed since by the North Carolina Collection. The dinner was attended by fifty-four persons including a number of descendants and relatives of Dr. Weeks. Dr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, read a paper entitled "Stephen B. Weeks: North Carolina's First 'Professional' Historian," and Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., Professor of History and Head of the Department of History at Duke University, read a paper prepared by Dr. Louis R. Wilson entitled "The Acquisition of the Weeks Collection of Caroliniana." Dr. Wilson was Librarian of The University of North Carolina in 1918, and he was instrumental in persuading the trustees to purchase the Weeks Collection.

The United States Office of Education awarded 84 summer history institutes for elementary and secondary history teachers to improve the

quality of teaching. Institutes will be held at the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Greensboro; East Carolina College, Greenville; and St. Augustine's College, Raleigh.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Bertie County Historical Association met April 22; Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., Director, Department of Social Studies, East Carolina College, was the speaker.

The Bladen County Historical Society met April 30 at Elizabethtown. Mr. F. K. Rogers, president, presided. Mr. Chatham C. Clark, chairman of the Harmony Hall Restoration Committee, announced a challenge grant of $1,000 from the Richardson Foundation. A number of items have been added to the Bladen County Collection. Mr. Stanley South, Archaeologist, State Department of Archives and History, gave an illustrated talk about the restoration work at Brunswick Town, Fort Anderson, Fort Fisher, and Bethabara.

The Cabarrus County Historical Society met at Concord, March 11. Mr. C. W. F. Coker, Assistant State Archivist, State Department of Archives and History, outlined preliminary procedures for projects. Mr. A. Campbell Cline is president; Mrs. Jane Nierenberg is secretary and treasurer.

The Catawba County Historical Association met March 3 in Newton. Mr. Ward R. Robinson of Bunker Hill High School was in charge of the meeting. The semiannual report on the Catawba County Historical Museum was given by Mrs. Margaret W. May, Director, at the May 5 meeting.

The Franklin County Historical Society met at Louisburg College, March 25; Mr. Lindley Butler, president, presided. Mrs. Elsa C. Yarborough presented slides showing "Colonial Homes of Eastern North Carolina." A spring historic house tour of Franklin County was held May 2 by the society.

The Haywood County Historical Society met April 27 at Waynesville. Mr. Frank Rogers, president, presided; other officers are Mrs. Sara Thomas Campbell, Mr. R. C. Francis, and Mr. Frank Ferguson, vice-presidents; Mr. Larry Mull, general adviser; Mr. Amos Medford, secretary; and Mr. Carlton Peyton, treasurer. Honorary life membership certificates were presented to Mr. Larry Mull, Mr. W. Clark Medford, and Mrs. Clyde Ray. Dean W. E. Bird, president emeritus of Western Carolina College, spoke on "The History of Western Carolina State Teachers College."

The Hillsborough Historical Society met May 21 at Cameron Park School. Dr. Gertrude S. Carraway spoke about "Research in Restoration."

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its spring meeting at Greenville, April 9. At the afternoon session Dr. James W. Patton, Director of the Southern Historical Collection at The University of North Carolina, read a paper titled "Luther Hartwell Hodges, Energetic Governor of North Carolina, 1954-1961"; Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Director of Education for Old Salem, Inc., gave an illustrated talk on "Old Salem." Two new members were elected: Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn of the Historic Sites Division of the State Department of Archives and History, and Dr. Thomas C. Parramore of the History Department of Meredith College.

At the evening session, Dr. Howard B. Clay of the Department of Social Studies, East Carolina College, read a paper titled "Daniel A. Tompkins, Newspaperman"; Dr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, gave a paper on "William Laurence Saunders and the Publication of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina.*"

The Johnston County Historical Society met May 2 at Smithfield. Mr. C. S. Coats, president, presided. Reports were given on the Centennial observances at Bentonville Battleground and members of the Centennial committee were commended. Plans for the library building for Smithfield and Johnston County include a Johnston County room for the preservation of letters and records. The group will continue support for the Hastings House project and for several programs under way at Bentonville.

The Leaksville-Spray History Club met April 8 at Leaksville; Mr. Mott Price spoke on the Civil War.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society met February 26; Dr. James W. Patton spoke on "Selected Comments on Eastern North Carolina by European and American Travelers, 1783-1860." *The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., Bulletin* for February carried the president's message by Mr. N. Winfield Sapp, Jr.; Part IV of an article, "Development of Libraries in the Lower Cape Fear," by Mrs. Barbara Beeland Rehder; and an article, "Smith-Anderson House," by Mrs. Ida B. Kellam.

The Mecklenburg Historical Association met March 22 in Charlotte. Mr. Victor King spoke about Cornwallis' campaigns in the Carolinas; Mr. John Staton told of the Battle of Bentonville, the largest battle ever fought in North Carolina.

The Moore County Historical Association met February 18 at Southern Pines. Dr. Colin G. Spencer, Carthage, president, presided. Mrs. Ernest L. Ives reported recent gifts and acquisitions for the Shaw and Alston houses. A film, "Land of Beginnings," was shown.

Mr. and Mrs. Ernest L. Ives were hosts to the association, April 28. New officers are Mr. H. Clifton Blue, Aberdeen, president; Mrs. Albert Tufts, Mr. Neill McKay, and Mr. Paul McPhaul, vice-presidents; Miss

Helen Butler, treasurer; Mrs. L. T. Avery and Miss Margaret McLeod, secretaries. Reports were given on the Shaw House in Southern Pines, and the House in the Horseshoe; four antiques attributed to North Carolina craftsmen were purchased and will be displayed in the restored houses.

The *Moore County News* has been running throughout the past four years a fictional but historically accurate series of purported letters from a Moore County soldier enlisted in the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment in the Civil War. Mr. Thurman Maness, author of the "letters," began the series in 1961 and the last "letter" coincided with the surrender at Appomattox.

The North Carolina Coastal Historyland Association met at Tryon Palace, March 22. Mr. P. D. Midgett, Jr., Englehard, president, presided. Officers elected were: Mr. P. D. Midgett, Jr., Englehard, president; Mr. L. S. Blades, Elizabeth City, Mr. Alonzo C. Edwards, Hookerton, and Mr. J. F. Havens, Tarboro, vice-presidents; Dr. Gertrude S. Carraway, New Bern, secretary; Miss Evelyn Covington, Raleigh, assistant secretary; Mr. Robert L. Stallings, Jr., New Bern, treasurer. Also elected were thirty-two directors. Mr. Voit Gilmore was guest speaker.

The second annual meeting of the North Carolina Presbyterian Historical Society was held in Raleigh, April 2. The Reverend Robert S. Arrowood, Linden, president, presided. New officers elected were: Senator Hector MacLean, Lumberton, president; the Reverend J. K. Fleming, Selma, Mrs. J. M. Matthews, Matthews, and Mr. James W. Wall, Mocksville, vice-presidents; Dr. Harold J. Dudley, Raleigh, secretary-historian; the Reverend James D. MacKenzie, Olivia, assistant secretary-historian; Mr. R. P. Moore, Lexington, treasurer.

The society has completed its first major project, the reprinting of Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina,* edited and indexed by Dr. Harold J. Dudley. Dr. Ernest Trice Thompson, emeritus Professor of History in Union Theological Seminary at Richmond, Virginia, was the featured speaker.

The Perquimans County Historical Society met March 22 in Durants Neck. Mr. B. C. Berry, president, presided; past presidents Mr. N. A. Fulford and Mr. Stephen Perry were in charge of the program.

The Pitt County Historical Association met May 6 at Greenville. A series of programs on the history of Pitt County is being presented. Dr. Charles L. Price of the Department of Social Studies, East Carolina College, spoke on "The Revolutionary Era in Pitt."

Officers and directors of the Roanoke Island Historical Association met March 13 in Raleigh. Mrs. Fred W. Morrison, chairman, presided. The proposed budget for the twenty-fifth season of Mr. Paul Green's "The Lost Colony" was submitted by Mr. John W. Fox, General Manager. Mr.

Paul Hulton, Curator of Drawings and Prints of the British Museum in London, conducted a tour of the John White watercolor drawings on exhibit at the North Carolina Museum of Art. Many of the sixteenth-century paintings were made on Roanoke Island, site of the first English settlements in America, 1585-1587.

The Southern Appalachian Historical Association, which sponsors "Horn in the West," elected the following officers: Dr. I. G. Greer, Chapel Hill, president; Dr. R. H. Harmon, executive vice-president; Mrs. B. W. Stallings, membership chairman; Mr. Lynn Holaday, treasurer; Mrs. Earleen G. Pritchett, secretary, all of Boone. Directors are Mr. Robert Allen, Mr. Glenn R. Andrews, Mr. J. V. Caudill, Mrs. Paul Coffey, the Reverend Richard Crowder, Mr. Samuel Dixon, Mr. H. R. Eggers, Mr. Grady Farthing, Mr. Clyde R. Greene, Mr. Stanley A. Harris, Mr. J. E. Holshouser, Jr., Dr. Ray Lawrence, Mr. Hugh Morton, Dr. W. H. Plemmons, Miss Rachel Rivers, Dr. O. K. Richardson, Mr. Grover Robbins, Jr., Miss Jane Smith, Mr. Herman W. Wilcox, Mrs. Carrie Winkler, Mr. Ralph Winkler, and Mr. Wade E. Brown.

This summer will be the fourteenth season of the outdoor drama, which runs June 25-August 28, nightly except Monday.

Dr. W. Amos Abrams, Editor of *North Carolina Education,* and a noted expert in North Carolina folklore, spoke to the spring meeting of the Wake County Historical Society and played his recordings of local folk music. Newly elected officers of the society are: Mr. Richard O. Gamble, president; Mr. C. D. Baucom, vice-president; Mrs. A. W. Hoffman, secretary; and Dr. Thornton W. Mitchell, treasurer. Mr. William A. Bason, Mr. Charles R. Holloman, and Mrs. Gaston Nolin were elected directors.

Colonel Paul A. Rockwell was awarded the annual Achievement Cup by the Western North Carolina Historical Association, April 24, in Asheville, in recognition of his role in the commemoration of the Battle of Asheville, fought April 6, 1865. Mr. Glenn Tucker, Flat Rock, presided. Mrs. Joseph Bailey, Flat Rock, spoke about Western North Carolina folkways, and Mr. Robert H. Reid of Christ School spoke on General Robert E. Lee's surrender to General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse in Virginia.

The Yadkin County Historical Society elected the following officers: Mr. James Hutchens, president; Mr. Carl Hoots, vice-president; Mrs. Lexie Groce, secretary; Mr. Bruce Shore, treasurer. Directors are Mr. L. H. West, Mr. J. C. Matthews, and Mr. Charles L. Hutchens. The society decided to investigate the possibility of restoring the old Richmond Hill Law School and the Hunt House and to designate historic sites in the county.

The North Carolina Historical Review is printed on Permalife, a text paper developed through the combined efforts of William J. Barrow of the Virginia State Library, the Council on Library Resources, Inc., and the Standard Paper Manufacturing Company. Tests indicate that the paper theoretically has a useful life of at least 300 years.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW
EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent states. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this state, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for *The Review,* but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, and style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for *The North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook,* which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for *The Review.* Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.

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The North Carolina Historical Review



Autumn 1965

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—Springhouse at Panacea Springs, from a photograph owned by Mr. Clifton C. Alston of Littleton and lent to the Department of Archives and History by Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives. For an article on Panacea Springs, see pages 430 to 439.

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BAPTISTS AND THE NEGRO IN NORTH CAROLINA DURING RECONSTRUCTION

By John L. Bell, Jr.*

The Baptists of North Carolina, as did other denominations, faced numerous problems arising from the emancipation of the slave members of their churches. Everyone accepted the Negro as a permanent part of southern society, so the central problem was to determine what the church should do to make him a useful citizen. Baptists pursued a positive program of teaching Negroes to read and write and of providing religious services for them. On the other hand, concurrent with their aid to the Negroes, Baptists desired that their colored members should form their own churches as soon as possible. Consequently, Negro Baptists organized a general association in 1867 and a state convention in 1869. By 1875 Negroes had almost completely withdrawn from Baptist churches.

After acclimating themselves to the immediate implications of emancipation, white orNth Carolina Baptists[1] instituted a program of local educational aid and spiritual succor for the Negroes. Some individual churches organized Negro Sunday schools and tried to preach to Negroes who were not church members.

Baptists of both races acquiesced in the changed relationship between master and slave after 1865. The Negroes quietly accepted their new freedom while remaining, in general, kindly disposed toward their former masters. One observer noted that unrest and antagonism appeared only among those freedmen "who have been exposed to the contamination of intruding theorists and speculators . . . who deem their errand of philanthropy unaccomplished unless they can detach the colored [people] from the whites, and excite strife between the two classes."[2]

* Mr. Bell is Assistant Professor in the Department of Social Sciences, Western Carolina College, Cullowhee.

[1] Three major Baptist bodies existed in North Carolina from 1865 to 1875: Free-will Baptists, Primitive Baptists, and Missionary Baptists. The third body, officially represented by the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, is the subject of this study.

[2] *Biblical Recorder* (Raleigh), February 22, 1866, hereinafter cited as *Biblical Recorder*. All citations to the *Biblical Recorder* in this article are to microfilm copies in the North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

On the other hand, Baptist churches accepted the fact of the Negroes' freedom and continued their mission of caring for the Negroes' spiritual interests. Green River Association, comprising Rutherford, Polk, and McDowell counties, felt no enmity toward the free Negroes; it advised its churches to consult their Negro members in all matters concerning them and to treat them with "kindness and forbearance."[3] The churches of Tar River Association in Franklin, Nash, and Warren counties, having nearly an equal membership of both races, resolved to treat their Negro members "with the spirit of kindness and brotherly love, and [to] make their present connection with us as pleasant and profitable to them as we can, until the way is prepared for a proper separation from us."[4] Sandy Creek Association, whose boundary extended to the limits of Chatham, Orange, Randolph, and Moore counties, saw no reason to discontinue to strive for the religious improvement of the Negroes merely because they had been emancipated.[5] The association placed no blame upon the freedmen for the disrupted social system, but it did think that emancipation should impress upon white and black alike the mysterious workings of God's Providence.[6] Not even the Eastern Association could bring itself to condemn the Negroes for their inactive part in the great social disruption: "The change is not one for which they are responsible, and no ill-feeling should be entertained towards them in consequence of it."[7]

In this atmosphere of acquiescence to the changed social order, North Carolina Baptists proposed opening Negro Sunday schools to be operated by individual churches on their own initiative. Baptists further wished to aid the Negro through state missions, which desired to provide ministers to preach the gospel to Negroes who were not church members. Both programs were designed only for temporary operation, and neither program, under central direction, attained any size or distinction other than demonstrating Christian charity toward

[3] *Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Anniversary of the Green River Baptist Association, Held with Coopers' Gap Church, Polk County, N.C., October 5th to the 8th, 1866* (Rutherfordton: The Star Office, 1866), 6, hereinafter cited as *Minutes, Green River Association.*

[4] *Proceedings of the Tar River Baptist Association, Bear Swamp Church, Thursday, October 7th, 1866* (Petersburg, Virginia: Ege and Ellyson, Printers, 1867), 9, hereinafter cited as *Minutes, Tar River Association.*

[5] *Minutes of the One Hundred and Seventh Session of the Sandy Creek Baptist Association, Held with the Church at Rives' Chapel, Chatham County, N.C., October 29-September 1st* [*sic*], *1865* (Raleigh: Biblical Recorder Book and Job Printing Office, 1866), 9, hereinafter cited as *Minutes, Sandy Creek Association.*

[6] *Minutes, Sandy Creek Association, 1867,* 11.

[7] *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Session of the Eastern Association, Held with Bear-marsh Church, Duplin Co., N.C., October 8-11, 1867* (Raleigh: Biblical Recorder Publishing Company, 1867), 15, hereinafter cited as *Minutes, Eastern Association.*

the Negroes. The burden of instructing and preaching to the freedmen fell upon individual churches.

The Southern Baptist Convention urged the establishment of Sunday schools because they would provide a means for the religious instruction, and eventual salvation, of Negroes.[8] The convention also urged state conventions to appoint missionaries to organize and supervise Negro Sunday schools; it hoped that such schools might interest Negroes in becoming missionaries to Africa.[9] These proposals, however, produced few direct results in North Carolina.

The North Carolina Baptist State Convention of 1865, recognizing its Christian duty "to instruct the ignorant, to assist the needy, and to do good to all men," urged its churches to organize Sunday schools for the religious instruction of Negroes.[10] The convention saw nothing improper or degrading in employing white church members as teachers in Negro schools.[11] Again, in 1867 the State Convention requested its churches to establish Negro day schools and Sunday schools, "and such other institutions as have for their object to promote the spiritual and intellectual well-being of the race." [12]

Local opinion was not unanimous on the utility of Sunday schools for Negroes, but it did agree that schools should be provided for them. Several local church bodies pointed to the desirability and necessity of Negro Sunday schools. Baptists in the vicinity of Shelby, Charlotte, and Kings Mountain desired to provide religious instruction for the Negroes, "especially that they may read that blessed Book whose truths, understood and practiced, constitute the only sure basis of the peace and prosperity of society. . . ." Kings Mountain Association urged this educational duty upon its members as a family and individual responsibility until Sunday schools, using the New Testament as a textbook, could be established.[13]

Baptist members of the Eastern Association, who lived among a sizable population of Negroes, proposed that their churches use Sunday schools as a means of social control over colored members. "If our brethren do not engage in this work [Sunday schools], there

[8] *Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, Held at Russelville, Kentucky, May 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1866* (Richmond, Virginia: Dispatch Steam Presses, 1866), 86, hereinafter cited as *Proceedings, Southern Baptist Convention.*

[9] *Proceedings, Southern Baptist Convention, 1872,* 24.

[10] *Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina Held with the Church at Forestville, November 1-4, 1865* (Raleigh: Biblical Recorder Book and Job Printing Office, 1866), 16, hereinafter cited as *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention.*

[11] *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1866,* 19.

[12] *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1867,* 26.

[13] John R. Logan, *Sketches, Historical and Biographical, of the Broad River and King's Mountain Baptist Associations, from 1800 to 1882* (Shelby: Babington, Roberts, and Co., 1887), 113-114, hereinafter cited as Logan, *Sketches.*

will come those among them for this purpose, whose presence and influence will be anything else than agreeable to them," argued J. L. Carroll, chairman of the associational committee on religious instruction of Negroes. "If the highest motives of Christian duty are not sufficient to prompt them [the churches] to action," he continued, "there are other considerations, seriously affecting their social and political relations, to urge them to it."[14]

Similarly, the Baptist churches of Wake and Franklin counties felt that uneducated Negroes, "ignorant and credulous, and possessing lively emotions and strong passions," might become a dangerous element in every community. It was imperative that these docile and emotional Negroes be taught by southern men. These Baptists near the state capital concluded: "If *we* do not enter on this work [Sunday schools], others, who . . . are not so well qualified for the task, will fall in among them and mould them according to their own will."[15]

Negro Baptist Sunday schools, in spite of their desirability, were not numerous in North Carolina. L. Simmons, a Baptist minister, successfully organized a system of colored day schools and Sunday schools in Montgomery County. "My school is still in successful operation—six nights in the week with fifteen to twenty scholars, and every Sunday, save the one for monthly meeting at our church, with forty to fifty scholars," reported Simmons in 1867. "Although the labor is very exhausting, for I am getting old and have but little assistance, yet the thought that I am doing good to the poor, ignorant creatures more than repays me for my trouble with them."[16] J. M. Justice reported from Rutherfordton the successful operation of a church-directed Sunday school for Negro children. The Rutherfordton church also conducted a day school for about forty colored children "who manifest great interest in the school and are learning rapidly."[17] Mt. Vernon Baptist Church in Forestville, fifteen miles north of Raleigh, organized a Sunday school for its Negro members in 1867. James S. Ray, white, and George Dunn, colored, superintended that school which enrolled 135 pupils and seven teachers. By 1869 the Mt. Vernon Sunday school declined in attendance to 90 pupils and five teachers. No report was made in 1871 or afterward.[18]

[14] *Minutes, Eastern Association, 1867*, 15.
[15] *Minutes of the Sixth Annual Session of the Central Baptist Association, Held with the Church at Franklinton, Franklin County, N.C., October 5th-7th, 1865* (Raleigh: Biblical Recorder Book and Job Printing Establishment, 1865), 6, hereinafter cited as *Minutes, Central Association.*
[16] *Biblical Recorder*, June 26, 1867.
[17] *Biblical Recorder*, July 10, 1867.
[18] *Minutes, Central Association, 1867*, 15; *1869*, 10.

The operation of Sunday schools was not the only activity in which North Carolina Baptists made small, but positive, contributions to the religious welfare of Negroes. Because of their traditional emphasis upon the Great Commission,[19] Southern Baptists considered the greater part of their Christian mission fulfilled when they preached the gospel to sinners. To provide preaching for the Negroes was therefore a major duty of white churches and a special mission of the southern and state conventions.

The North Carolina Baptist State Convention had been organized to perform four major functions, two of which included dispatching missionaries within North Carolina and co-operating with the Southern Baptist Convention in the promotion of missions.[20] In the light of these responsibilities, the State Missions Board of the North Carolina convention concluded in 1865 that the recently emancipated Negroes presented a new and interesting challenge for mission activity. "They are now occupying a new position, with new trials and temptations, and they have peculiar claims on us," advised the State Missions Board in its annual report. "To save them from vice and utter moral ruin we must throw around them the restraining influences of the Gospel." [21] In support of the request of the Missions Board, the convention advised white pastors to continue ministering to their Negro members.[22]

The Southern Baptist Convention, meeting in Atlanta in 1867, spent the last day of the session discussing the condition of the freedmen. From the convention's deliberations emerged three resolutions proposing mission activities among the colored people. The convention affirmed its interest in the moral and religious improvement of the Negroes; advised white ministers and churches to evangelize and enlighten them; and directed the Domestic Missions Board to establish and encourage missions for the Negroes' benefit.[23] Although the North Carolina convention employed a missionary to establish liaison in missions with the Southern Baptist Convention, North Carolina received only one of the 105 missionaries sent out by the Domestic Missions Board to work among whites and Negroes.[24] In 1869 a "Freedmen's Board Department" for the education of freedmen was recommended to the Southern Baptist Convention as an addition to

[19] "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. . . ." Matthew 28:19-20.
[20] *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1865*, 3.
[21] *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1865*, 11.
[22] *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1865*, 16; *1866*, 19-20.
[23] *Biblical Recorder*, May 22, 1867.
[24] *Biblical Recorder*, June 5, 1867; January 29, 1868.

the Missions Board, but the proposal was rejected because its activity would place the Missions Board even deeper in debt.[25] Thus was the Southern Baptist Convention limited in its missionary activities among the Negroes by lack of financial resources rather than by purpose and intent.

The North Carolina Baptist State Convention received no better financial support for Negro mission activities. In 1865 the convention received for its entire program, which included state and foreign missions, education of ministers, Sunday schools, and colportage, only $390.78. Of this amount, $84.69 was designated for state missions.[26] The financial picture appeared even darker in 1866 when of a total collection of $209.13, only $65.38 was apportioned for state missions.[27] In the unstable period between 1865 and 1867, when they were more willing and anxious to aid their Negro members, North Carolina Baptists had no financial base upon which to erect a centrally directed program of Negro mission activities.

At least two white missionaries did work among North Carolina Negro Baptists before 1870. C. J. Nelson served as pastor to a Negro church of sixty members in Goldsboro for one year. His great energy and direction contributed to the success of the church and the completion of a new house of worship in 1867.[28] S. W. Lunn was appointed missionary to the Negroes by Welsh Neck Association, whose churches were located along the state line in North Carolina and South Carolina.[29]

Despite their genuine interest in the religious welfare of their former Negro slaves, North Carolina Baptists wholeheartedly approved the complete withdrawal of Negroes from white churches as soon as possible. What, if anything, explains this seeming contradiction in the action of white Baptists who on the one hand called for more Negro Sunday schools and special preaching services but on the other politely requested the Negroes to leave their churches? Was such action not inconsistent with the command of the Great Commission to carry the gospel to all lands and all people? Apparently, white Baptists felt that their actions expressed neither inconsistency nor contradiction. Their fixed purpose to maintain the accustomed system of social inequality between whites and Negroes they felt to be superior to any positive Christian duty to the Negro.

[25] *Biblical Recorder*, June 2, 1869.
[26] *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1865*, 19.
[27] *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1866*, 21.
[28] *Biblical Recorder*, July 3, 1867.
[29] *Biblical Recorder*, April 24, 1867.

The social system in which several generations of southerners had been reared before 1865, decreed that the Negro was the intellectual and social inferior of any white man. The Negro's inferiority and his position as a slave in society also relegated him to a passive and minor role in the Baptist churches in which he worshiped. Accordingly, slave members of Baptist churches had no voice in church government, save occasionally in matters which concerned slaves only.[30] Negroes sat apart from white congregations, either in galleries or "lofts" of large churches or in rear seats which had been "railed off" for them in smaller churches. They sat near the whites only during communion service or on other special occasions.[31]

Neither abolition of slavery nor defeat in war altered the fixed white opinion that Negroes should retain their inferior status in white churches as a condition of their worship. J. D. Hufham, a leader of North Carolina Baptists, recognized only two courses concerning Negro membership: Either form separate churches for Negroes, or admit them to white churches with equal privileges in church government and discipline. Hufham declared separation to be the better course because equal privileges for Negroes were "not to be thought of."[32] Central Association in 1865 proposed the same alternatives: Negroes could remain in white churches only by submitting to the church regulations enforced under slavery; if they desired equality, they could find it only in separate churches.[33] Even with the advent of political equality for Negroes, Baptists were unwilling to grant them equal privileges with white members. "If our original code of discipline toward our brethren of African descent was right, then emancipation from slavery has not made it wrong," concluded an article in the *Biblical Recorder*.[34]

While Baptists would not accept equal privileges for Negroes in local church government and discipline, they just as vociferously denounced any move toward social equality within higher church organizations. The problem of membership of Negro churches in white associations developed into an issue over social equality in the Southern Baptist Convention of 1869. Richard Fuller, pastor of a church in Baltimore, advanced a program which was ahead of his time. In order to make the Negro feel that in Christ there was neither

[30] *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1867*, 25.
[31] William A. Graham, *The History of the South Fork Baptist Association, or the Baptists for One Hundred Years in Lincoln, Catawba and Gaston Counties, North Carolina* (Lincolnton: Journal Printing Co., 1901), 59-60.
[32] *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1867*, 25.
[33] *Minutes, Central Association, 1865*, 7.
[34] *Biblical Recorder*, January 30, 1867.

male nor female, Jew nor Gentile, African nor American, Fuller proposed that Negro churches be accepted into white Baptist associations. A. M. Poindexter of Virginia was unwilling to accept Fuller's plan because it disregarded the social implications of uniting white and Negro churches in the same association. "The Bible never intended, when it said that we are all one in Christ, to abolish social distinctions," argued Poindexter. "If you would admit them [the Negroes] as representatives in associations, you would have also to admit them to your homes, to your tables and lay them upon your beds." A sufficient number of delegates concurred in Poindexter's dread of social equality to defeat Fuller's proposal.[35]

North Carolina Baptists, as evidenced by their statements and actions, were united in their opposition to social equality in their churches or in any other place. John R. Logan, one-time state senator and a leading Baptist layman, declared that social equality in Baptist churches was not even to be considered, much less desired.[36] Tar River Association, comprised of churches mainly in Franklin, Nash, and Warren counties, received a request for membership in 1869 from Shiloh Colored Baptist Church in Granville County. Shiloh members, specifically renouncing in their request any desire for civil or social equality, desired only to be placed under the "protection, guidance, and fostering care" of the association. Tar River Association admitted Shiloh Colored Baptist Church into its fellowship with the understanding that the resolution of admission "confers not nor shall be in any way construed to confer upon said Shiloh Church, or any delegate thereof, any social, political, or civil right, whatever, in this Association." [37] Evidently the arrangement worked well, for in 1870 the white delegates, as a token of their "Christian sympathy and brotherly love," contributed money for the purchase of a Bible for the colored church.[38]

Strong Baptist opposition to social equality was further demonstrated in 1870 by the *Biblical Recorder*'s disapproval of the move in Catholic churches in Baltimore to have whites and Negroes sit together and intermingle socially. Apparently, the Baptist paper was also piqued because some northern churches demanded that Southern Baptist churches be reconstructed to effect social equality between the races. The *Recorder* penned an indignant reply: "Any law or rule *requiring* both colors to sit on the same bench, to study at the same desk, to eat at the same table, or to sleep on the same beds, would be

[35] *Biblical Recorder*, June 2, 1869.
[36] Logan, *Sketches*, 116.
[37] *Minutes, Tar River Association, 1869*, 9.
[38] *Minutes, Tar River Association, 1870*, 6.

superfluous tyranny, equally hateful and injurious to persons of both colors." [39]

Another factor, not easily documented, emerged to hasten the move by both races for separate churches and associations. This second factor was the desire of the Negroes themselves for some measure of equality and self-determination commensurate with their new-found freedom. The Negroes early perceived that emancipation had not brought any change in their relationship with whites within the Baptist churches of which they were members. As in times of slavery, they were required to sit in galleries or rear seats; they had no voice in church government; and in church they were forced to observe all the social barriers that existed between slave and master. Although an act of government had given the slaves their freedom, Baptist churches had not emancipated them. The younger Negroes saw that the achievement of relative equality and participation in church affairs required that they worship to themselves. J. D. Hufham recognized this desire for equality when in 1867 he advised the North Carolina Baptist State Convention that the majority of Negroes were unwilling to remain in white churches "on the old footing," the only condition upon which whites would accept Negro members. "Disguise it as we may," said Hufham, "our colored brethren are disposed to independent action—they want preachers and churches of their own." [40]

Even after their separation from white churches, Negroes expressed their disapprobation of a social system which regarded them as inferior beings and treated them accordingly. Roanoke Association, the first Negro association to be organized in North Carolina, resolved in 1869 "that proscription on account of caste or color, is unwarranted by any law or rule of *decency* or sound morality, and [is] contray [*sic*] to the spirit of the times. . . ." Furthermore, Roanoke Association considered racial discrimination to be "but the relic of a cringing excresence of slavery" which "deserves the disapprobation of every just, honorable, and liberty loving citizen. . . ." [41] And in 1870 Negro Baptists of eastern North Carolina deplored the prevalence of racial prejudice among white Baptists. "And as the scriptures regards [*sic*] no man on account of the *color* of his *skin*," advised the Negro Baptists, "we encourage all men to do likewise." Roanoke Association also found it difficult in 1870 to understand the indifference with which white

[39] *Biblical Recorder*, February 23, 1870.
[40] *Biblical Recorder*, June 5, 1867.
[41] *Minutes of the Fourth Annual Session of the Roanoke Missionary Baptist Association [Negro], Held with the Church at Philadelphia, Camden County, N.C., May 26-28, 1869* (Elizabeth City: North Carolinian Power Press, 1869), 7, hereinafter cited as *Minutes, Roanoke Association [Negro]*.

Baptists lately looked upon Negro churches. It resolved that its own churches would regard white Baptists "as brethren and sisters, Pilgrims to a better land, and will pray the Lord to soften their obdurate hearts, and cause them to see the error of their ways." [42]

Thus arose the rigid and incompatible demands of both races which led to the approval on both sides of separate Negro churches. White Baptists demanded that free Negroes remain in their inferior social position, changed not at all from slavery times. The Negroes quietly and orderly requested a measure of equality in the white churches. Their desire was not to be attained in the face of rigid white opposition to equal church privileges and to social equality, so they gradually withdrew to their own churches.

That both races effected the withdrawal of Negro Baptists in a gradual, friendly, and co-operative manner is a tribute to their good judgment. The North Carolina Baptist State Convention and many of the associations passed resolutions, mainly between 1865 and 1867, recommending that Negro Baptists withdraw to their own churches as soon as they could be established. White Baptists were requested to aid the Negroes in their withdrawal. Negroes who were willing to accept the social customs imposed by the whites, however, could remain members of the white churches indefinitely.[43] Many elder Negroes who were attached to their former masters and the white churches refused to leave, but most Negroes desired freedom of religious action and departed.[44]

White North Carolina Baptists generally tried to be helpful to the Negroes in establishing their own churches. Olive Chapel Baptist Church near Apex, after voting in 1866 to grant letters of dismissal to Negroes who desired to leave, offered its services to help the Negroes construct their own church. The Negroes decided to build near Friendship, and white members of Olive Chapel contributed plans, labor, and lumber in the construction of the new Negro Church.[45] The Baptists in Murfreesboro aided Elder Lemuel W. Boone, a Negro minister, in the organization of a Negro church in November, 1866. Afterward, they helped him secure funds for a building, "for the erec-

[42] *Minutes, Roanoke Association [Negro], 1870,* 5.

[43] *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1866,* 19-20, *1867,* 25-26; *Biblical Recorder,* June 5, 1867, May 27, 1868; *Minutes, Central Association, 1865,* 7, *1866,* 6; *Minutes, Eastern Association, 1865,* 5-6; *Minutes, Sandy Creek Association, 1865,* 10; *Minutes, Tar River Association, 1866,* 9.

[44] J. A. Whitted, *A History of Negro Baptists of North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1908), 14-15, hereinafter cited as Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists.*

[45] Garland A. Hendricks, *Biography of a Country Church* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1950), 54-55.

tion of which our citizens of every class contributed cheerfully."[46] Chapel Hill Baptist Church dismissed most of its Negro members in November, 1865, but the church granted them the privilege of continued use of the building until 1871.[47] Catawba Association appointed in 1869 three white ministers to aid six colored churches in Gaston County to organize their own association.[48]

Numerous white churches released their Negro members in a body as soon as the Negroes procured the services of a minister and a place of worship. In June, 1868, the Raleigh First Baptist Church, while meeting in a business session, received with surprise a delegation from the church's Negro members. "Brother Henry Jett, one of the delegates, . . . stated that the colored church wished the white church to dismiss them in a body, either by letter or by a simple vote, they having already organized a separate body under the name of the First Baptist Church, Colored."[49] The session of the Raleigh First Baptist Church granted the request and wrote letters of dismissal to 200 of its Negro members.[50] The First Baptist Church of Charlotte acted similarly in January, 1868. At that time "Brother Alfred," who had become deacon and quasi-minister to the colored members in 1867, recommended fifty-five of them for membership in a separate Negro congregation. The church accordingly granted them letters of dismissal.[51] On October 12, 1872, the First Baptist Church of Lumberton dismissed all of its twenty Negro members to join Sandy's Grove Colored Church nearby.[52]

On occasion, Negro members of white churches were dismissed under unpleasant circumstances. Chowan Association, located in northeastern North Carolina, in 1867 advised all of its churches to dismiss Negro men who had run away from their masters during the war to join the Union Army. L. W. Boone, a Negro minister, asked that the resolution be rescinded, but the association replied that its action was based upon the Scriptures and must stand.[53] The Rose of Sharon

[46] *Biblical Recorder*, January 16, 1867.
[47] A. C. Howell, *A History of the Chapel Hill Baptist Church, 1854-1924* (Chapel Hill: n. p., 1945), 18.
[48] *Biblical Recorder*, October 20, 1869.
[49] Andrew J. Rogers, *Brief History, Formation and Growth of the [Colored] First Baptist Church of Raleigh, N.C.* (Raleigh: Capital Printing Co., 1927), 6.
[50] *Manual and Directory of the First Baptist Church of Raleigh, N.C.* (Raleigh: Alford, Bynum and Christophers, Printers, 1900), 23.
[51] Carrie L. McLean, *First Baptist Church, Charlotte, N.C., 1832-1916* (Charlotte: Washburn Press, 1917), 26.
[52] *The First Baptist Church, Lumberton, North Carolina: One Hundred Years of Christian Witnessing, 1855-1955* (Nashville, Tennessee: Ambrose Printing Co., 1955), 54-55.
[53] James A. Delke, *History of the North Carolina Chowan Baptist Association, 1806-1881* (Raleigh: Edwards, Broughton and Co., 1882), 87.

Baptist Church near Durham had rarely dismissed Negroes for violations of church laws before 1865, but between 1865 and 1874 "they were frequently brought up for various offenses and turned out." [54]

Although North Carolina Baptists kept no accurate membership statistics for several years after the war, one informed minister, J. D. Hufham, estimated in May, 1867, that the churches had retained only a fragment of their "very large" colored membership which existed at the close of the war.[55] Apparently, most of the Negroes who left white churches between 1865 and 1867 departed in 1865, because several of the few associations which did enumerate white and colored members showed only a slight, if any, decrease in colored membership between 1865 and 1867. The greatest exodus of Negroes from white churches occurred after 1867 when the Negroes had organized their own general association for North Carolina.

Brown Creek Association in Union and Anson counties began counting Negro members separately only in 1870 when it reported 1,176 white and 125 colored members. By 1875 white membership had increased to 1,294, but Negro membership had dropped to 28.[56] The Central Association in Wake and Franklin counties had 337 colored members in 1866, 524 in 1867, 413 in 1868, but only 55 in 1874.[57] The Eastern Association, extending over a wide area in eastern North Carolina, reported a Negro membership for the years 1865, 1866, 1867, and 1868, respectively, of 1,461, 1,089, 1,013, and 794. In 1870 no Negro members were listed.[58] The Negro contingent of Green River Association in the mountainous region of the state increased in number between 1865 and 1867 from 189 to 198.[59] The Negro membership of Pee Dee Association also increased in the same period from 371 to 441, but declined to 38 in 1872.[60]

Many associations did not even list Negro members separately after 1875. Associational and local church records thus indicate that only a handful of Negroes remained in white churches by 1875. The greater part of them had withdrawn to form their own Baptist churches under their own control.

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[54] R. T. Howerton, Jr., "The Rose of Sharon Baptist Church," *Trinity College Historical Papers*, VII (1907), 42-43.

[55] *Biblical Recorder*, June 5, 1867.

[56] *Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Session of the Brown Creek Association, Held with the Church at Deep Creek, Anson County, North Carolina, October 7 & 8, A.D. 1870* (Raleigh: Nichols and Gorman, Book and Job Printers, 1870), 15; *1875*, 14.

[57] *Minutes, Central Association, 1866*, 16; *1867*, 16; *1868*, 25; *1870*, 21.

[58] *Minutes, Eastern Association, 1865*, 16-17; *1866*, 19; *1867*, 25; *1868*, 25; *1870*, 21.

[59] *Minutes, Green River Association, 1865*, 8; *1867*, 5.

[60] *Minutes and Proceedings of the Fifty-First Anniversary of the Pee Dee Baptist Association, Held with Forks of Little River Church, (Montgomery County,) October 19, 20, 21, 1866* (Wadesboro: Printed at the Argus Office, 1867), 15; *1867*, 16; *1872*, 12.

If Negroes were to have their own churches, as white and Negro Baptists desired, Negro pastors had to be secured and trained as early as possible. Baptists were not as exacting in the educational requirements for their ministers as were Presbyterians and Episcopalians. For that reason, uneducated Negroes were acceptable as ministers for the work of establishing the first Negro churches. Negro Baptists, with the aid of white pastors and congregations, quickly secured a sufficient number of Negro ministers to lead their independent churches.

A few Negro Baptist ministers remained from the ante-bellum period and formed the nucleus of the new colored ministry. Such was the role of a slave of Thomas L. Cowan, Harry Cowan, who was born in 1810, converted in 1825, and licensed to preach in 1828. After his ordination in 1830, Harry Cowan organized five churches, three in Rowan County and two in Davidson County. From his master Cowan received a horse with a saddle and bridle on which to make preaching tours of his master's four plantations.[61] But Cowan early encountered the trials and tribulations of a Christian minister. He related how the "overseer was hostile to me, mocked my baptizings, clubbed me and fed me half rations." He was, however, "forced to beg my pardon and dismissed from service."[62] The reaction of whites to Nat Turner's insurrection in 1831 caused them to view with suspicion the work of any itinerant Negro preacher. Harry Cowan thus was limited to holding religious services within a forty-mile radius of Salisbury, and then only as white supervision permitted. His ministry was severely curbed until 1865, when he entered the work of organizing independent Negro churches and caring for the religious needs of his people. By his own account of postwar activities, he "organized, or assisted in organizing, 37 churches, baptized over 1,500 converts, preached 1,000 funerals, and married an equal number of persons." Harry Cowan also led in the formation of the North Carolina Colored Baptist State Convention in 1869.[63]

Joseph Baysmore of Halifax County also began religious work as a slave and later became a leader in the postwar movement for separate Negro churches. Born in 1823 to a mother who taught him the Lord's Prayer and brought him up in "fear of the Lord," Baysmore was baptized at the age of twenty-eight and immediately began holding prayer meetings for his fellow slaves. "My owner was good to me, and when I was baptized they give [*sic*] me the liberty of holding prayer

[61] Charles B. Williams, *A History of the Baptists in North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1901), 161, hereinafter cited as Williams, *History;* Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*, 10-11.
[62] Williams, *History*, 161-162.
[63] Williams, *History*, 162-163.

meetings, by which the whole people of the place were convicted from their evil way and returned to the Lord," related Baysmore in his later years. ". . . it was by the providence of God that I possessed a little share of education and by studying and practicing it the same I growed [*sic*] more and more in the light of literature, by which I was able to read the Bible." In 1865 he began preaching to a small church of five members. After being ordained in November, 1866, Baysmore received twenty-six members by letters from the white Baptist church in Weldon. Besides serving in political positions as justice of the peace and registrar for the constitutional convention election of 1867, Baysmore organized eight churches—four each in Halifax and Northampton counties—and baptized 900 persons.[64]

As soon as they saw the trend of events leading toward widespread withdrawal of Negroes from white churches, Baptists concurred in giving encouragement and moral support to Negro ministers. No sooner had the Southern Baptist Convention of 1867 advised white pastors to instruct Negro licentiates and ministers than the North Carolina Baptist State Convention urged the same measure.[65] The Southern Baptist Convention of 1869 again considered the problem of education for Negro ministers. One report recommended that a department for the theological education of colored ministers be opened in the Domestic Missions Board. The plan was rejected because it would drive the already debt-burdened Domestic Missions Board even deeper into debt. The convention agreed to a man, however, that the education of Negro ministers was necessary for improving the condition of Negroes in the South. Unofficially, the Southern Baptist Convention of 1869 transmitted the kindly, but impractical, offer of its seminary professors to give private instruction to any colored ministers who should desire it. Officially, the convention went on record as saying "that we, the Baptists of the South, recognize the high and sacred duty of giving a pure gospel and enlightened ministry to the colored population now living among us." [66] But Southern Baptists, mainly because of a lack of funds, developed no practical system of education for Negro ministers either in North Carolina or the South.

North Carolina Baptists possessed, but failed to avail themselves of, the means for educating Negro ministers between 1865 and 1870. Henry Martin Tupper, a discharged Union Army enlisted man who

[64] Joseph Baysmore, *A Historical Sketch of the First Colored Baptist Church, Weldon, N.C., with the Life and Labor of Elder Joseph Baysmore, with Four Collected Sermons* (Weldon, N.C.: Harrell's Printing House, 1887), 1-2.

[65] *Biblical Recorder*, May 22, 1867; *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1867*, 26.

[66] *Biblical Recorder*, June 2, 1869.

had been educated at Amherst College and Newton Theological Seminary, organized under the auspices of the American Baptist Home Mission Society a small theological school at Raleigh on December 1, 1865. The school's original aim was the training of Negro ministers and Christian workers.[67] When incorporated in 1875 and named "Shaw University" after its chief benefactor, Elijah Shaw of Massachusetts, the school was designed for "educational purposes" and operated classical, normal, and theological departments. The charter of 1875 also provided that no student was to be denied admission because of "race, color, or any previous condition of servitude." [68]

Tupper endured many hardships to gain recognition for his work among the Negroes of North Carolina. Not only was he socially ostracized by the white people of Raleigh and North Carolina, but he was also threatened by the Ku Klux Klan because of his treatment of the Negroes as social equals.[69] In October, 1869, Tupper informed the *Biblical Recorder* of the opening of the second session of "Raleigh Baptist Institute for the Education of Colored Men for the Ministry." He invited North Carolina Baptists to aid in the selection of colored men of good moral and religious character to attend the school which was supported by the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Free board, lodging, and tuition were offered to Negro men who gave evidence of their call to preach the gospel.[70]

J. S. Purefoy, a white Baptist minister, responded to Tupper's request and asked that North Carolina Baptists investigate the school and, if found worthy, urge Negroes to attend it. "It is a generous and noble thing on the part of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society to establish such a school," said Purefoy. "They are proposing to do a work which we are unable to do and one that is as much needed as any enterprise in which we are now engaged." [71] The *Biblical Recorder* gave approval to Tupper's work in time for the 1870 opening of his school for ministers.[72] North Carolina Baptists thus moved not only toward friendlier relations with northern teachers,

[67] Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*, 147-151.

[68] *Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly at Its Session 1874-'75, Begun and Held in the City of Raleigh on Monday, the Sixteenth Day of November, A.D., 1874*, c. 153; Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*, 20.

[69] Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*. 153; see also, George Campbell, *White and Black: The Outcome of a Visit to the United States* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1879), 26.

[70] *Biblical Recorder*, October 20, 1869.

[71] *Biblical Recorder*, November 3, 1869. The North Carolina Baptist State Convention also gave semiofficial sanction to Shaw University in 1872, *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1872*, 26.

[72] *Biblical Recorder*, June 8, 1870.

but also to a more liberal position regarding the education of Negro ministers.

Negroes went through the same ceremonies and formalities as did whites in becoming ministers. At Wilmington in 1867 a select group of white ministers examined E. E. Eagles, a Negro licentiate, concerning his call to the ministry, Christian experience, and doctrine. Having passed the test very satisfactorily, Eagles was ordained before a large congregation. Elder J. B. Hardwick, also white, presented him with a Bible. Afterward, the select group of ministers and part of the congregation extended to Eagles the "right hand of fellowship."[73]

By 1871 the Negro Baptist State Convention listed eighty-eight ministers who served churches as far west as Asheville and as far east as Edenton. Several towns had more than one Negro minister. Warrenton, Salisbury, and Wilmington had two ministers each; Oxford and New Bern had three; and Raleigh had five.[74] Elder A. D. Phillips served as the Negro Convention's first missionary to Africa.[75] "These pioneers . . . were unlettered men, could scarcely read a single line intelligently, and were almost entirely dependent on the Holy Spirit for inspiration and mental illumination," reminisced one historian of North Carolina Baptists.[76]

Although their spiritual and educational progress seemed to them unusually retarded, Negro Baptists organized a general association in 1867 and a state convention in 1869, acquired the basic skills of self-government, and thereafter increased rapidly in membership.

By 1867 Negro Baptists had a sufficient number of ministers and churches to constitute a state-wide general association. Roanoke Association, organized in 1865 on Roanoke Island, was the first Negro association in North Carolina.[77] L. W. Boone laid the foundation for Chowan Association in the winter of 1866-1867 by founding twenty Negro churches with 3,000 members.[78] White Baptists had earlier given their sanction and support to the formation of Negro churches and associations, and they stood ready to grant their approval to the establishment of a colored general association for North Carolina.

A small group of Negro ministers, led by Meredith Ligon, issued in September, 1867, a call for an assembly of two delegates from each Negro Baptist church in North Carolina. The delegates and Negro ministers were to meet in Goldsboro on October 18, 1867, to organize

[73] *Biblical Recorder*, June 5, 1867.
[74] *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1871*, 76-77.
[75] *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1871*, 18.
[76] Williams, *History*, 163.
[77] Williams, *History*, 162.
[78] *Biblical Recorder*, January 16, 1867.

a general association. "We deem it unnecessary . . . to do more than to call your attention to the importance of some such organization as we propose forming," stated the Negro leaders to their brethren across the state. "We need it for the improvement of our ministry and the denomination throughout the state. . . ."[79] The Negro ministers planned their first state assembly to coincide in time and place with the regular session of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, which would thus be able to render them technical aid and moral support. The convention assembled on October 16 and appointed a committee of seven white ministers, as requested by the Negroes, to aid them in organizing their general association.[80] The Negro delegates met concurrently in Goldsboro as planned and organized the "General Association for Colored Baptists of North Carolina."[81] Two years later, in 1869, the General Association, having gained enough strength, became the "Baptist Educational and Missionary Convention of North Carolina."[82] E. E. Eagles, S. M. Jones, Harry Cowan, and Lemuel W. Boone were outstanding in the formation of the convention.[83] Thus, by 1867 Negro Baptists had an organization which would speed the withdrawal of Negroes from white churches and perpetuate the Negro Baptist faith in North Carolina.

Although a separate and organized church facilitated the rapid numerical growth of Negro Baptists, it assured them of neither easy success nor doctrinal uniformity among their congregations. One historian of Negro Baptists in North Carolina characterized their postwar condition as one of ignorance, poverty, discouragement, and bitter and disappointing struggles.[84] A white visitor of the Weldon African Baptist Church in 1869 observed that the congregation was very noisy during the sermon on "Baptist Doctrine and Methodist Manners." He further noted that many Negroes were "intensely profane" and showed no desire for any knowledge of God.[85] S. J. Wheeler of Windsor toured the Negro churches of Hertford County early in 1869. He observed that their churches increased by ten or fifteen members each Sunday, but concluded that they were not spiritually progressing. "An impression prevails among many of them," reported Wheeler, "that their own feelings and impulses afford better evidences of the teachings of the Holy Ghost, than the Bible. They profess to think that while the Scriptures may instruct white christians, their instruction comes more di-

[79] *Biblical Recorder*, September 25, 1867.
[80] *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, October, 1867*, 18-19.
[81] *Minutes, Roanoke Association [Negro], 1868*, 5, 7.
[82] Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*, 34.
[83] Williams, *History*, 162.
[84] Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*, 37.
[85] *Biblical Recorder*, May 19, 1869.

rectly from the great source of light." [86] Roanoke Association also experienced growing pains when it was compelled to revoke the preaching license of Miles Harvey, who was to remain suspended "until he has retrieved his former character and reputation in the church." [87] Furthermore, Roanoke Association, which must have been more lenient in enforcing church discipline than white associations, excommunicated 68 members in 1868, 57 in 1869, and 105 in 1870.[88]

The very evidence which points to sizable elements of uneducated, undisciplined, and immoral members in pioneer Negro churches points also to the churches' ability to govern and discipline themselves. The fact that Roanoke Association suspended one licentiate and excommunicated numerous members between 1868 and 1870 signified that it possessed the faculty of self-criticism and the ability to enforce discipline. Moreover, when Negro Baptists moved from one town to another, these early churches realized the necessity of attesting to the good character of their departing members in order to insure a high moral quality among Negro Baptists.[89]

Local churches also demonstrated their ability to give financial support to their ministry by instituting plans of systematic benevolence. The Meherrin Baptist Church assessed its male members one cent per week and its female members one-half cent per week. The payments were to be made to the deacons quarterly or semiannually, and "the monies raised shall be subject to the order of the Church, and appropriated as the Church shall direct." [90]

The Baptist Educational and Missionary Convention of North Carolina grew rapidly in service and membership after its organization in 1869. By 1882 the convention's 95,000 members were gathered into 800 churches and were served by 450 ministers.[91] By the turn of the century Negro Baptists had experienced a phenomenal growth. The convention supported one college and 12 academies and high schools,

[86] *Biblical Recorder*, January 6, 1869.

[87] *Minutes, Roanoke Association* [*Negro*], *1868*, 7, 8.

[88] *Minutes, Roanoke Association* [*Negro*], *1868*, 13; *1869*, 9; *1870*, 5.

[89] Elder J. M. C. Luke granted to Roxanna Vincent the following letter of dismissal from Corinth Baptist Church in Northampton County: "This is to certify that Sister Roxanna Vincent is a member of this church in good standing: has petitioned for a letter of dismission, the same is granted her: but she is held amenible [*sic*] to this church untill [*sic*] she shall have joined some other of the same faith and order: done in conference Saturday before the 3rd Lords [*sic*] day in April AD. 1866—" It was signed "Elder J. M. C. Luke *Modr.*" Baptist Church (Colored) Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham, hereinafter cited as Baptist Church (Colored) Papers. See in the same collection letters of dismissal from the Negro Baptist Church in Murfreesboro to a church in Meherrin in 1867.

[90] Manuscript resolutions of the Colored Baptist Church at Meherrin, no date, Baptist Church (Colored) Papers.

[91] *Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Session of the* [*Negro*] *Baptist State Convention, of North Carolina, Held with the First Baptist Church, Durham, October 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st, 1882* (Raleigh, 1883), 3.

sent out 7 regular missionaries and one foreign missionary, and included in its organization 40 associations, one Sunday school convention, 900 ministers, 1,100 churches, and 160,000 communicants.[92] The convention had also published, at different times prior to 1908, five periodicals: *Gold Dust, Baptist Headlight, African Expositor, Chowan Pilot,* and *Baptist Sentinel.*[93]

The interaction of several factors arising from the background of slavery and war caused the withdrawal of Negroes from white-controlled Baptist churches in North Carolina in the decade following the Civil War.

First, white Baptists regarded the Negro as an inferior being with whom association as a social equal should be avoided at all costs lest his inferiority and undesirable characteristics be transmitted to whites. For this reason, Negroes were required to sit in a body apart from whites in Baptist churches; only equals sat together. Negroes could not be elected to office in a white church, for rulers are superior to the ruled. Nor could Negroes vote in church elections; for them to be allowed to do so would be an admission of their equality. The presence of Negro churches in white associations could not be tolerated either, for the assembly of delegates at an associational meeting is an assembly of equals. White Baptists believed in the inferiority of their black brothers in Christ but still were affectionately concerned for their religious welfare. Understanding and mutual concern, not antagonism and discord, were the norms of race relations in Baptist churches.

Second, freedom had given Negro Baptists a new lease upon life and a desire to reap its natural consequences by participating in the affairs of the Baptist churches of which they were members. A free man with freedom of choice had no desire to sit in the seat of a slave. A free man wanted equal participation, not to be the subject of constant dictation. The Negroes were not adamant or bitter in making demands of equality on their white co-members. Their long years of experience with their white masters had taught them to accept the white man as he was. Besides, they were in no position to make demands. Their only alternative was to withdraw from white Baptist churches, form their own churches so that they could govern themselves, and, with regard to white Baptists, "pray the Lord to soften their obdurate hearts, and cause them to see the error of their ways."[94]

[92] Williams, *History,* 166.
[93] Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists,* 40.
[94] *Minutes, Roanoke Association [Negro], 1870,* 5.

STEPHEN BEAUREGARD WEEKS: NORTH CAROLINA'S FIRST "PROFESSIONAL" HISTORIAN

By H. G. Jones *

On May 5, 1918, the mortal remains of Stephen Beauregard Weeks were lowered into the red clay of the old homeplace of the late Senator Willie Person Mangum in northern Durham County. Today a historical marker on Highway 501 reads, "Stephen B. Weeks. Historian, bibliographer, collector of North Carolina books and manuscripts, professor at Trinity College, 1891-1893. Grave six miles northeast." This is an exceedingly modest reminder of the legacy of North Carolina's first historian trained in modern methodology and dependent upon his specialty for a livelihood.[1] During the centennial of the birth of Stephen B. Weeks, it is appropriate that his contributions to the history of North Carolina be recalled.

Weeks was born on February 2, 1865, near Nixonton in Pasquotank County.[2] His parents, James Elliott Weeks and Mary Louisa Mullen Weeks, died while Stephen was an infant, and the boy was reared, as if he were their own son, by his father's sister and her husband, Robertson Jackson. The Weeks family had for several generations lived in

* Dr. Jones is State Archivist of North Carolina. This article is an adaptation of a paper read at the Stephen Beauregard Weeks Centennial Dinner held in the Carolina Inn, Chapel Hill, June 3, 1965.

[1] The State's leading newspaper noted in an editorial obituary that Weeks' career "ought to be given liberal mention in every history of the State." *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), May 4, 1918.

[2] For brief biographies of Weeks see the following: Thomas M. Pittman, "Stephen Beauregard Weeks," Samuel A. Ashe and Others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), V, 433-442; Albert Ray Newsome, "Stephen Beauregard Weeks," Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928-1958), XIX, 603-604; Albert Nelson Marquis and Others (eds.), *Who's Who in America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of the United States* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Company, 1899—[annually]), IX (1916-1917), 2,611; Mary Weeks Lambeth, *Memories and Records of Eastern North Carolina* (Nashville, Tennessee: Curley Printing Company, 1937), 118-124; Bettie Freshwater Pool, *Literature in the Albemarle* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Baltimore City Printing and Binding Company, 1915), *passim;* Mangum Weeks to the Author, May 23, 1965, in Author's possession; and Author's interview with Mangum Weeks (a son of Stephen B. Weeks), June 2, 1965, a sound recording of which is in the Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

the Albemarle region and, though of modest economic means, occupied a position of considerable respect among their neighbors. Stephen Weeks' mother was of Huguenot descent.

At the age of fifteen Weeks was sent to the Horner School at Henderson, and in 1882 he entered The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill where a new world was opened to him—the world of books. He read voraciously among the some 6,000 volumes in the Philanthropic Society Library, published a *Register of Members* of that society, wrote prolifically for the *University Magazine,* and graduated with second highest honors in 1886. He remained at the university, acquiring a master's degree in 1887, and the following year he was awarded the first degree of doctor of philosophy ever given by the Department of English (the fourth awarded by the university). Shortly afterward, on June 12, 1888, he married Mary Lee Martin, a daughter of Reverend Joseph Bonaparte Martin, a Methodist minister, and a granddaughter of General Joseph Martin whose papers Weeks subsequently edited. Mary Martin Weeks died on May 19, 1891, after bearing two children, one of whom, Robertson Jackson Weeks, a retired naval officer, now lives in California.

Although his academic training had been largely in languages, Stephen Weeks exhibited even as an undergraduate a keen interest in history. This interest was quickened when he entered The Johns Hopkins University on a scholarship in the fall of 1888 and came under the influence of Herbert Baxter Adams, America's foremost exponent of the German or "scientific" school of historical investigation. Weeks enthusiastically participated in Adams' famed southern history "Seminary," and by the time he received his second doctoral degree in 1891 he was a confirmed disciple of von Ranke's methods as transmitted through Bluntschli and Adams.[3] His dissertation, "The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina," later published in segments, remains a standard work on the subject.

With an impressive number of historical articles on varied subjects

[3] For the story of Adams' influence upon southern history, see Wendell Holmes Stephenson, *Southern History in the Making: Pioneer Historians of the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 52-70, hereinafter cited as Stephenson, *Southern History in the Making;* and W. Stull Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), *passim.*

The most useful aspect of the von Ranke-Adams tradition has been described recently as "the intense scrutiny and validation by well-tested procedures of each source and each statement in it." Harold T. Parker, "Introduction," Richard Herr (ed.), *Ideas in History* (Durham: Duke University Press [in page proof; to be published 1965]), xviii.

already to his credit,[4] the twenty-six-year-old scholar accepted an offer to teach history and political science at little Trinity College in his native state. In the Randolph County community Weeks found that "the library is small; the boys do not know how to use books; they come to us with no training and their historical knowledge is in most cases an absolute zero. . . ." [5] Within seven months Weeks fully established at Trinity the Department of History and Political Science, founded the Trinity College Historical Society, and introduced a spirit of scholarship from which the institution has never recovered. But, after only two years at the college, he, along with several other teachers, resigned following a bitter controversy with President John Franklin Crowell.[6]

The summer of 1893 was a busy one for Weeks. His first wife having died two years earlier, he married, on June 28, 1893, Sallie Mangum Leach, a daughter of Martin W. Leach of Randolph County and a granddaughter of Senator Willie P. Mangum. She gave birth to four children, two of whom, Miss Sallie Preston Weeks and Mr. Willie Person Mangum Weeks, survive and now live in the metropolitan Washington area. With a new wife to support, Weeks was unable to accept President George T. Winston's offer of the librarianship of The University of North Carolina at a salary of $500 per year.[7] Judge Walter Clark, who had resumed, where William L. Saunders left off, the publication of the revolutionary records, wanted to appoint Weeks as "historical agent" to collect materials on North Carolina history, but salaries were not provided by the act authorizing the publication.[8] Weeks was particularly disappointed that arrangements could not be made for him "to do for N. C. what Lyman C. Draper did for Wisconsin and the great Northwest." [9]

[4] William S. Powell, *Stephen Beauregard Weeks, 1865-1965: A Preliminary Bibliography* (Chapel Hill: The North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina, 1965), 7-10, hereinafter cited as Powell, *Weeks Bibliography*. This paper makes no effort to list the publications of Stephen B. Weeks as they are given in Powell's *Bibliography*.

[5] Weeks to Herbert Baxter Adams, October 10, 1891, Herbert Baxter Adams Papers, The Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, Maryland (photocopies in Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham), hereinafter cited as Adams Papers.

[6] For a review of this controversy, see Earl W. Porter, *Trinity and Duke, 1892-1924: Foundations of Duke University* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964), 42. Weeks' side of the story is told in his letters to Adams, May 5, 25, and June 10, 1893, Adams Papers.

[7] Weeks to Adams, June 10, 1893, Adams Papers.

[8] George T. Winston to Walter Clark, June 15, 1893, and Weeks to Clark, July 19, 1893, Aubrey L. Brooks and Hugh T. Lefler (eds.), *The Papers of Walter Clark* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2 volumes, 1948-1950), I, 269-270, 273, hereinafter cited as Brooks and Lefler, *Clark Papers*.

[9] Weeks to Adams, June 10, 1893, Adams Papers.

When Trinity College finally paid him $1,120 in salary arrears (out of a total salary of $2,700 for the two years), Weeks purchased his first typewriter and decided to devote the next year to studying and writing. During the summer he conducted research in Chapel Hill, Raleigh, and Guilford College, and in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Madison. The academic year 1893-1894 was spent back at Johns Hopkins on a fellowship. That his reputation had spread beyond North Carolina was indicated by his delivery of papers before the American Society for Extension of University Teaching, the World's Congress Auxiliary on Government, and the American Historical Association.

Again faced with the necessity of earning a living, and getting no suitable offer from his native state, Weeks in July, 1894, accepted a position in Washington as specialist in educational history and associate editor of the *Annual Report* of the Bureau of Education of the United States Department of the Interior. The succeeding five years were both happy and productive ones because the position gave Weeks ample time to exploit his research propensity. More than two dozen reviews, articles, and monographs—some of book length—flowed from his pen. In 1895 he was invited to deliver an address at the centennial celebration at The University of North Carolina, and in 1896 he was one of the founders of the Southern History Association, the first organization aimed at lifting the study of southern history from the depths of post-Civil War rancor. He was temporary chairman at the organizational meeting of the association, delivered the first paper before the group (appropriately titled "The Promotion of Historical Studies in the South"), served on the administrative council for several years, and wrote numerous articles, not all of which were signed, for the *Publications* of the association.[10]

The North Carolina historians of the old school, from Hugh Williamson through William L. Saunders, were stalked by tragedy. The first of the new school, Stephen B. Weeks, did not escape a similar fate. In 1899 he developed a severe lung ailment and tuberculosis was feared. Upon advice of his physician and at his own request, he was transferred to the Indian Service in the Department of the Interior and in the fall he moved to the Southwest to become principal teacher in the Indian School at Santa Fe, New Mexico Territory. Four years later he was promoted to the superintendency of the San Carlos Agency School in Arizona Territory, where he remained until 1907. A combination of the southwestern air and rigid self-discipline brought a gradual improvement in his health, but for Weeks, the scholar, the

[10] See *Publications of the Southern History Association*, I (1897)-IX (1905), *passim*.

eight-year exile was a stormy and unhappy one. He had left behind in the East the greater part of his library and research materials; his teaching staff was mutinous; his students were sometime violent.[11] Though he liked the country, he longed for the companionship of his family (which had moved back East) and for the comradeship of his fellow scholars. In despair, he wrote, "I came here for my health and because it offered me a chance to make a part of my expenses not because I loved the Indian. . . . I am not an administrator. I am not an educator. I am not a teacher. I am a scholar and investigator and that is all." He considered returning to western North Carolina where he might "buy a small farm, live simply and cheaply and spend my time on the work I have my heart in." [12] In 1907, when he learned that the General Assembly had appropriated funds for a salaried secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, he excitedly applied to Governor Robert B. Glenn for the job.[13] But R. D. W. Connor, until then a part-time secretary of the commission, was given the new position.

While in the Southwest Weeks contributed a number of sketches for inclusion in the multivolumed *Biographical History of North Carolina,* edited by Samuel A. Ashe and published by Charles L. Van Noppen in Greensboro. Impressed with these articles Van Noppen in 1907 offered and Weeks accepted a place in his firm. Weeks moved to Greensboro and for the next two years served as associate editor for the seventh volume of the *Biographical History,* and during the same period revised and rewrote some parts of the first volume of Ashe's *History of North Carolina,*[14] the first general history to make use of the vast store of original source materials made available through the published colonial and state records edited by Saunders and Clark. Then, in 1909, in order to be with his family (which had moved from Washington to Trinity), Weeks became principal teacher in a public school on the former site of the old Trinity College in Randolph County.

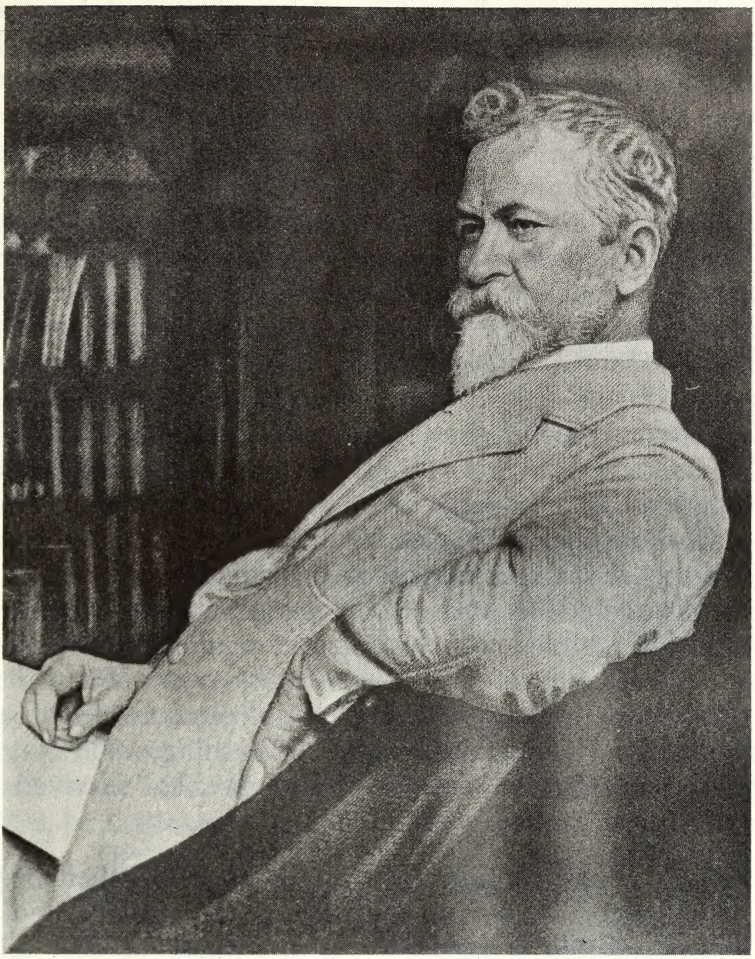
In 1911, remembering the five good years previously spent with the Bureau of Education, Weeks returned to that agency in Washington with the title of historian. Again he was given an opportunity to put his talents and time into research, an opportunity that he seized upon,

[11] See, for instance, Weeks to Colyer Meriwether, December 22, 1904, and February 27, 1905, and Weeks to [George S.] Wills, March 1, 1905, in Stephen Beauregard Weeks Papers, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Weeks Papers.

[12] Weeks to [George S.] Wills, March 1, 1905, Weeks Papers.

[13] Weeks to Governor Robert B. Glenn, March 16, 1907, Governor's Papers, Archives.

[14] (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 2 volumes, 1908-1925).



Portrait of Stephen B. Weeks by Paul E. Menzel. This print was made from an engraving by E. G. Williams and Brother, New York City; it appears in Volume V, facing 433, of Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina.* The portrait was painted about 1917 although the volume containing the engraving has a publication date of 1906. This, coupled with the fact that most copies of Ashe's *Biographical History* carry an earlier picture of Weeks, indicates that Weeks had Charles L. Van Noppen, the publisher, substitute the Menzel picture in the copies that were bound after 1917. The original portrait hangs in the North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina Library.

as his bibliography attests. Of his many publications those on education in the southern states were the most valuable.[15] In 1914 he was featured speaker at the annual meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh. His address on his predecessor North

[15] Wendell H. Stephenson, "Herbert B. Adams and Southern Historical Scholarship at the Johns Hopkins University," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLII (March, 1947), 18.

Carolina historians is perhaps his most profound statement of his interpretation of history.[16] He continued to contribute sketches, not all of which were published, for the *Biographical History* and he assisted Ashe and Van Noppen in editing Volume VIII.

Upon Weeks' return from the Southwest, all traces of tuberculosis had been eradicated and he was again a specimen of good health. A man of medium build—about 5'11" and 170 pounds—he had wavy brown hair, blue eyes, and a somewhat ruddy complexion. He wore a mustache and a Van Dyke beard, and his high collar and plain white bow-tie, an attire affected while a student at Johns Hopkins, were characteristic. He was an erect, rapid walker, a good though not scintillating public speaker, and a provocative conversationalist. He was both vigorous and forthright in expressing his opinions. Aside from his seriousness about serious things, he had a keen sense of humor which delighted his children. Though Stephen Weeks doubted his teaching effectiveness, his son has said that in three great universities he found no teacher "more inspiring" than his father.[17]

Thus at the age of fifty-three, Weeks' productive years appeared to be ahead of him still. Though he suffered a mild stroke in the fall of 1917, he partially recovered and returned to work. But a heart and kidney complication, along with high blood pressure, led to a further deterioration of his health, and he died in Washington on May 3, 1918. His second wife, Sallie Mangum Leach Weeks, survived him by nearly sixteen years.

Now, almost a half-century after the death of Stephen Beauregard Weeks, it is possible to discern four distinct but interrelated areas in which he contributed significantly to the study of and interest in North Carolina history.

1. Stephen B. Weeks was North Carolina's first "professional" historian. He introduced at Trinity College—and consequently in North Carolina—the modern concept of historical methodology as taught by the German school, and he appears to have been the first historian in North Carolina to take up history as a means of earning a living. And, though President Crowell had assumed a "Chair of History and Constitutional and International Law" at Trinity as early as 1887,[18] and

[16] Weeks, "The North Carolina Historians," *Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association* (December 1-2, 1914) (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1915), 71-87, hereinafter cited as Weeks, "The North Carolina Historians."

[17] Mangum Weeks to the Author, May 23, 1965, in Author's possession.

[18] Journal of the North Carolina Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1886-1889, 112, Duke Manuscript Department.

though other southern colleges may challenge the claim of Robert Lee Flowers that "the first distinct Chair of History established at any Southern Educational Institution was at Trinity, when Dr. Stephen B. Weeks was elected to the Chair of History" in 1891,[19] Weeks' distinction as being one of the pioneers in launching modern historical studies in the South cannot be challenged.

Weeks brought with him from the Adams "Seminary" a new concept of the teaching of history, and he popularized in the state the term "original investigations." The classroom, he felt, was quite adequate for lower classmen who were taught history in broad outline. But by the time a student was a senior, Weeks thought he should be taught to examine sources, compare authorities and to draw his own conclusions, the results of which were laid before fellow students for discussion and criticism. To carry out this plan of study, Weeks set out to provide, first, the source materials for research, and second, a forum for discussion and study. Within six months after he arrived at Trinity he had issued an appeal for original materials. He wrote, "We wish to devote ourselves to original work in the field of Southern history. We have a wide field at our very doors, unexploited, and waiting for us to step in and take possession." [20]

Having had "reasonable success" in impressing upon the students and friends of the college the need for collecting historical materials, Weeks was ready for his next step—the establishment of a seminar. In April, 1892, he organized the Trinity College Historical Society which was to be to Trinity "what the Historical Seminary is to the Johns Hopkins, a common meeting-place for the exchange of ideas." [21] Thus the spirit of the famed Adams' seminar at Baltimore was transferred to the tiny North Carolina college. Weeks himself took the office of corresponding secretary, but he left the remaining positions to students. The purposes of the organization included the collection of source materials, the encouragement of original work in the field of southern history, and the promotion of the study of that history by means of lectures and publications.[22] At its first formal meeting, Weeks read the initial paper. Asked the *Trinity Archive,* "With Dr. Weeks . . . to direct the operations, why cannot Trinity be made the historical

[19] *Trinity Archive* (Trinity College, Trinity and Durham, North Carolina), March, 1902, 363, hereinafter cited as *Trinity Archive.*

[20] *Trinity Archive,* February, 1892, 182-183.

[21] *Trinity Archive,* June, 1892, 368.

[22] For a detailed account of the founding of the society, see Nannie M. Tilley, *The Trinity College Historical Society, 1892-1941* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1941), 5-22.

centre of the South Atlantic States?"[23] In his second year at Trinity, by then transplanted to Durham, Weeks guided the society through six meetings at each of which papers based upon original research were read, including three by the professor himself.

Weeks' mark on Trinity was not erased by his angry departure in May, 1893. Indeed, his imprint remains on the rechristened institution in Durham. The Department of History and the seventy-three-year-old Trinity College Historical Society were not merely founded by Weeks; they were nurtured by successors whom he influenced. For it was Weeks who, in September, 1891, urged his mentor, Herbert Baxter Adams, to admit to the Johns Hopkins seminar a young man whom Weeks had not taught but in whom he had great faith—John Spencer Bassett. Weeks proudly wrote, "I claim Mr. Bassett as the first fruit of my labor for the higher culture in N. C."[24] Then, through an interesting chain of coincidences, it was Bassett who was elected as Weeks' successor at Trinity, who strengthened both the department and the society, and who began the college's manuscript collection. Furthermore, it was Bassett who inspired still another young student ("the best student I have had," he wrote[25]) to enter the profession, though William Kenneth Boyd chose to study under William A. Dunning at Columbia rather than under Adams. Boyd then returned to Trinity and succeeded his former professor and, in turn, brought national recognition to the Department of History. As late as 1916 Boyd reminded Weeks that his influence was still felt in Durham.[26] Let twentieth-century Duke University, in its days of influence and affluence, not forget the Stephen B. Weeks legacy.

2. Stephen B. Weeks molded the key which unlocked the secrets hidden in more than 25,000 pages of the Saunders' *Colonial Records*[27] and Clark's *State Records*.[28]

Unsuccessful in obtaining funds so that he could hire Weeks to

[23] *Trinity Archive*, May, 1892, 343.

[24] Weeks to Adams, September 26, 1891, Adams Papers. Though Weeks had assisted Bassett in gaining admission to Johns Hopkins, a coldness developed between the two men. Bassett wrote several years later of another promising young North Carolina historian, "I fear that [Charles L.] Raper will develop into a Weeks. He may be trained so that he would remedy his faults, but he is *conceited and very obstinate.* He is bitter by nature." Bassett to Adams, May 22, 1898, Adams Papers.

[25] Bassett to Adams, May 27, 1900, Adams Papers.

[26] See Weeks' reply to Boyd, January 30, 1916, William Kenneth Boyd Papers, Duke Manuscript Department, hereinafter cited as Boyd Papers.

[27] William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890).

[28] Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914).

become historical agent, Judge Walter Clark nevertheless received from him assistance in examining records relating to North Carolina in several northern repositories.[29] Then, when the General Assembly of 1895 directed the preparation of an index to the combined Saunders-Clark series, Weeks accepted a task which put all future historians in his debt. For $1,200 he agreed to do the job "because I am anxious to have the best index possible and think that I can do it in the best way." [30]

Amidst his full-time job in Washington and his other historical activities, Weeks found time to prepare an estimated 300,000 index cards for the first fifteen volumes.[31] His transfer to the Southwest, however, and the delays of the printer, slowed him down and it was not until 1914 that the fourth and final volume of the index was published.

In addition to preparing the monumental index to the colonial and state records, Weeks also indexed the 1790 federal census of North Carolina, and this important document was published as Volume XXVI of the combined series. Even more importantly, he wrote a "Historical Review" of the State's efforts to preserve its records from the earliest times, a remarkably good though incomplete study which was published in the last volume.

Finally, on August 3, 1914, Weeks, then back in Washington, completed the work that had taken eighteen years of

> exacting labor and unremitting attention to atrophying details . . . a task difficult, laborious, exhausting, and thankless, but far from uninteresting; a task carried on amid the distractions of other employments, accomplished in sickness and death, in pleasure and pain, in good report and ill report, . . . in struggle and defeat, within sight of the Nation's Capitol, on top of

[29] See, for instance, Weeks to Clark, January 1, 1895, Brooks and Lefler, *Clark Papers*, I, 277.

[30] Weeks to Governor Elias Carr [April, 1895], Superintendent of Public Instruction Records, Archives, hereinafter cited as Superintendent of Public Instruction Records. Subsequent negotiations resulted in an increase in the amount paid Weeks for work on the series. Including $375 for indexing the 1790 census and $500 for salvaging a portion of the index damaged by water while in possession of the printer, Weeks had received by 1913 a total of $2,955 (some of it in books), and he asked for an additional $427.50. Weeks to Clark, November 11, 1913, Walter Clark Papers, Archives. For other references to the prolonged negotiations, see S. F. Telfair to Clark, March 22, 1895, Brooks and Lefler, *Clark Papers*, I, 279; Weeks to Governor Ellis Carr [April, 1895], and Weeks to John C. Scarborough, June 1, 1895, Superintendent of Public Instruction Records; Weeks to M. O. Sherrill, December 31, 1906, and September 23, 1912, Correspondence of the State Librarian, North Carolina State Library Records, Archives; and the following in Minutes of the Trustees of the Public Library of North Carolina, Archives: minutes of meetings of November 18, 1901, March 22, 1909, and July 1, 1909, and letters from John C. Scarborough to Weeks, May 27, 1895, and Clark to Sherrill, January 30, 1906, copied in the minutes.

[31] *Publications of the Southern History Association*, III (1899), 350; Weeks to Clark, July 3, 1898, Brooks and Lefler, *Clark Papers*, I, 382.

New Mexican mountains, under the spell of the awe-compelling silence of Arizonan deserts, and amid the beautiful rural scenery of Piedmont North Carolina. . . .[32]

The greatest treasure-trove of North Carolina history had been opened.

3. Stephen B. Weeks was the state's foremost bibliographer and collector of his time.

Disappointed during his student days by the paucity of North Carolina books at The University of North Carolina, Weeks had begun even then collecting materials on his native state, graduating from newspaper clippings to general histories and finally to specialized works of Caroliniana. As a student at Johns Hopkins he contributed items to the Southern History Room there,[33] and he owned about 300 titles when he arrived at Trinity College. Already he had been at work on and had published in the *Southern Educator* the beginnings of a bibliography of North Carolina.[34] In 1895 he published as Number 48 of Justin Winsor's *Bibliographical Contributions* of the Library of Harvard University[35] a list of 1,491 titles, 863 of which Weeks had in his possession by that time. He continued to add cards to his bibliography and items to his collection by visiting bookstores, ransacking old houses, trading with other collectors,[36] and reading book catalogs (he claimed to have read an average of 23,763 pages of book catalogs per year for at least fifteen years).[37] He also printed want-lists and wrote letter after letter; he estimated that he wrote a thousand letters trying to complete his set of the *University Magazine*. By 1905 his collection had grown to 3,300 items, and eight years later he wrote, "I have added six new items today! It [the collection] now numbers over 7100 books and pamphlets, but alas there are many I dont have.

[32] Weeks (comp. and ed.), *Index to the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina. Covering Volumes I-XXV* (Goldsboro, Charlotte, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 4 volumes, 1909-1914), IV (XXX of the combined Saunders-Clark series), v-vi.

[33] Stephenson, *Southern History in the Making*, 61.

[34] Weeks, "A Bibliography of North Carolina's Historical Literature," *Southern Educator*, II (February, 1892), 1-4; II (March, 1892), 5-8; II (April, 1892), 9-12; II (July, 1892), 13-16; II (August, 1892), 17-20.

[35] Weeks, *A Bibliography of the Historical Literature of North Carolina* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Library of Harvard University, 1895).

[36] See, for instance, Weeks to Thomas M. Pittman, December 24, 1899, Thomas M. Pittman Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Pittman Papers; and Weeks to James H. Whitty, February 22, 1897, James H. Whitty Papers, Duke Manuscript Department.

[37] Weeks, "The Weeks Collection of Caroliniana," *Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1907), 575-603, hereinafter cited as Weeks, "The Weeks Collection."

. . . [E]very item added makes me hunger that much more for those I dont have." [38]

One point should be emphasized: Weeks did not collect merely for the sake of collecting. He collected because he wanted his materials to be placed eventually in a library, along with those of Thomas M. Pittman of Henderson, F. A. Sondley of Asheville, and H. R. Scott of Reidsville, so that scholars would have access to "a mass of material beyond the rivalry of future collectors and in fullness perhaps unsurpassed by any similar Collection in other States." [39] It was in keeping with the wishes of Stephen B. Weeks that his family in 1918 allowed his collection of more than 9,000 items on every conceivable phase of North Carolina history to go to The University of North Carolina where it forms the nucleus of the great North Carolina Collection.[40]

4. Stephen B. Weeks was a prolific writer of history. A bibliography of his works[41] lists almost two hundred books, articles, sketches, and reviews. Many more were published without Weeks' by-line. His subjects ranged from Shakespeare to Blackbeard, from German socialism to southern education, from Negroes in the South to Spaniards in the Southwest, from dueling to religion, from biography to bibliography.

Two of Weeks' contributions are not mentioned in the bibliography of his works. The first of these was his revision of the first volume of Samuel A. Ashe's *History of North Carolina.* This, the first general history to be written after the publication of primary sources, was described by Weeks as coming up to the "most rigid standards of the highest modern historical scholarship and . . . it is one of the very few books ever published by North Carolinians that can rise to this test." [42] It also won the distinction of being, in effect, condemned by the 1909 General Assembly because it dared to point out the absence of documentary evidence to support the claim that a certain meeting was held in Mecklenburg County on May 20, 1775.[43] To Weeks, this

[38] Weeks to Mrs. Adeline Burr Davis Green (undated but 1913), Adeline Burr Davis Green Papers, Duke Manuscript Department.

[39] Weeks, "The Weeks Collection," 602.

[40] See Louis Round Wilson, "The Acquisition of the Weeks Collection of Caroliniana," in this issue.

[41] Powell, *Weeks Bibliography.*

[42] Weeks to William Kenneth Boyd, October 8, 1908, Boyd Papers.

[43] A bill to permit county boards of education to purchase copies of the book for rural libraries was defeated in the House of Representatives because the volume gave "both sides" to the controversy over the authenticity of the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence." See Weeks to the Editor, *The Nation* (New York, New York), LXXXVIII (April 1, 1909), 330.

was sad evidence that North Carolinians were still more interested in state and family pride than in historical accuracy.

Another project was begun when Weeks acquired the papers of Willie Person Mangum, his second wife's grandfather. Intermittantly for sixteen years he worked both toward editing the papers for the North Carolina Historical Commission and writing a biography of the nineteenth-century leader. Weeks died before the task was completed, but his typed copies and editorial notes were of great aid to Henry Thomas Shanks in carrying on the work that was finally published by the State Department of Archives and History.[44]

As a historian, Stephen Weeks was as vulnerable to new sources as historians always have been. Even as a graduate student in Adams' seminar his fellow students criticized his paper contending that the Robeson County Indians were descendants of the Lost Colonists. Plausible, yes, they said, "yet it was a matter that could not with existing information be demonstrated."[45] A similar judgment might be passed today on some of Weeks' other conclusions, but the fact that his more important works have stood the test of time and of new evidence is a tribute to his scholarship. He himself recognized the hazards of his profession. In 1914 he told his fellow North Carolinians, "Historical truth is a progressive evolution, the product of successive generations of painstaking scholars. . . . It is only by continued research, by repeated investigation and reweighing of old beliefs in the light of fuller evidence that we can hope to arrive at ultimate truth."[46] Stephen Weeks, in spite of a few studies characteristic of an all-knowing graduate student, seldom claimed to have arrived at the ultimate truth. This, more than any other single characteristic, is the

[44] Weeks to William Kenneth Boyd, December 12, 1915, Boyd Papers; Henry Thomas Shanks (ed.), *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 5 volumes, 1950-1956), I, vii-viii.

[45] Stephenson, *Southern History in the Making*, 136.

[46] Weeks, "The North Carolina Historians," 84. It is interesting to note that by 1914 Weeks had modified his views on the writing of history. While he did not reject his previously-held opinions of the importance of accuracy of facts, he noted that the monographs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries "reflect clearly the vices of the German school in which they [the writers] have been trained. Laborious and sometimes painfully accurate, they have been often small minded; in the letter of accuracy they have lost the spirit of history; they have written from a local and not from a world point of view, and they have not always escaped the perils of the new historical method: Excessive devotion to the letter of the documentary material; the absence or the suppression of the historical imagination; belief in von Ranke's theory that it is merely the office of the historian to give facts, that it is not his duty to adorn a tale, point a moral or preach a sermon; sometimes a lack of perspective and in particular a fear that power over language or literary style may call down the awful anathema of being 'unscientific' has made many writers of the modern school seek to produce work that is merely scientific and learnedly dull, rather than work that might lay claim to some of the charms of literature." Weeks, "The North Carolina Historians," 72.

mark of a scholar who knows that new sources may be discovered tomorrow to alter today's "truth."

Weeks' greatest disappointment was his belief that his fellow North Carolinians failed to appreciate his work. Dejected and disappointed, he wrote another collector of Caroliniana, ". . . if I had studied Egyptian history in Idaho as thoroughly as I have N.C. history I should have been much more appreciated in my native state!"[47] That Stephen B. Weeks was mistaken was indicated in 1965 when his fellow historians and collectors paused to review his contributions to the history of his native state. Furthermore, the great North Carolina Collection of The University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill, the nucleus of which is the Weeks Collection, will stand as a permanent monument to him. Some of his more dependable writings will continue to be used by historians. And the Duke University Department of History, now basking in scholarly splendor, will acknowledge Weeks as its founder and as the first North Carolina professor to speak the language of modern historical scholarship. It is fortunate for his native state that Stephen Beauregard Weeks did not decide to study Egyptian history in Idaho.

[47] Weeks to Thomas M. Pittman, December 24, 1899, Pittman Papers.

THE ACQUISITION OF THE STEPHEN B. WEEKS COLLECTION OF CAROLINIANA

By Louis Round Wilson*

The acquisition in 1918 of the Stephen B. Weeks Collection of Caroliniana marked the accomplishment of an undertaking in which I had long been interested and for which I had devoutly hoped.

My first intimation of the importance to historians of such materials as the collection contained came to me in 1893-1894, a year before I entered college. My brother, E. M. Wilson, a graduate of The University of North Carolina who was then a graduate fellow at Haverford College, wrote me to borrow for him some North Carolina historical materials from J. M. Spainhour, who was a neighbor of ours, and a collector of North Caroliniana. My brother was writing a monograph on Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina to be submitted in competition for a $100 cash prize offered by John Sprunt Hill for historical work relating to North Carolina. Hill had established the prize at the university soon after his graduation in 1889 and it was being awarded for the first time in 1893-1894. I borrowed such materials as were pertinent to supplement materials available at Haverford. My brother completed his paper, and, fortunately, was adjudged the winner in the contest. His paper was published in 1900 as the second number of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science* under the title, *The Congressional Career of Nathaniel Macon.*

My interest was further stimulated in 1898-1899 when I came to the university as a Senior and wandered one day through Memorial Hall. There I discovered from the tablets on the walls of that remarkable, turtle-shaped building, that my native county, Caldwell, was named for Joseph Caldwell, the first President of the university, and that Lenoir, my home town, was named for General William Lenoir, also

* Dr. Wilson, Librarian at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill from 1901 to 1932, is now retired and is living in Chapel Hill. In this first-person-singular article, he describes the negotiations that led to the acquisition of the Stephen B. Weeks Collection of Caroliniana, consisting of nearly 10,000 volumes. Purchased by the university in 1918, the collection formed the nucleus of what was to become the North Carolina Collection in the Louis Round Wilson Library of The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In the absence of Dr. Wilson, who was ill, Dr. Richard L. Watson of the Department of History at Duke University read this paper at the Stephen B. Weeks Centennial Dinner in Chapel Hill on June 3.

of Caldwell County, who served as "President *pro tem*" of the first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the university.

The idea of a North Carolina Collection, however, did not take definite form in my mind until 1901 when I became Librarian of the university. Three events in the autumn of that year gave concrete form to my interest. I became responsible for handling the publications relating to North Carolina, which then were kept on six, four-foot shelves and in two drawers at the bottom of a standing double-faced wooden bookstack in the rear of the library. The less rare materials were placed on the shelves, while the rarer materials were stored in the drawers below.

The idea was strengthened by the preparation by Kemp P. Battle, Eben Alexander, and me of an exhibit at the State Fair in October in which various North Carolina publications from the library and other materials from Battle's office were displayed, and for which the library was awarded a gold medal.

In both of these activities I discovered the beginning of the Weeks Collection in *A Bibliography of the Historical Literature of North Carolina,* published by Weeks in 1895 as Number 48 of the *Bibliographical Contributions* of the Library of Harvard University. This publication had suddenly become a useful reference book to me, and through it I came to know of its author and his work of collecting Caroliniana, which he was making a life-long undertaking.

When I wrote my first annual report as librarian in December, 1901, the idea became even more definite. I included in my report a recommendation that a special glassed, locked section of shelving be provided for the Carolina Collection since the rarities such as Lawson's *History of North Carolina; A Collection of all the Public Acts of Assembly, of the Province of North Carolina: Now in Force and use,* published by Davis in 1751 at New Bern; and Fuller's *Sea Gift,* the novel of university life before the Civil War, were unrestricted in access and use.

I expressed the idea later on several occasions. In a recommendation in my annual report for 1904, I urged the provision for space for the Carolina Collection in a fireproof library building. In 1905 I prepared a circular used by President Francis P. Venable in seeking endowment funds for library materials to match the building fund offered by Andrew Carnegie, two of the items for which endowment was to be sought being Caroliniana and materials relating to the South. In the building erected in 1907, I planned for the inclusion of a small vault for manuscripts in the stack and a large room on the second floor for the shelving and use of the then-growing collection.

In 1905 Hill changed his support of the history prize and history fellowship previously established to a $5,000 endowment fund for Caroliniana and, in 1907, the library was moved into the new Carnegie Library building.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, an ardent collector of historical materials, joined the faculty in 1905 as Professor of History. In 1907 he was put in charge of transferring to the vault the manuscripts which belonged to the then-existing North Carolina Historical Society from Battle's office in Old West building. His helpers were library assistants John W. Umstead, 1909, and B. E. Washburn, 1906. The highlight of the transfer was not the discovery of a rare manuscript such as the long-lost "Davie" copy of John McKnitt Alexander's draft of the controversial Mecklenburg Declaration. Instead, it was the discovery by Umstead, when the transfer was all but completed, of a human skull which some forgetful medical student of an earlier day had left there by chance while preparing for an anatomy quiz. It was covered with a thick layer of dust in which, with a match stick, Umstead inscribed a Shakespeare-inspired admonition: "Woe be to him who dares to move me from this resting place." According to Hamilton, the sole but amused witness of the drama, Washburn "froze with horror" when he saw the skull, read the foreboding warning, and realized that he was the hapless object of the impending doom!

Between 1907 and 1917 the collection grew, and in 1917 Hill provided funds for the support of a librarian of the collection until the university could provide funds for the position. Miss Mary L. Thornton was added to the staff as librarian of the collection and continued her splendid service until her retirement and the publication of her comprehensive *Bibliography of North Caroliniana, 1589-1956,* in 1958.

In February, 1918, after a serious illness, Weeks wrote to Charles L. Van Noppen that he found it desirable to dispose of his collection, appointed him his agent, and authorized him to sell it for $25,000. He also suggested that Van Noppen offer it to the university as a possible purchaser, since I had requested him in 1911-1912 to give the university the opportunity of purchasing it if he should decide to offer it for sale. Van Noppen forwarded the letter to President E. K. Graham and, as an interested alumnus of the university and publisher of the *Biographical History of North Carolina,* he offered to waive his commission of $1,000 if the university acquired the collection.

Acting for the university, I informed Weeks that we greatly desired to acquire the collection and asked for an option on it for six months. This was necessary since some time would be required to

bring the matter to the attention of the trustees, to inspect and evaluate the collection, and to devise ways and means of paying for it if it was decided to proceed with the purchase. On March 15, 1918, the option requested was given and further correspondence followed, concerning what the collection would include and other details.

The death of Weeks on May 3, 1918, speeded up negotiations. His son, Mr. Mangum Weeks, class of 1915, retained Van Noppen as agent and continued the option. The university, in turn, acted immediately. President Graham had me prepare a statement concerning the nature and extent of the collection, the uses to which it could be put, and the reasons why the university should acquire it. The most obvious reason was that it was the largest collection (10,000 items) in existence of important printed material relating to all phases of North Carolina life. Weeks, a well-known, trained historian and author of many historical articles and monographs, had been engaged in assembling it over a period of more than thirty years, and its acquisition would give the university great distinction. Furthermore, it would become a lodestone for attracting other materials of a similar nature.

In urging its acquisition when we first learned the collection was for sale, I pointed out to President Graham that he as President and I as Librarian had a special responsibility to secure it for the university and the state. Two previous collections of similar materials, though not nearly so extensive, had seemingly been largely lost to North Carolina. The first, the François Xavier Martin Collection, had been assembled by Martin, a native Frenchman, at New Bern between 1782 or 1783 and 1809. It was supposed to consist of notes prepared by him and various books, pamphlets, laws, and copies of early newspapers which he had collected as an early North Carolina printer, author, and legislator for use in the publication of his *History of North Carolina,* an undertaking which he did not carry out until 1829. In 1809 he was appointed by President James Madison to a judgeship in the Territory of Mississippi. A year later he was transferred to a similar position in the Territory of Orleans. In shipping his collection from New Bern via New York, to New Orleans, it was exposed to sea water and upon its arrival in New Orleans, the materials were so depredated by the ravages of mice, worms, and insects as to render it unusable to anyone except Martin himself.

The second collection had been assembled at Chapel Hill by David Lowry Swain, President of the university and a representative of the State Historical Society. Upon Swain's unexpected death in 1868, the collection was adjudged by the administrators of his estate an essential part of it, and it had been assigned to his widow, who had moved

to Illinois. Its identity as a collection had been broken and it, as well as the Martin Collection, was seemingly largely lost to North Carolina. I insisted that to let the Weeks Collection be dispersed or go elsewhere than to the university would constitute a decidedly black mark against each of us, personally and officially. There were other reasons, of a personal nature. Weeks had taught English a short time at the university, had been the first recipient of the Ph.D. degree from the English Department of the university in 1888, had taught at Trinity College when it was in transition from Randolph County to Durham, had established the Trinity College Historical Society which is still in existence, and had become a fellow at Johns Hopkins and had taken a second Ph.D. degree—this time in history. He had been actively writing and preparing the indexes of both *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* and *The State Records of North Carolina.* His work and association had been too intimate and valuable for the university to allow the collection to be divided or to go elsewhere.

My action, based upon the then-existing but incompleted information that both other collections had been largely lost to the state was sound. Fortunately, extensive recent investigations by Dr. H. G. Jones and Dr. Carolyn Wallace have shown that the Martin Collection was much overrated; that two of the five manuscript volumes of which it consisted are contained in the Saunders Papers of the Southern Historical Collection; and that much of the Swain Collection was placed in a bank vault in Raleigh, was used by the editors of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* and *The State Records of North Carolina,* and is to be found in collections of papers in the State Department of Archives and History and in the Southern Historical Collection. It is also to be noted that Needham Tyndale Cobb, Jr., great-grandson of President Swain, placed a number of books and five volumes of manuscripts from the Swain Collection on loan to the university library, where they have been since July 13, 1918.

Action on the matter, when presented to the Executive Committee on June 4, 1918, was prompt and favorable. It appointed a committee consisting of Hill, R. D. W. Connor, Hamilton, and me to inspect the collection, and agreed that if the committee recommendation was favorable, the university would purchase the collection if it could be secured within the limit of $24,000.

The committee reported its decision to acquire the collection, and when Van Noppen and I met with Graham on July 19, 1918, a general agreement, based upon previous correspondence concerning certain materials, was quickly reached. Van Noppen tendered the collection

for $24,000. President Graham asked me what the opinion of the committee was. I replied that it felt that since the collection duplicated a considerable number of titles in the university's collection, the price seemed high; that the net, nonduplicate material was well worth $15,000; that the duplicates would serve as replacements in some instances, and in time would add considerably to the collection's value. Van Noppen conceded the point concerning duplication and proposed that we compromise for $20,000, with cash payment upon the shipment of the materials, and on January 1, 1919, notes for the remainder, with interest at 6 per cent payable on January 1, 1920-1922. President Graham approved the proposal, and the transaction was closed. The collection was saved for the university and the state. As prophesied, it has drawn other collections of similar materials to the university, and today is an essential part of the most complete assemblage of materials relating to North Carolina in the world.

To the present generation of university officials who are familiar with the routines of approval of authorizations of purchases by advisory budget commissions, departments of administration, and other state officers, the financial procedure described above may seem fantastic. It will seem even more so when I add that the purchase was made when the nation was at war, and the university was very uncertain of funds. But in those days, the university could buy on credit and give notes. Consequently, it secured the collection and incurred the debt. The matter did not stop there, however. Owing to the high cost of living which overtook the nation during World War I, almost every state institution in North Carolina ran into debt in 1918 for coal, flour, sugar, coffee, bacon, and other articles. The General Assembly of 1919, realizing that in spite of high prices the institutions had to carry on, took unprecedented action. It passed a blanket measure authorizing the wiping out of all indebtedness incurred by state institutions! Charles T. Woollen, the business manager, included the remaining indebtedness on the collection in the university's total, and the acquisition of the Weeks Collection became a matter of history.

PANACEA SPRINGS: FASHIONABLE SPA

By Ralph Hardee Rives *

The once fashionable spa known as Panacea Springs was located three miles from Littleton, near the boundary line between Warren and Halifax counties. It was one of the last of those halcyon watering places which blossomed and flourished in Europe and America in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries.[1]

To hundreds of Carolinians summertime still conjures up images of the Panacea Springs Hotel with its wide verandas, rustic cypress bridges, evergreen walks, groves of pine trees, hexagonal springhouse, and spacious lawn that spread down to the twenty-acre lake. When the century was young, the arrival of June was a fair reminder to dust off the trunks in the attic and begin assembling a fine new wardrobe for a stay at "the springs."

Eastward, on the coast, Wrightsville Beach, Atlantic Beach, and Ocean View were rapidly developing as pleasure resorts and, with the advent of the automobile, the era of the mineral springs soon ended. But, in 1900-1910 and even as late as 1915, eastern Carolinians who sought to escape the heat and the malaria still journeyed to Panacea Springs and partook of the water and the social life in equal doses.

These famous springs were located on an original land grant from the Earl of Granville to Joseph John Williams.[2] It is possible that the

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[1] The following mineral springs resorts were operated in North Carolina during the early years of the twentieth century: All Healing Springs, Taylorsville; Barium Springs, near Statesville; Catawba Springs, Hickory; Cleveland Springs, Shelby; Connelly Mineral Springs, Burke County; Davis White Sulphur Springs, Hiddenite; Ellerbe Springs, near Rockingham; Glen Alpine Springs, near Morganton; Hayward White Sulphur Springs, Waynesville; Hot Springs, Madison County; Jackson Springs, Moore County; Lincoln Lithia Springs, Lincolnton; Moores' Springs, Stokes County; Mount Vernon Springs, Siler City; North Carolina Hot Springs, Madison County; Panacea Springs; Piedmont Springs, Stokes County; Red Springs, Robeson County; Rocky River Springs, Stanly County; Seven Springs, near Goldsboro; Vade Mecum Springs, Stokes County; White Sulphur Springs, Mount Airy. For advertisements of these resorts and out-of-state spas, see scattered issues of *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), 1907-1916, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*. See also, State Board of Agriculture, *Handbook of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Board of Agriculture, 1893), 236-241, hereinafter cited as *Handbook*, and Ralph Hardee Rives, "Spas Were Once the Seat of Health and Fashion in State," *The News and Observer*, May 16, 1965.

[2] Lucy E. Williams Beane (Mrs. I. L.), Littleton, to Ralph Hardee Rives, January 29, 1964.

Tuscarora Indians knew of the springs before the arrival of the English settlers; however, slaves who discovered the water around 1802 found that the mineral content possessed mysterious curative qualities.

Eventually, Thomas W. Harris, prominent Methodist layman, orator, and agricultural leader, inherited the tract of land on which was also situated "Sunnyside," his ancestral home. Analysis of the spring water showed the mineral sediment to be rich with calcium, iron, and sodium.[3]

When "Sunnyside" was destroyed by fire, Harris decided to erect a new residence with accommodations for paying guests who would be attracted by the healing spring water which he appropriately named "Panacea." The Harris family moved into "Indianola Inn," located between Panacea Springs and Airlie, about 1873.[4]



Indianola Inn, 1898. From photograph owned by Mrs. B. L. Rives, Wilmington, in files of Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives, Enfield.

[3] Author's interview with Alice Patterson Geddie (Mrs. Hendrix R.), Wilmington and Warrenton, a granddaughter of Thomas W. Harris, April 18, 1964, hereinafter cited as Geddie interview. See also, *Littleton Female College, Littleton, N. C., Session 1887-1888* (Franklinton: Littleton Female College, 1887), 16; *The Littleton News*, May 14, 1937. A report on an analysis of the Panacea water indicated "Only 13+ Grains of Active Principle per gallon . . . but this is where the secret is . . . "*The News Observer*, July 23, 1911.

[4] Ruth M. H. Mincher, "Curative Waters Made Panacea Springs Famous County Resort," *The Roanoke Rapids Herald*, May 11, 1958, hereinafter cited as Mincher, "Curative Waters."

Accounts of the hospitality to be found at "Indianola Inn" spread rapidly and soon prominent families from adjoining communities and counties began to make reservations at the new resort. Many of the guests brought their own servants, necessitating the maintenance of special servants' quarters at the inn.

A large vegetable garden, smokehouse, cellar, potato hills, chickens, and sheep became traditional symbols of the elegant cuisine for which "Indianola Inn" was noted.

Each summer morning at ten o'clock a hack took the guests to the springs. Following was a wagon filled with cantaloupes and watermelons to be enjoyed in the shade alongside the huge rocks for which Panacea would be so well remembered in future years.[5]

In the evenings, Harris' wife often entertained guests with music at the melodeon. She was an outspoken opponent of card playing and after her death it was rumored that if guests at the inn happened to indulge in a game of cards, her spirit would quickly return to blow out the lights.[6]

The Panacea Springs post office, situated in the inn, had seventy residents in its postal zone in 1890.[7] That year Harris sold 100 acres of land, including the springs, to the Panacea Springs and Hotel Company. He kept 100 shares of stock.[8]

George S. Prichard, a Greenville tobacconist, conceived the idea of a large resort hotel near the site of the springs and in 1907 bought the controlling interest in the Panacea Springs Company.[9] He chose a natural hillside which overlooked the springs and built there the Panacea Springs Hotel.

The frame structure had a columned porch 300 feet long and 10 feet wide, was painted yellow with green blinds, and had its own elec-

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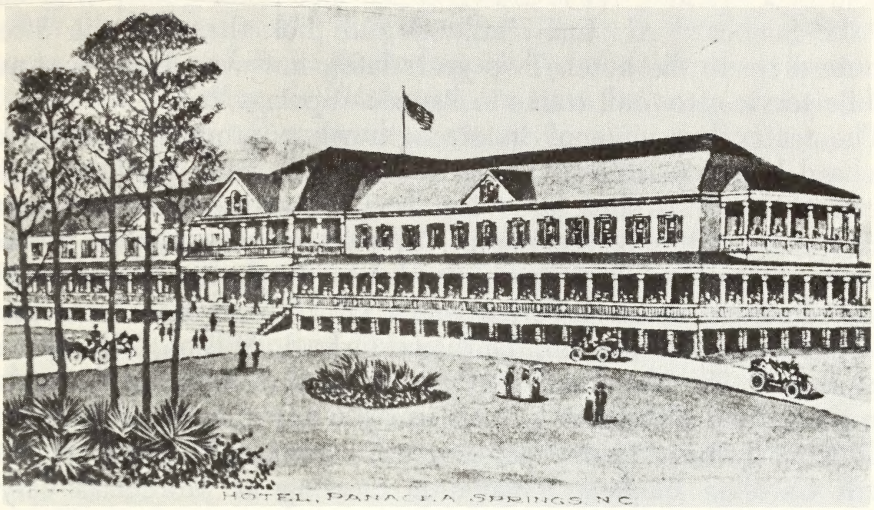
[5] Author's interview with Frances Sessoms Rives (Mrs. Ben Long), Wilmington, April 18, 1964, hereinafter cited as Rives interview. Mrs. Rives, who was born at Panacea Springs, was a student and later a professor of art at Littleton College. She was well acquainted with Panacea Springs during the period prior to World War I. For reference to Panacea Springs and the hotel see *Handbook*, 2.

[6] Geddie interview.

[7] Levi Branson (ed.), *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory, 1890* (Raleigh: Levi Branson, 1889), 339.

[8] Warren County Deed Books, Warren County Courthouse, Warrenton, No. 55, 165-171, hereinafter cited as Warren County Deed Books.

[9] Author's interview with George S. Prichard, Jr., Wilmington, April 18, 1964, hereinafter cited as Prichard interview; see also, Warren County Deed Books, No. 73, 222-226.



Hotel, Panacea Springs. From photograph owned by Mrs. B. L. Rives, Wilmington, in files of Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives, Enfield.

tric plant. The huge entrance lobby with its thick red carpet was adorned with a large open fireplace and handsome late-Victorian upholstered furniture. Original plans called for 150 rooms though only half of these were completed by the time of the opening.

A landscape gardener from Richmond designed the picturesque walks, gardens, and bridges for which the hotel became famous.[10] A springhouse and a pavilion were built; a bathhouse was erected so that people with various skin diseases, such as eczema, could conveniently bathe in the ochre-colored sediment of the water.

During the first season, which opened in June, 1907, Prichard averaged 150 guests at a time. Many of the people arrived on stretchers and were miraculously "cured" by the water; indeed, it was popular hearsay among the local inhabitants that Panacea guests "came on a stretcher and left eating ham at night."[11]

The corner rooms rented for $20 a week per person, American plan, while regular rooms, each with two windows, were half that price.[12] Two double beds in each room and special rates for the season encouraged families to come to the resort.

Prichard built a special highway from the regular county road to

[10] Prichard interview.
[11] Rives interview.
[12] Prichard interview.

the springs. At first, horse-drawn buses met hotel guests who came via the Seaboard Air Line Railway and took them on the fifteen-minute drive to the hotel. Two years later, however, there was automobile service from all trains to Panacea Springs.[13]

The water lost none of its strength when properly bottled, and Prichard began to ship as many as 150 cases each week to various points in North Carolina and Virginia. Each of these cases contained twelve one-half gallon demijohns. The water was shipped by train, in carloads, to Norfolk distributors. A boardinghouse owner in Richmond refused to serve any other water. Distributors were later located in Greensboro, Burlington, Durham, Oxford, Wilson, Raleigh, and New Bern.[14] The water could, of course, be ordered from the springs. The precipitate and water "can be sent you anywhere on the habitable globe" boldly boasted one Panacea advertisement.[15] Members of the North Carolina Bankers Association meeting at Morehead City in June, 1912, "drank freely, continuously and appreciately [*sic*] of this great water during their entire session and had many good things to say of its high qualities." [16]

The hotel was originally expected to remain open on a year-round basis but because of the expense of heating, it was used only for the summer season from June 1 until October 1.

In June, 1908, Prichard died; his widow managed the hotel until the end of that season. The Panic of 1907 had created a temporary financial depression but the property was purchased in 1909 by Eugene Johnston of Littleton and M. C. Braswell of Battleboro.[17]

Since neither of the new owners had ever been affiliated with the resort business, they were fortunate in hiring A. J. Cooke, formerly manager of the Mecklenburg Mineral Springs Hotel in Chase City, Virginia, to operate the hotel for them.[18] Other managers of the Panacea Springs Hotel who followed Cooke included T. Clement Jones, Jr., T. Alex Baxter, John L. Harrison, and Charles H. O'Berry.

Carpenters and decorators were pressed into action and twenty-five additional rooms, singles and suites, were completed by the grand

[13] *The News and Observer*, June 19, 27, 1909. One of the first motorcades in the state was to Panacea Springs; on several occasions, drivers lost control of their automobiles and went into Panacea Springs Lake. Rives interview.

[14] *The News and Observer*, May 21, 1911; see also, *The News and Observer*, June 7, 1911, which reported that Panacea water "is pure and wholesome and is bottled under the strictest sanitary regulations."

[15] *The News and Observer*, June 4, 1911.

[16] *The News and Observer*, July 7, 1912.

[17] *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1909; see also, Warren County Deed Books, No. 86, 164-165. Prichard was buried near Panacea Springs; his obituary appeared in *The Progress* (Enfield), June 5, 1908, hereinafter cited as *The Progress*.

[18] *The News and Observer*, May 28, 1909.

opening on June 10, 1909. An extensive advertising campaign pointed out that the hotel was 475 feet above sea level, conveniently located between Norfolk and Raleigh, that special week-end rates were available from all points on the Seaboard Air Line Railroad, and that the water was good for indigestion, nervous dyspepsia, constipation, diarrhea, kidney and liver diseases, insomnia, rheumatism, gout, nervous prostration, eczema, scrofula, and all blood and stomach troubles.[19] Panacea Springs was described as "a place to fortify your systems against Malaria, [Typhoid] Fever and that 'let-down' feeling so prevalent in summer. . . ." [20] One 1911 advertisement declared: "Money Spent for Panacea Mineral Spring Water is an investment incomparably more judicious than in Government bonds. The one brings Health and Happiness—the other may bring neither." [21] The water was reportedly a cure for every disease except tuberculosis, alcoholism, and leprosy.

A resident physician was available in the hotel; the chef was "one of the most competent in the South"; and guests were invited to enjoy riding, driving, boating on the lake, trapshooting, the pool and billiard parlors, and bowling.[22] Tennis courts were laid off and plans were made for a golf course. Bridge games, gypsy teas, and shirtwaist dances became popular pastimes for hotel guests.[23]

Barbecues held under the tall pine trees became traditional at Panacea Springs and usually preceded any important social event. Official "barbecuers" were Ned Snow, Sam Dowtin, and Mott Meade; their fame was widespread.[24] The word "soption," referring to the essence of the barbecued pork, is considered an original Panacea coinage.[25]

[19] *The News and Observer*, June 6, August 12, 1909; May 21, 23, 25, 27, June 2, 3, 4, 17, 27, 30, July 1, 2, 8, 9, 16, 29, 1911.

[20] *The News and Observer*, July 1, 1911; see also, *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1911, which advised "Give it to the little ones. Now is a hard season on them."

[21] *The News and Observer*, June 11, 1911.

[22] *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1909; July 2, 16, 1911; July 3, 1912; July 17, 1914.

[23] *The News and Observer*, July 30, 1911; June 16, 1912; July 6, 19, 1913; July 17, 1914.

[24] Rives interview; Mincher, "Curative Waters"; *The News and Observer*, July 27, 1912. For accounts of barbecues at Panacea Springs see scattered issues of *The News and Observer*, including those of August 12, 1909; June 16, July 27, 1912; June 28, 29, July 6, 11, 19, 1913; June 30, July 1, 1915.

[25] Rives interview. The word "soption" is not included in George P. Wilson (ed.), "Folk Speech" in Paul G. Brewster and Others (eds.), *Games and Rhymes . . .*, Volume I of *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, edited by Newman I. White (Durham: Duke University Press, 7 volumes, 1952-1964), I, 503-618, or in "Food and Drink" in Blackwell P. Robinson (ed.), *The North Carolina Guide* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 8-11. The words "sop" and "soppings" appear under the heading, "Food," in Lester V. Berrey and Melvin Van Den Bark, *The American Thesaurus of Slang* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1952), 95-429, 759, 847.



Advertisement of Panacea Hotel from *The News and Observer*, June 15, 1909.

For five years the huge dining room with its round and oblong tables also served as a ballroom. The orchestra played from a balcony overlooking the room and when the evening meal (always called supper) was completed, the tables and chairs were placed along the walls for the dance. A special new ballroom, called "one of the best in the South," was built as an annex to the hotel in 1912.[26]

The Crocha String Band of Washington, D. C., played for several seasons at the Panacea Springs Hotel.[27] This Italian orchestra was composed of Sam Crocha, violinist, and his two nephews, Francisco and Pascholina, violinist and harpist. In 1913 Signor V. Varrella's orchestra played at the hotel.[28] V. E. Fountain of Tarboro and Richmond was on the staff as "dancing master" in 1916.[29]

A rather glowing newspaper account of the season of 1909 reported: "A good orchestra and a large ball-room is [*sic*] attracting a great

[26] *The News and Observer*, August 25, 1912.
[27] Pritchard interview; *The News and Observer*, July 7, 1907.
[28] *The News and Observer*, June 8, July 6, 1913.
[29] *The News and Observer*, May 29, 1916.

number of young people while the shady nooks on the long veranda lit by the beams of a curious moon are the rendezvous of couples where Cupid manes [*sic*] a third party." [30]

The Panacea Springs Hotel is probably best remembered for the germans which were held there, sometimes as often as three evenings a week. The opening german held about mid-June and the traditional Fourth of July barbecue and german were the two outstanding social affairs of the annual summer season.[31] The opening german of 1913, held June 14, was described in *The News and Observer* as "the largest and most brilliantly successful social event in the history of these noted Springs. . . . The weather conditions . . . and the roads were good, so that automobiles could easily make the trip. From early in the afternoon until late in the evening, car after car arrived. . . ." [32]

Former Littleton resident, Frances Sessoms Rives of Wilmington, recalling her childhood associations with Panacea Springs, told of a ball she attended there: "I was a privileged little girl, invited to sit on one of the side-lined chairs. My dress for the ball was my best white, ruffled and lace-trimmed, tied around the waist with a wide blue sash. Grace, elegance, lovely maidens and gallantry abounded, making the remembered picture very clear and beautiful even now." [33]

Old newspapers contain accounts of numerous "automobile parties" motoring from nearby towns to Panacea Springs during this pre-World War I era.[34] Such excursions were usually made for the germans or special week-end parties.

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[30] *The News and Observer*, July 11, 1909.

[31] "The spacious ball room of the Panacea hotel was a scene of beauty and brilliancy on the occasion of the opening german of the season at this popular resort. The decorations were most tastily arranged, and as the couples who took part in the beautiful dance marched upon the floor, the music by the splendid orchestra announced the beginning of the evening's enjoyment." *The News and Observer*, June 22, 1909. On July 4, 1914, there was a "tempting bill of fare" for the six o'clock meal enjoyed by "hundreds of guests." The ballroom doors were opened at nine o'clock "presenting a scene of artistic beauty, appropriately decorated with American flags and graceful bunting of patriotic red, white and blue. During the evening, from a cozy corner formed of red, white and blue bunting and draped with American flags, refreshing punch was served." *The News and Observer*, July 10, 1914. There were eighty-three couples at the opening german of 1916, when V. E. Fountain of Tarboro and Daisy Crump Whitehead (Mrs. E. L.) of Enfield began the evening's "gayeties" with the first dance. "The ball-room was artistically decorated in white, pink and green. . . . Mr. W. E. Fenner directed the Grand March, during which Mr. Fountain handed the favors, blue caps, to the ladies; while Mrs. Whitehead presented red caps to the gentlemen. At midnight the dancers were invited to an elegant two course luncheon in the dining room." *The Progress*, June 16, 1916; see also, *The News and Observer*, July 7, 1907; June 22, July 17, 21, August 1, 1909; June 11, 28, 1911; July 27, August 25, 1912; June 8, 29, 1913; June 20, 1916; *The Progress*, June 14, 1912; June 13, 1913; June 4, 1915.

[32] *The News and Observer*, June 22, 1913. Special invitations were extended to local cotillion and german clubs and a complimentary buffet banquet was given to the dancers. *The News and Observer*, June 8, 1913; *The Progress*, June 13, 1913.

[33] Mincher, "Curative Waters"; Rives interview.

[34] *The News and Observer*, July 21, August 1, 12, 1909; July 6, 19, 1913.

In August, 1909, the press proudly announced that an automobile party had returned from Panacea Springs to Durham, a distance of nearly ninety miles, in only four hours.[35]

Charles B. Aycock and his wife were guests at the Panacea Springs Hotel in 1911.[36] John Philip Sousa was also reportedly once a visitor there. The hotel register revealed guests from such distant places as Knoxville, Savannah, Ocala, Chicago, Washington, D. C., Baltimore, and from Indiana, Texas, New York, and California. The great majority of the guests, of course, were from Tidewater Virginia and from communities east of Raleigh.[37]

Sarah Myrick Parker of Enfield, in reminiscing about her girlhood in Littleton, recalled the thrill of living in a resort town. "Everyone in Littleton who would took boarders," she recalls, "and other people had a house full of company all the summer!"[38]

When Panacea Springs was a flourishing resort, nearby Littleton Female College, a private school owned and operated by the Reverend J. Manly Rhodes, enjoyed the reputation of being "One of the most successful and best-equipped boarding schools in the South."[39] As a part of their training in "physical culture," the young ladies occasionally took hikes out to the springs. Sophia Forbes Davenport of Mackeys, who attended the college from 1904 to 1907, recalled that "we took a picnic lunch one Easter Monday and took turns riding what would probably be called a 'pick-up' this day and time. It was horse-powered. We were too young and had too much fun to really get tired."[40] Lula Hunter Skillman of Thomasville, Georgia, remembered that in 1918, the year before the college was destroyed by fire, "two of the teachers and a small group of Campfire Girls walked from the college to Panacea and back one Saturday—the longest hike of my life."[41]

The Panacea Hotel staff served the annual Littleton College Alumnae Banquet in the college dining hall in 1908.[42] An Italian orchestra

[35] *The News and Observer*, August 12, 1909. A newspaper report noted that N. H. Tate of Littleton had gone to Durham to inspect an automobile "that will be used on the new auto route between Littleton and Panacea Springs." *The News and Observer*, June 19, 1909.

[36] *The News and Observer*, July 16, 1911.

[37] Mincher, "Curative Waters"; see scattered summer issues of *The News and Observer*, 1907-1916, for lists of guests staying at the hotel.

[38] Author's interview with Sarah Myrick Parker (Mrs. Romulus B.), Enfield, April 24, 1964. Mrs. Parker was also a student at Littleton Female College.

[39] *The News and Observer*, June 20, 1909.

[40] Sophia Forbes Davenport (Mrs. W. B.), Mackeys, to Ralph Hardee Rives, February 18, 1964.

[41] Lula Hunter Skillman (Mrs. C. E.), Thomasville, Georgia, and Arcola, to Ralph Hardee Rives, February 1, 1964.

[42] *The News and Observer*, May 29, 1908.

(probably the Crochas) furnished music for the occasion.

Following World War I, the Panacea Springs Hotel was closed except for semiweekly dances which attracted many young couples who belonged to a new generation. The old stringed instruments gave way to saxophones and other brass instruments, and according to newsman Bignall Jones of Warrenton, "the tempo and pace of the dances grew wilder and wilder, until their very excesses proved their undoing."[43]

In August, 1920, Ethel Leatherwood, Halifax County home demonstration agent, held the first summer camp for county 4-H Club girls at Panacea Springs.[44] Members of the Littleton College Memorial Association, established in 1927 by alumnae of the former college, held a number of their annual reunions at the site of the old resort.[45] Several families of the area chose Panacea Springs for large barbecues and family gatherings during the 1930's and early 1940's.

In 1933 the charter of the Panacea Springs and Hotel Company was abandoned. Four years later there was an unsuccessful drive on behalf of Littleton citizens and adjoining communities to persuade the federal government to locate a veterans' hospital at Panacea Springs.[46] During World War II the hotel was sold, torn down, and removed to a nearby town where the materials were used for a number of small residences. Like many other mineral springs resorts, the Panacea Springs Hotel faded into history, and it is no more now than a dream remembered.[47]

[43] *The Warren Record* (Warrenton), August 10, 1956.

[44] Ethel L. Barnhill, "Review of Home Demonstration Work in Halifax County from November 1918 to June 1922, "*Roanoke Rapids Herald*, Special Edition, 1939, Section D.

[45] Ralph Hardee Rives, "Littleton Female College," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXIX (Summer, 1962), 376-377; see also, assorted memorabilia including photographs in The Littleton College Memorial Collection, North Carolina Wesleyan College, Rocky Mount. Students at the college were often encouraged to drink the Panacea water for their health. Author's interview with Emma Wilcox Basnight (Mrs.), Greenville, July 10, 1965.

[46] *The Littleton News*, May 14, 1937.

[47] The following persons furnished to the author personal reminiscences and materials about Panacea Springs: Fannie Rives Vinson Palmer (Mrs. Horace), Ruth M. H. Mincher (Mrs. Robert W.), Pearl Wright Bobbitt (Mrs. Sol B.), Pauline Moss Bowers (Mrs. Watson), all of Littleton; Pattie Alston Macon (Mrs. G. W.), Henderson; Agnes Hunter Davis (Mrs. J. C.), Warrenton; Geneva Merritt House (Mrs. Joseph A.), Maude Randolph Leonard (Mrs. C. J.), Ralph C. Rives, Blanche Hardee Rives (Mrs. Ralph C.), Mattie Brinkley Kimball (Mrs. B. Robert), Rebecca Kimball, B. D. Kimball, John King Newton, Isabel Peirson Dickens (Mrs. Sammy W.), Margaret Quincey, all of Enfield; Emily Love Spencer (Mrs.), South Mills.

PROVINCIAL TAXES IN NORTH CAROLINA DURING THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF DOBBS AND TRYON

By Marvin L. Michael Kay*

Colonial North Carolina's tax structure, by depending primarily upon the poll tax, was highly inequitable. Over 90 per cent of the provincial taxes levied in North Carolina during the years 1748-1771 were either poll taxes or liquor import duties; the poll tax was two and one-half to three times as important as the liquor duties. If county and ecclesiastical taxes are included in the calculation, the poll tax assumes an even greater importance since this was, almost exclusively, the tax used on the local level.[1]

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[1] For laws concerning provincial taxes and fees levied for the period in question see the following: Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XXIII, 255-256, 295, 308-309, 314-315, 329, 347-348, 362-363, 371-375, 392-398, 400, 401-402, 422-424, 467-468, 494, 516-518, 539-541, 542, 613-614, 617, 627-629, 664-665, 675, 678-680, 690, 711-713, 749, 781-783, 801, 814-819, 840-841, 850-851; XXV, 254-255 266-267, 309-310, 331-333, 345-348, 349, 350-352, 361-364, 370-372, 394-395, 397-398, 457-458, 492-493, 498-499, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records.* For material concerning a controversy which occurred in 1772 over the continuation of a 1*s.* poll tax assessed in 1748 and reassessed in 1754 and a 4*d.* per gallon liquor duty levied in 1754, see William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), IX, 166, 228-235, 300-301, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records.* For material concerning controversies arising over the continued collection of 1*s.* and 2*s.* poll taxes levied in 1760 and 1761 respectively, see Saunders, *Colonial Records,* VII, 922-923, 983, 986; VIII, 478-479. Three important contemporary reports which substantiate the information gleaned from the statutes and that obtained from the reports of John Burgwin, Clerk of the Council and of the Committee of Accounts (see below), may be found in Saunders, *Colonial Records,* VIII, 213-214; English Records—Plantation General Correspondence, Entry Books, Petitions, Miscellaneous, 1764-1778, and English Records—Governors' Letters, Drafts of Letters, Miscellaneous, 1702-1783, Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. For John Burgwin's reports to the assembly concerning tax levies, collections, and arrears see Saunders, *Colonial Records,* VII, 984-985; VIII, 139, 278-281; IX, 166, 572-575; William K. Boyd (ed.), *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1927), opposite 416, hereinafter cited as Boyd, *Eighteenth Century Tracts;* D. L. Corbitt (ed.), "Finances and Delinquent Taxes of North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* V (January, 1928), 112-118. An important statement about taxation by three members of the council in 1768 may be found in D. L. Corbitt (ed.), "Rough Notes of the Council Journal," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* VIII (July, 1931), 346-347.

In addition to the basic inequity of the tax structure, inefficiency and corruption characterized the administration of provincial taxes.[2] This maladministration was closely related to the practice of paying officials by fees and commissions for specific services.[3] The abuses accompanying the handling of public monies, however, were in Colonial North Carolina also a reflection of the form of government, the power arrangements in the colony, and the views of the ruling elite. A relatively small number of individuals and families controlled the local and provincial governments. Their political power depended upon their social and economic strength, the impregnability of their position in local government (comprised of largely co-optive offices), and their subsequent effective control over provincial elections.[4]

The following analysis of how taxes were collected, accounted for, and disbursed, as well as the common abuses, will be limited to

[2] The amount of public funds mishandled by sheriffs can be traced, but statistics concerning the customs collectors are incomplete and those with respect to the treasurers nonexistent. John Burgwin's first and third reports to the assembly, compiled between November 6, 1769, and December, 1770, are the most important sources of information. The first report reveals that the sheriffs and customs officers were in arrears £64,013 and £2,429 respectively for the period 1754-1770. For an even longer period, 1748-1770, the third report states that only £59,616 was collected and accounted for by the sheriffs. The amazing figures are those showing that the sheriffs' tax arrears totaled more than their official collections. The breakdown, however, of the tax arrears figure with respect to embezzled sums and neglected collections is unknown, but an educated guess indicates that 25 per cent of the poll taxes levied during the years 1754-1770 was embezzled by the sheriffs. It is impossible to estimate the amount of taxes embezzled by the treasurers. For a detailed analysis of taxation in Colonial North Carolina, 1748-1772, see Marvin L. Michael Kay, "The Institutional Background to the Regulation in North Carolina" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1962), 164-168, 286-424, *passim*, hereinafter cited as Kay, "Regulation in North Carolina."

[3] For example, although the sheriffs, who were the collectors of provincial revenues, did receive salaries from both the colony and the county court, by far their greatest income was derived from fees and commissions. For copies of appropriate statutes see Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 122-127, 217-218, 280-281, 424-432, 505, 526-531, 546-547, 571, 716-723, 833-835, 846-849. See also, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 975-982; James R. Caldwell, Jr., "A History of Granville County, North Carolina, the Preliminary Phase, 1746-1800" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of North Carolina, 1950), 51, hereinafter cited as Caldwell, "History of Granville County"; Julian P. Boyd, "The Sheriff in Colonial North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, V (April, 1928), 171, hereinafter cited as Boyd, "The Sheriff in Colonial North Carolina." The two major laws (passed in 1748 and 1771) about fees applicable during the period under review may be found in Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 275-284, 859-862. The treasurers received a 5 per cent commission upon all the monies they received. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 484.

[4] For discussions about North Carolina's colonial "Whig leaders" see Julian P. Boyd, "The County Court in Colonial North Carolina" (unpublished master's thesis, Duke University, 1926), hereinafter cited as Boyd, "The County Court"; Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., "Making a Revolution: The North Carolina Whigs, 1765-1775" in J. Carlyle Sitterson (ed.), *Studies in Southern History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Volume 39 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1957), 23-46; Boyd, "The Sheriff in Colonial North Carolina," 151-180; Kay, "Regulation in North Carolina," 1-20, 69-441, *passim*. See footnote 13 for a discussion of county court control over the appointment of the sheriffs.

provincial matters. County and parochial taxes, a study in itself, will not be discussed.

The lists of taxables in each county were provided by the county court clerk who made copies of schedules presented to him by the county court. These tax lists were compiled, in accordance with the provisions of a law passed in 1760. Constables appointed by the county courts and individual justices were assigned to tax districts in each of the counties. The constable summoned all masters or mistresses, or overseers when neither of the first two was available, to appear before the justice of their district and declare all the taxables in the household.[5] The constable was also required to give to the justice of his district a list of all persons so summoned. The justice of each district, after compiling his own list from the declarations made to him, checked it against the constable's list to see if any persons summoned failed to appear. If so, court action was taken against the delinquent, the fine being 40*s.* for every taxable the delinquent failed to declare. When his own list was compiled, the justice returned it and the constable's list to the county court which, in turn, gave them to the county clerks who made five copies of both lists, one of each for the sheriff, the county court, the vestry, and the treasurer, and display in the county courthouse. The county courts were empowered to see that the clerks were paid for these services.[6]

Between 1755 and 1772, except for custom duties, which were collected and disbursed at the port of entry, provincial, county, and ecclesiastical taxes were nearly always collected by the sheriffs. The sheriff's commission for collecting taxes varied during this period, but after December, 1766, he received an 8 per cent commission for collecting the provincial taxes, and possibly the same commission for collecting the county taxes.[7] His commission for collecting parochial taxes was 6 per cent, beginning with the Vestry Act of January, 1764.[8] In addition to these commissions, he received 2*s.* 8*d.* for each distress he made

[5] Taxables included all white males, freemen or servants, sixteen years of age and over; Negroes, mulattoes, and "Persons of Mixt Blood to the Fourth Generation," slave or free, male or female, twelve years and over; and all individuals who married persons of color and their progeny, twelve years and older. See Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 345 (1749), 526 (1760); Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 539 (1767).

[6] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 526-531. A similar law had been passed in 1749. See Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 345-346.

[7] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 156-157; Pitt County, Miscellaneous Papers, 1762-1851, Archives; Legislative Papers, 1765-1767, Archives, hereinafter cited as Legislative Papers, 1765-1767; Papers of Secretary of State, 1770-1772, Archives. No law was found stating the exact commission of the sheriff for collecting the county taxes. It is assumed above that the county courts probably established the same rate as was provided by the assembly for the collection of provincial taxes.

[8] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 606.

for nonpayment of taxes.[9] His power to distrain the property of tax delinquents and frequent abuses of this power continued throughout the period in question despite remedial legislation.[10]

After collecting the provincial taxes, in accordance with a law passed in 1755 defining his duties, the sheriff was to account with the treasurer of his district. If he neglected or refused to account for the taxes, the superior court of the district on the motion of the treasurer might give judgment against the sheriff for the taxes due, minus the sheriff's commission, plus court costs. The important fact to notice here is that the treasurer had to initiate the court action against the sheriff. The act cautioned the sheriff to discontinue the practice of collecting taxes from polls not on the tax lists and keeping the money so collected; he was to account for these monies. In addition, the act provided that treasurers who refused or neglected to disburse the public monies as directed by law were made liable for these funds. The superior court of the treasurer's district, upon the motion of the attorney general or under the directions of the assembly by the motion of any other attorney, was to give judgment against the treasurer for the amount of his delinquency plus 6 per cent yearly interest and double costs.[11]

An act of 1759[12] attempted to prevent dishonest sheriffs from continuing to hold office. The law directed that should a sheriff who had served two successive years in office be recommended by the county court for reappointment he had to present a certificate from the treasurer of his district attesting that he had properly collected, accounted for, and paid the taxes for which he was responsible while in office.[13]

[9] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 530, 606.

[10] The Regulators continually complained of the unfair, corrupt, and harmful distraining practices of the sheriffs and their deputies. They argued that the distrainers confiscated much beyond the indebtedness and that they and others made gross and dishonest profits from the staged sales of the distrained property. Similar grievances were stated by many not directly involved in the regulators' movement. See Boyd, *Eighteenth Century Tracts*, 188, and a petition by the inhabitants of Pasquotank to the governor, council, and assembly sent on November 20, 1766, in Legislative Papers, 1765-1767.

[11] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 424-432.

[12] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 505.

[13] The law which created the office of sheriff in March, 1739, gave the county courts control over the appointment of these officials and cemented thereby their alliance with the local governing bodies and the assembly. The court nominated three men for the office and the governor appointed and commissioned one of the three, thereby having no effective discretionary power. During the period under review the sheriff's term of office was for one year and no person could be compelled to hold the office any longer. It was made mandatory in the law of 1739 that the sheriff be a justice of the peace, but in 1745 this was repealed although rarely was a person nominated who was not a justice. See footnote 3. See also, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 266; IX, 315, 983, 1,158; X, 404; Secretary of State, Election Returns, Miscellaneous, 1764-1908, Archives; Boyd, "The Sheriff in Colonial North Carolina," 111-113, 127-135.

An act of 1760 amended the rules governing the settling of accounts by the sheriffs with the treasurers. The object of the amendment was to prevent sheriffs, in collusion with one or more justices, from abusing their right to certify the inability of certain polls to pay their taxes. This meant, of course, that the sheriffs would not be held accountable for these taxes. The law directed that no county court should absolve the sheriff from collecting taxes of insolvents unless five or more justices in court agreed to and signed the certificate of allowance.[14]

The same act amended those clauses governing the dates for tax collection and the penalty for late payments. All taxes, therefore, provincial, county, and parochial, were made due on or before the tenth of March each year; the sheriff was directed to collect 2*s.* 8*d.* per poll for the single distress allowed for late payment.[15]

An act ratified on January 15, 1768, repealed all past laws concerning sheriffs and their duties in office because these acts had

> been found greatly Defective; and there is at present no Law whereby those who have been invested with the Power of applying Public Money, or Collectors of the same, can be compelled to a Speedy Execution of the said Trusts; by Occasion whereof the Public hath been greatly Defrauded, and the Faith thereof much depreciated. . . .[16]

In spite of this declaration the provisions of the two previous acts generally were continued in the law of January, 1768, but the controls governing the collection and accounting for public monies were amended and strengthened. Sheriffs who had not finished their collections before the end of their terms in office were empowered to continue until the job was completed. Past sheriffs in arrears were also empowered to collect all back taxes. In order to prevent the outright embezzlement of public monies, each sheriff was directed to present to the first county court held after each January 1, beginning in 1769, an account signed by the treasurer of his district of his collections and arrearages. This account was to be entered upon the minutes of the court by the clerk and if the sheriff neglected to follow this procedure he was to lose his tax commissions from the preceding year. The same system was to be followed when a sheriff was removed from office prior to the expiration of his term for any reason other than death. Apparently these procedures were designed to publicize the sheriffs' malfeasances.[17]

[14] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 526-531.
[15] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 526-531.
[16] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 713.
[17] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 622-624; Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 713-723.

Another clause of the act forbade an incumbent sheriff to serve in the assembly or council. Governor William Tryon hoped this clause would have a salutary effect, since the sheriffs' deputies had committed abuses while the sheriffs attended legislative sessions.[18] It is difficult to believe that he felt this was very important since the high sheriffs themselves were chiefly responsible for the manifold abuses surrounding the office.

A law concerning sheriffs, passed during the November session of the 1768 legislature, empowered the governor to appoint a collector of provincial and county taxes when there was no sheriff commissioned in the county.[19]

Legislation passed in 1770 was designed to give relief to the securities of the sheriffs (bond had to be given by all sheriffs). Some sheriffs in arrears relieved themselves of their responsibilities by leaving the province, their securities thereby becoming liable for the arrearages. This law empowered the securities to collect back taxes.[20]

A more significant law than any of these, one dealing with treasurers, was ratified on January 15, 1768.[21] In accordance with past laws the sheriffs under oath were directed to account yearly with the treasurers before June 10 and the treasurers, for receiving, accounting for, and disbursing the public funds, were to receive 5 per cent of the monies they handled. New to this law, however, was the provision that the county court clerk should lodge with the treasurer of his district all bonds entered into within nine months after their execution. This was designed to facilitate the suing of sheriffs by treasurers, for prior to this time the clerks held the bonds, sending them to the treasurers only upon demand. Still more important was the clause in the act designed to coerce the treasurers to act against errant sheriffs. Previously the treasurers were required to sue sheriffs for tax arrearages, but this act, in addition, made the treasurer liable for the tax arrears of the sheriff if within six months after the date set by law for accounting and receiving the public monies from all collectors the treasurer did not begin suit for the recovery of funds in arrears. The law also attempted to systematize the keeping of records by directing the treasurers to debit the accounts of each sheriff with the total number of taxables and to credit the accounts with the totals of the insolvents and the collections. These accounts and all related ones were to be open to inspection by the governor and laid before the assembly

[18] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 694.
[19] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 767-768.
[20] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 789-790.
[21] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 622-624; Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 723-725.

for its approval. In addition, the treasurer of each district was to give to the governor such "Transcripts or Information" as he deemed desirable.[22]

An efficient, honest handling and disbursement of public monies, therefore, depended upon the treasurers of the province to see that the sheriffs and others carried out their responsibilities as tax collectors. Unfortunately, despite the coercive clause making them liable for the sheriffs' arrears, the treasurers did not maintain fiscal propriety for a number of reasons. They also were guilty of misusing public funds;[23] their system of keeping accounts was grossly inadequate; and most importantly, they were obligated to the sheriffs and assemblymen and colluded with them to prevent the effective application of the reform laws. No treasurer who failed to bring suit against defalcating sheriffs, for example, was ever made liable for the tax arrears of these sheriffs. The remainder of this study will be concerned primarily with this collusion.

Governor Arthur Dobbs, as early as September 25, 1755, in a speech to both houses of the legislature expressed his concern about the unwillingness of those who handled public money to part with it.

> I find it is become too much a Practice in this Province that those who are intrusted in the collecting or laying out of Publick Money keep it in their hands and lay it out for their benefit and can't be brought to account without being sued at Law and many die or leave the Province without being brought to Account for the same by which the Publick is defrauded and the remaining inhabitants must make good the debt.[24]

He therefore recommended that "all who have collected or who are to lay out money for the . . . publick" should account for it within a specified time. Here he was primarily concerned with the corrupt and inefficient practices of the sheriffs, but in a letter to the Board of Trade on January 19, 1760, he had much to say about the jumbled accounts of the treasurers of both the northern and southern districts.

> I have also sent to your Lordships a Copy of Mr. Barker's accounts who is Treasurer of the Northern District, by which you will see in what Manner the public accounts are carried on, when not brought before and passed by the Council, and not properly audited, when thus undigested and passed by the Assembly having such Influence as Members and Treasurers over the Assembly as to influence them in their favour even to carry points against the Crown by being for Life. Mr. Starkey the other Treasurer

[22] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 724-725.
[23] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 497; VIII, 94, 644.
[24] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 497.

for the Southern District has not furnished me with a Copy to send your Lordships and though he has returned an imperfect list of Taxables and a jumbled indistinct Arrear yet his manner of accounting is very irregular. . . .[25]

The only questionable part of this letter is Dobbs' willingness to ascribe the actions of the assembly to the machinations and influence of the treasurers. To be sure, they were influential gentlemen, but if the treasurers' lackadaisical system of keeping the accounts had not been in line with the assembly's own interests, or the interest of the groups comprising the assembly—the county court rings—there would have been immediate revision of the colony's accounting system. The assembly's control over auditing the treasurers' accounts and its general unwillingness to attack the problem of corruption allowed the malpractices that were rampant. Dobbs, in a letter to the Board of Trade on December 12, 1760, alluded to this audit of provincial accounts by the assembly in which the governor, council, and crown officials played a negligible role. Effective approval of the accounts came by a majority vote of a joint committee of both houses controlled by the assembly.[26]

By the time Tryon became governor, mass defaults by sheriffs, inaccurate and incomplete financial statements, and corrupt handling of public monies by the treasurers, the alleged guardians of the public purse, had failed to disturb the assembly. Only the continued and insistent demands of an alarmed governor, supported sporadically by the council, plus the pressures of an aroused populace, would force the assembly eventually to bestir itself. But by then a major rebellion was under way—the Regulation.

Governor Tryon's comments through the years of his administration illustrate the situation. Early he presented to the assembly plans to prevent the embezzlement of public funds by sheriffs. One proposal was that the assembly should double the commission allowed to sheriffs for collecting the taxes. He felt that with this increased emolument "Gentlemen of the just probity and most responsible" would "offer themselves as candidates for that active and important Office."[27] The assembly complied immediately with the governor's request. The result was that the sheriffs embezzled just as much or more than ever. Perhaps Governor Tryon had something to learn about men of probity and responsibility. With more acumen he asked the assembly to pass

[25] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 217.
[26] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 320; Jack P. Greene, *The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689-1776* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, c. 1963), 72-80.
[27] Legislative Papers, 1765-1767; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 294.

legislation requiring the enumeration by the treasurers of receipts and expenditures of public monies as well as the balance remaining in their possession and the sums due from other public officers. That he had to make such elementary recommendations about the keeping of accounts seems incredible.[28]

Tryon, in a letter to Earl Shelburne July 4, 1767, recognized the close ties among sheriffs, treasurers, and assembly and the gross corruption involved in the handling of public funds.

> By the enclosed reports of the Committee of both Houses met at Newbern to state and settle the publick accounts of this province at the last General Assembly, his Majesty may observe the low state of publick fund of his colony of North Carolina. I have taken every publick and private opportunity of recommending a stricter examination into the Treasurers' receipts and disbursements of the publick money. . . . The Treasurers have hitherto shown so much illjudged lenity towards the Sheriffs that upon a medium the Sheriffs have embezzled more than one half of the publick money ordered to be raised and collected by them. It is estimated that the sheriffs arrears to the publick amount to forty thousand pounds [an underestimate of more than twenty-four thousand pounds] proclamation money, not five thousand of which will possibly ever come into the treasury as in many instances the sheriffs and their securities are either insolvent or retreated out of the province. The treasurers lenity or rather remissness in the material part of their duty I construe to be founded on the principal [*sic*] of caution, for by not suing the sheriffs in arrear they obtain a considerable weight of interest among the connections of these delinquent sheriffs and which generally secures them a re-election in their offices when expired. I flatter myself some better regulations will be established at the next general assembly. . . .[29]

His optimism was rewarded during the legislative session of December, 1767, with the previously discussed law making the treasurers liable for the debt of the sheriffs if the treasurers neglected to bring suit.[30] Tryon, however, in his opening address to the legislature that passed this law, indirectly predicted the eventual failure of the act. He argued that the "embezzlements and irregularities practiced by the several collectors of the public revenues for some time past" could only be prevented if the governor were given an effective role in the process of approving the public account. Despite this, he concluded: "Though this opinion is founded on a principle of equity and distributive Justice to the public, I shall nevertheless on a subject of this delicate nature rest my own judgement entirely on your wisdom and

[28] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 294-295.
[29] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 497.
[30] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 723-725.

discretion."[31] These remarks indicate that Tryon knew that he would not be granted a special role in the auditing of the public accounts. He acquiesced on this point, as he had done in the past, and confronted the powerful opponents of reform in the assembly with no more than earnest appeals for remedial legislation.

His refusal to break with the assembly reflected Tryon's strong class affinity with the ruling groups, his general dependence upon leaders of the province and his continuous attempt to avoid contention in order to maintain friendly relations. These factors, plus his willingness to believe that the Regulators, whose unruly spirit he detested, were attacking the royal prerogative and the constitution, predetermined the destruction of the Regulators at Alamance in 1771 by an army led by Governor Tryon himself.[32] Ironically, the officers of the army under his leadership were the same men who were responsible for the corrupt financial structure which both Tryon and the Regulators had opposed.

On October 31, 1769, Governor Tryon again sought administrative reform short of upsetting the political power structure of the province. Presenting the deplorable state of the public finance, Tryon cautiously noted that the wide-spread embezzlement by the sheriffs might be considerably lessened by the vigorous enforcement of the law requiring that the liability for sheriffs' defaults be passed on to the treasurers. He then urged that to prevent malpractice by the treasurers, it was necessary to institute a "constant regular plain and uniform method of keeping the Accounts of the public revenue and of stating and settling these accounts. . . ."[33] He therefore recommended that the treasurers keep day books to record all money received or paid by them, including information such as the date, the exact amounts and persons involved, and "the nature of the transaction." Tryon also urged that a ledger be kept by the treasurers listing all the monies for which the various collectors of public revenue were responsible and crediting their accounts with money paid into the treasury, commissions as provided for by law, and insolvents certified

[31] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 551-552.

[32] An example of Tryon's dependence upon the assembly to secure a personal objective was the building of the mansion which housed the governor and his family and provided chambers for the legislature. Many have written about Tryon's so-called "Palace," but Alonzo Thomas Dill's works are by far the most comprehensive. The edifice eventually cost more than £15,000 in North Carolina currency. Actual building began in August, 1767. In June, 1770, Tryon moved into it and on December 5, 1770, the assembly convened there for the first time. See Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., "Tryon's Palace, A Neglected Niche of North Carolina History," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (April, 1942), 119-167; Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., *Governor Tryon and His Palace* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, c. 1955), *passim*.

[33] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 94.

by the county courts. Another ledger was to be kept "wherein an account debtor and creditor is opened between the treasurer on one side and every particular fund appropriated by the Legislature on the other side. . . ." [34]

In this last book which Tryon described as "no more than a general abstract of the whole," the treasurer was to debit himself with "the gross account of the Revenue" arising from all taxes. He was to credit himself with the "gross account of insolvencies and deficiencies" for the different taxes, plus monies in the hands of the sheriffs and other collectors, payments he had made, his commissions, and the balance for each tax that remained in his hands. The treasurer was to add to this account a list of the suits which he had initiated in accordance with the law.[35]

Tryon then turned his attention to the auditing procedure and proposed that a standing committee of five to seven members be appointed by the assembly to audit the accounts during a prorogation of the legislature and that a report be made at the next session of the assembly. This report together with all the documents, vouchers, and account books from which the report was made were then to lie on the table in the assembly for all to review. After the approval of the assembly, the material was to be reviewed and reported by a joint committee of both houses. At this point the treasurers were to swear to the governor as to the truth of the accounts whereupon they were to be formally accepted by the assembly. Tryon further recommended, because of the great arrearages of the past and the confusion of public accounts, that settling of these past accounts be taken out of the hands of the treasurers and given over to a person or persons appointed by both houses.[36]

An analysis of these proposals indicates once again that Tryon accepted the inevitable fact of the power structure and contented himself to work within it. By the keeping of adequate books and the implementation by the treasurers of the laws of the province providing for suits against tax collectors in arrears, and through a more formalized and demanding auditing procedure *under the control* of the assembly, Tryon hoped to achieve greater order in the province's finances. It should be noticed that the governor would play no role in this, except that the treasurers would swear before him as to the accuracy of the accounts. Neither was the council to play an integral part, for the membership of the joint committee Tryon called for was not delineated

[34] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 94-95.
[35] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 95-96.
[36] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 96-97.

and Tryon could not but recognize that the existent joint committee serving a similar end was controlled by the assembly. The collection, disbursement, accounting, auditing, and acceptance of the public accounts, therefore, was to remain in the hands of the county court and its officers, the treasurers, and the assembly. The assembly, however, refused even these modest reforms and Tryon thereupon disconsolately berated it for not affecting his plan which

> if adopted by the Legislature, and invariably pursued, (otherwise it will be insufficient) will produce the happiest effects to this Country, and I will be bold to affirm, if ever carried, in any future Session, into an Act of the Legislature, it will be acknowledged the most beneficial Session this Colony ever experienced, though it should be the only Act passed in that Session. But this blessing is not to be obtained for the Country, while the Treasurers, late Sheriffs, and their sureties, can command a majority in the lower House, and while a Treasurer is suffered to absent himself, and withhold his public accounts from the General Assembly let the pretense of his absence be ever so urgent. This morning I saw some Public Accounts of the Treasurer for the Southern District. Those accounts are so very irregular, and negligently kept, that the Public must be abused if an amendment is not made to the mode there pursued; but as I am told it is a method his predecessors followed, no censure can lay upon that Gentleman.[37]

Tryon still did not despair. On December 14, 1770, he addressed a new assembly, once again calling for the adoption of his plan and giving the assembly books of his own for the treasurers to use, "considering the difficulties there may be in immediately procuring the record books. . . ." Together with this "needle approach" he again suggested that the settling of past accounts be placed in hands other than the treasurers'.[38]

Finally, on January 24, 1771, less than four months before the military defeat of the Regulators, the assembly acted. It did so only after years of unrest and violence in the province, countless urgings and recommendations by the governor, and reports presented to it by a man of its own choosing, John Burgwin, establishing the sordid state of the colony's finances beyond any doubt. The assembly at this time, by resolves, set up a bookkeeping system for the treasurers similar to that proposed by Tryon, although it still failed to detail the auditing procedure beyond enumerating what material should be placed before the assembly for its inspection.[39]

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[37] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 104-105.
[38] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 317-318.
[39] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 379, 459-460. In 1773 other resolves were passed strengthening the auditing system. See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 580-581.

However inadequate the legislation was prior to January 24, 1771, the history of provincial finances under this last law indicates that earlier passage would not have altered conditions appreciably.[40] For the fact remains that the laws which were passed left control over the financial system in the hands of the local officials, treasurers, and assembly, the very groups responsible for the financial abuses of the time.

It appears that the assembly's actions throughout were those of a most reluctant and unenthusiastic reformer, only moving when the pressures became impossible to resist. Even then, bound by what it considered to be its own self-interest, which did not dictate an effective change in the system of tax collection and the disbursement of public monies, the reform measures acceded to by the assembly were, until quite late, perfunctory gestures. Its will to enforce the existing laws, even more revealing, was virtually nonexistent.

The actions of the governors, in contrast, were more socially conscionable. Certainly this was true of Tryon who appears to have been motivated simply by a desire to mitigate the corrupt practices of the period. Dobbs, however, hoped to build a case to the crown so that it would attempt to control the treasurers and the process of accounting and disbursing of provincial funds. From whatever mixed motives Dobbs or Tryon approached the problem, however, their records, it may be categorically stated, were very good when compared with that of the assembly. Dobbs' actions were colored by a receding hope that the crown would intervene and Tryon's, from the beginning of his administration, by the recognition that it would not. From the single view of establishing a more honest and efficient system governing the handling of public funds, crown intervention would have been desirable. The choices of this period seem to have been between provincial control which was oligarchic and corrupt and imperial control with a promise of honesty. As in so many other spheres of colonial politics, autonomy in the realm of provincial finance secured neither an effective, democratic, nor honest system. This autonomy, rather, strengthened the position of an oligarchy which was self-aggrandizing and contemptuous of the demands of its constituency. In the midst of the ensuing skirmishing, and more than a little disturbed and confused by it all, were the great bulk of the colonists. Some, the Regulators, rebelled. And despite a deep bitterness against a governor who for

[40] For evidence to support this contention see Burgwin's fourth report covering a period one year beyond the law of January 24, 1771. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 572-573. See also, Governor Martin's frequent comments on the same problems in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 201, 258-259, 690-691, 793-794.

varied reasons refused to countenance their protests while agreeing with many of their stated grievances, they rebelled primarily against those whom they considered to be their most powerful and implacable foes, the members of the assembly, the local officials and the compeers of both—the autonomous controllers of the provincial purse.

TRENDS IN HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION: JAMES K. POLK

By James J. Horn*

In 1949 in a book entitled *Paths to the Present,* Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., published an evaluation of American presidents based on a poll of fifty-five professors of history and government. The listing of James Knox Polk in the category entitled "Near Great" may have surprised those unfamiliar with Polk's record.[1] For three quarters of a century, Polk was undeservedly one of the forgotten men of American history. The story of this reversal in historical opinion is an interesting one.

James K. Polk, the first "dark horse" in American political history, was hardly unknown but certainly unappreciated by his contemporaries. The eleventh president possessed little personal magnetism and a good deal of independence. Unlike Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, he had no large political following. When Polk died only three months after leaving office, no great admirers sounded his praises or perpetuated his memory.

Had George Bancroft, his Secretary of the Navy, written Polk's biography or an account of his administration, the President would certainly have received better treatment. Instead, Polk's story was first told by the Whig and anti-slavery historians of his era. Biased historians who favored Polk's Whig opponents maligned the President with such labels as "Polk the Mendacious."

In 1881 Hermann von Holst, relying heavily on secondary sources, viciously denounced Polk in *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States.* Von Holst pictured Polk as the dupe of a "sinister manipulative slavocracy" which "absorbed Texas, provoked the war with Mexico, and tried to spread slavery westward."[2] The European-born historian took the side of Polk's Whig adversaries who believed the President and his southern advisers schemed a war of

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[1] Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Paths to the Present* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), 93-111.

[2] Harvey Wish, *The American Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 212.

conquest to expand slavery, enhance his personal glory, perpetuate the strength of the Democratic party, secure his re-election, and obscure his concessions in the Oregon negotiations.[3]

Von Holst's brother in slander was James Schouler, the son of a Whig editor. In Volumes IV and V of his *History of the United States of America Under the Constitution,* Schouler called the dismal, rainy day of Polk's inauguration the beginning of "a new era of woes."[4] Schouler did praise Polk's settlement of the Oregon dispute in which both sides were anxious to retreat from near belligerency. With respect to the Mexican War, however, Polk emerged as the villainous agent of the annexationists whose rapacity was responsible for the mutilation of Mexico. Schouler added that "To provoke this feeble sister republic to hostilities, at the same time putting on her the offense of shedding the first blood, was the step predetermined if she would not sign away her domain for gold."[5] Had Polk been satisfied with Texas alone, there might have been peace despite all the perfidy of the United States, Schouler continued.

Schouler agreed with von Holst in arguing that the Mexican War was waged by southern annexationists to expand slavery: "The mawworm of sectional greed had lodged at last in the stomach of the new Democracy."[6] In the opinion of Schouler, Polk was the faithful servant of these greedy southern annexationists. Schouler's Whig bias was even more evident in his questionable praise of Zachary Taylor, "beloved by all who served under him, for his unaffected simplicity and kindness of heart. . . . [He] took little interest in political rivalries."[7]

Schouler did praise Polk for his strong achievements, his hard work, and his zeal "in his own way" faithfully to serve the people.[8] Schouler's account of Polk ended with the election of 1848, in which "the iniquitous war with Mexico drove from public confidence the politicians and the political set by whom it was provoked," and the hero of the war was installed in the presidency.[9]

John Bach McMaster, another of the older historians, was less biased, but hardly favorable to Polk. In Volume VII of *A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War,*

[3] Allan Nevins (ed.), *Polk, The Diary of a President* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929), xiv, hereinafter cited as Nevins, *Polk.*

[4] James Schouler, *History of the United States of America Under the Constitution* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 7 volumes, 1880-1913), IV, 495, hereinafter cited as Schouler, *History of the United States.*

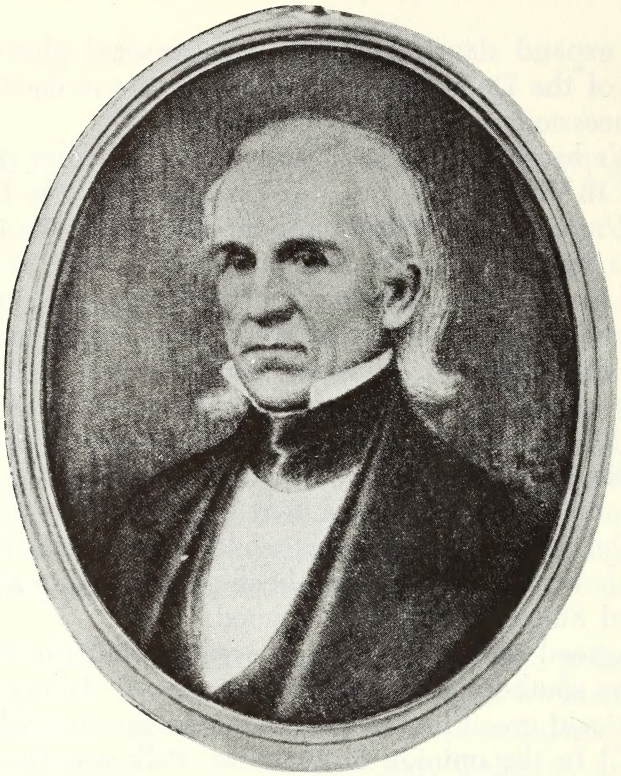
[5] Schouler, *History of the United States,* IV, 525.

[6] Schouler, *History of the United States,* IV, 538.

[7] Schouler, *History of the United States,* V, 5.

[8] Schouler, *History of the United States,* V, 123.

[9] Schouler, *History of the United States,* V, 127.



James Knox Polk, President, 1845-1849. From files of State Department of Archives and History.

McMaster quoted at length both sides of contemporary opinion, refraining from a personal value judgment. The lengthy listing of Whig criticisms and the brief attention paid to Polk's accomplishments did not endear Polk to McMaster's readers.[10]

No fair treatment of Polk's presidency was published until 1922. That was Eugene I. McCormac's *James K. Polk, A Political Biography*, a well-documented work of over 700 pages. This book was the seminal work in the re-evaluation of Polk's presidency.[11] Meanwhile, Milo Milton Quaife had by 1910 published a four-volume edition of Polk's Diary. Historians could at last look at Polk's accomplishments with a new perspective.

While not claiming brilliance or any spectacular qualities for his subject, McCormac found ample room for praise of Polk. He revealed

[10] John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 8 volumes, 1883-1913), VII, 353-551.

[11] Eugene I. McCormac, *James K. Polk, A Political Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1922), 212-725, hereinafter cited as McCormac, *James K. Polk.*

that Polk, soon after his inauguration, had announced to George Bancroft "the four great measures" of his administration: reduction of the tariff, re-establishment of the independent treasury, settlement of the Oregon dispute, and annexation of New Mexico and California. McCormac commented that "as President, few have had a more definite program to carry out or have succeeded so well in accomplishing their purposes." [12] In evaluating Polk's achievements, McCormac held that the lower tariff brought prosperity, the independent treasury was successful, the Polk doctrine was approved and extended, and the policy of expansion added 500,000 square miles to the national domain and extended American power to the Pacific. In 1848, added McCormac, even the victorious Whigs were unwilling to repeal Polk's "four great measures."

McCormac depicted Polk as a man of unusual determination. Resolved to be president in fact as well as in name, Polk dominated his cabinet to a greater degree than most of his predecessors. "As a private in the ranks of the party he was ever ready to submit without complaint to the judgment of the leaders; and now, as party chieftain, he required from others a similar respect for authority." [13]

McCormac attacked von Holst by name, accusing the Whig historian of quoting out of context, misusing federal documents, and suppressing facts favorable to Polk. McCormac dwelt at length on his criticism of von Holst because he believed him responsible for the erroneous ideas of Polk held by teachers and writers of history.

On the causation of the Mexican War, McCormac conceded that there was some justification for the Whig accusation that Polk precipitated the war by ordering Taylor to the Rio Grande. McCormac destroyed the other Whig accusations point by point, however, and disregarded entirely the "dupe of slavocracy" idea. "Despite all that his opponents might say," said McCormac, "it seems clear that the President never welcomed a war, and he neglected no opportunity which gave prospect of ending it." [14] McCormac did concede that Polk had been determined from the beginning to add California and New Mexico to the national domain, and that he pursued his goals with great persistence against all opposition. On the issue of the war, McCormac concluded justly that "Whatever may be thought of his motives or his methods, to him is due the credit (or censure if you

[12] McCormac, *James K. Polk*, 249.
[13] McCormac, *James K. Polk*, 293.
[14] McCormac, *James K. Polk*, 541.

please) of extending to the Pacific the boundaries of the United States."[15]

McCormac also praised Polk highly for his restatement of the Monroe Doctrine in his 1845 address to Congress. McCormac demonstrated that Polk both extended and limited the doctrine at the same time. Polk forbade any European interference, but he spoke only of the North American continent. "While the original Monroe Doctrine had long ceased to have any practical application, the 'Polk Doctrine,'" said McCormac, "has been an active force in our history down to the present day. But whether we approve or condemn the doctrine, it was Polk who first declared that the United States would not permit any interference, solicited or otherwise, in American affairs, by European monarchies."[16]

McCormac concluded his lengthy volume by criticizing historians for not giving Polk the credit he justly deserved. The Whigs, for example, had not even given Polk credit for being a successful conspirator, but made him merely the tool of more capable intriguers. These older historians, said McCormac, were too occupied with the slavery question to see Polk's achievements. "No other President," McCormac concluded, "took his task more seriously nor spent his energies more freely for his country; and few, indeed, have done more to increase the power and prestige of the nation."[17]

Seven years after McCormac's authoritative work, Allan Nevins published a one-volume edition of Polk's Diary. In the foreword to that edition, Nevins adopted the tone of McCormac's treatment in lauding the hard-working President. Nevins said that a fairer perspective, the decay of old sectional and party prejudices, and fuller research were responsible for correcting the injustices of earlier historians.[18]

Like McCormac, Nevins did not claim brilliance for Polk, but attributed the President's success to his plodding, his careful industry, and his strict integrity. Polk was mediocre, said Nevins, but he added that sometimes the mediocre man makes a better president than the great man. Nevins added nothing to McCormac's account, but gave more emphasis to a few aspects of Polk's career. In criticizing the Whigs for their view of Polk as an agent of the South, for example, Nevins demonstrated that Polk refused to support the extreme southern program, alienated John C. Calhoun, proposed extension of the

[15] McCormac, *James K. Polk*, 552.
[16] McCormac, *James K. Polk*, 712.
[17] McCormac, *James K. Polk*, 725.
[18] Nevins, *Polk*, xiv.

Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, and believed Mexico was unsuited for slavery.

Nevins also mentioned the four goals Polk discussed with Bancroft, since repeated by every historian discussing the Polk administration. When he left the White House, said Nevins, Polk had accomplished them all. Beginning with McCormac and Nevins, the theme of present-day students of Polk can be summed up in Nevins' statement that "Few Presidents have seen more distinctly the objects they wished to achieve, or been more successful in attaining their aims." [19]

Textbooks in American history were not as reluctant to adopt the new view of Polk as some writers would suggest. In 1937 John D. Hicks' *The Federal Union* repeated the acclamations of Polk found in the works of McCormac and Nevins: "Polk's policy of expansion was carried through well before his term of office was over, and without serious failure. Polk was a man of mediocre ability, somewhat lacking in imagination, but by his persistence in the face of obstacles . . . he had accomplished a work in which many an abler man might have failed." [20]

Chronologically examining the more recent works on Polk, the analysis becomes more and more favorable, with the partial exception of Julius W. Pratt. The diplomatic historian published an article in 1943 entitled "James K. Polk and John Bull." [21] Pratt argued that twentieth-century historians had given Polk too much credit for making John Bull back down in the Oregon negotiations. Uncovering new evidence, Pratt contended that England's belligerent tone caused Polk some concern in the face of impending war with Mexico. "The fact was that President Polk had carried his game of looking John Bull in the eye a trifle too far, and John Bull was looking back with a menacing glance." [22] Polk was able to extricate himself from a difficult position by turning the issue over to the Senate, and then agreeing to Senate approval of a compromise. Pratt observed that the President might well be called "Polk the buck-passer." [23]

Pratt's trimming of Polk's sails did not extend beyond the Oregon issue, however. In his *History of United States Foreign Policy,* Pratt's account of Polk was moderately favorable. Pratt showed, for example, that northern, not southern, Democrats wanted to take much more of

[19] Nevins, *Polk,* xix.
[20] John D. Hicks, *The Federal Union, A History of the United States to 1865* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937), 531.
[21] Julius W. Pratt, "James K. Polk and John Bull," *The Canadian Historical Review,* XXIV (December, 1943), 341-349, hereinafter cited as Pratt, "James K. Polk and John Bull."
[22] Pratt, "James K. Polk and John Bull," 346.
[23] Pratt, "James K. Polk and John Bull," 348.

Mexico than was agreeable to Polk. Pratt also agreed with Polk's belief that climatic conditions in Mexico were unfavorable to slavery. Pratt agreed that Polk was justified in his gratifications at the achievements of his presidency. The extent of Pratt's praise is evident in the sentence concluding the chapter on Polk: "If he owed his success as much to good luck as to good management, the successes were nevertheless impressive, and it was natural that he should claim for himself the chief credit therefor."[24]

One of the most flattering of recent works on Polk is unfortunately the least scholarly.[25] Martha M. Morrel's popular biography pretended to historical accuracy, but the historian should not take the author at her word. With neither a single footnote nor listing of sources, the journalist-turned-biographer incorporated secondary source accounts of Polk into a storybook type biography in which the characters converse rather eloquently. More attention is paid to Polk's personal life than his presidency, but the book is so overwhelmingly favorable to Polk that some mention is necessary.

One writer argued in 1954 that Polk's achievements had not received adequate attention from historians. In the light of McCormac's biography and other works, Claude Bowers' notion is erroneous. Bowers' *Making Democracy a Reality, Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk* is a reprint of three uninspiring lectures.[26] Even had historians not given Polk's accomplishments adequate treatment, Bowers added nothing to earlier works. The brief essay by Bowers is entirely one-sided, listing Polk's achievements without detailed analysis. Disregarding Pratt's article entirely, Bowers continued to laud Polk for forcing John Bull to back down over Oregon. Bowers did not even admit that Polk was wrong in believing Texas extended to the Rio Grande.

Bowers was also very careless with facts. At one point he claimed that Polk ignored party politics in giving command in the Mexican War to two Whig generals. The fact that Polk had no better alternative escaped Bowers. Despite the inadequacies of Bowers' essay, it is an addition to the growing stream of complimentary literature on Polk.

Polk's pre-presidential years are most adequately treated by Charles G. Sellers in *James K. Polk, Jacksonian.* Sellers' impressively docu-

[24] Julius W. Pratt, *A History of United States Foreign Policy* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1955), 262.

[25] Martha M. Morrel, *"Young Hickory," The Life and Times of President James K. Polk* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1949).

[26] Claude G. Bowers, *Making Democracy a Reality, Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk* (Memphis, Tennessee: Memphis State College Press, 1954), 41-83.

mented work is as fair to Polk as one might expect from a native of Mecklenburg County, Polk's birthplace.

Sellers realized that much attention has been paid to Polk's presidency and very little to his first forty-eight years—years in which Polk's character was formed and the path smoothed for his climb to the presidency. Indeed, this work is much more than a biography. It is a well-documented account of the man and the events that shaped the years 1795-1843.

The qualities Polk manifested as President are also evident in his early years. Sellers showed, for example, that Polk was not brilliant, but made such thorough and effective use of his abilities that he outshone superior men. Speaking of certain of Polk's abilities, Sellers commented that "none of these things came easily to Polk. Like all his abilities they were acquired only by dint of unremitting effort over a considerable period of time."[27] The result of this feature in Polk's character was demonstrated by Sellers in showing that seven years after his graduation from The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Polk was one of the most successful young lawyers in Tennessee, a colonel of the militia, an intimate of the state's most prominent men, and the leader of Governor William Carroll's Democratic forces in the state legislature. Polk's faithful support of Andrew Jackson was one of the determinants of his success, and it is reflected in the name Sellers chose for his biography.

Sellers capably depicted Polk's abilities as a campaigner, his ambitious nature, his trials and successes as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and his term as Governor of Tennessee. Sellers' biography is the first volume of a projected two-volume work which will certainly be recognized as a valuable addition to the historical literature on James K. Polk.

Another prominent historian who has written accounts favorable to Polk is Norman A. Graebner. Polk is a central figure in "Maritime Factors in the Oregon Compromise."[28] In *Empire on the Pacific,* Graebner further developed his thesis of Pacific expansion as an expression of eastern commercial desires. Showing that Polk's objectives in California were defined in terms of coastal ports, Graebner claimed that Polk was part of the pursuit of commercial empire. His thesis was no doubt overstated, however, in Graebner's assertion that "any

[27] Charles G. Sellers, *James K. Polk, Jacksonian* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957), 278.

[28] Norman A. Graebner, "Maritime Factors in the Oregon Compromise," *Pacific Historical Review,* XX (November, 1951), 331-345.

interpretation of westward extension beyond Texas is meaningless unless defined in terms of commerce and harbors." [29]

Graebner was less concerned with expansion and more specifically concerned with Polk in an essay which appeared in *America's Ten Greatest Presidents,* edited by Morton Borden.[30] Borden's book is a collection of essays on the first ten presidents listed in the poll mentioned at the beginning of this article.

Graebner's essay is not a lengthy one, but unlike Bowers, he carefully arrived at his conclusions. Graebner gave excellent illustrations of Polk's effectiveness in securing desired legislation, especially with regard to the Walker Tariff. Placing Polk's diplomatic achievements among the most remarkable in American history, Graebner emphasized the fact that Polk wore himself out by his labors, dying three months after leaving office.

Undoubtedly the best account to date of Polk's presidency is Charles A. McCoy's *Polk and the Presidency.*[31] McCoy combined shrewd political insight and sound historical judgment and emerged with an excellent description of Polk's four years as president. McCoy judged Polk to have been one of the few genuine contributors to the institution of the presidency. Working primarily from Polk's Diary and reports in the *Globe* (Washington, D. C.) and the *Union* (Washington, D. C.), McCoy has written the most complete analysis of Polk's accomplishments as president. This is done not just with a view to domestic and diplomatic achievements, but with respect to the presidency as an institution.

In analyzing the presidency from Washington to Polk, McCoy concluded that the presidents preceding Polk had to a large degree failed to exercise immediate or direct control over the executive departments. Polk demonstrated, in true Jacksonian fashion, that he alone would be the responsible agent of his government. Within the executive departments Polk established the absolute, unchallenged, domination of the president over all lesser officials. McCoy added that Polk's control was tighter than Jackson's because it was exerted steadily as a matter of routine, not just in particular incidents.

McCoy also credited Polk with bringing the Treasury Department, previously subservient to the House Ways and Means Committee, under the direct, day-by-day supervision of the President. Further-

[29] Norman A. Graebner, *Empire of the Pacific* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955), 218.

[30] Norman A. Graebner, "James K. Polk," in *America's Ten Greatest Presidents,* edited by Morton Borden (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1961), 113-138.

[31] Charles A. McCoy, *Polk and the Presidency* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1960).

more, McCoy explained how Polk familiarized himself with the workings of all cabinet departments, even the minutiae of departmental affairs. It was this concern for details that caused Polk to work long hours, and the President was justified in believing that he was the hardest working man in the country, McCoy added.

As Commander in Chief, Polk set the precedent for a civilian to act effectively. Without prior military training, McCoy contended, Polk proved the right and the ability of the President to be Commander in Chief of the armed forces, both in war and in peace. Washington had been a trained soldier and Madison a failure. Polk was also able to deploy his forces in such a way that, for all practical purposes, he transferred the power to declare war from the legislative to the executive branch.

In another respect, McCoy showed that prior to Polk the president had no responsibility over department budgets. Polk advised department heads to revise their budgets downward, and submitted what might be called the first executive budget. In McCoy's opinion, Polk acted in the capacity of what would later be called Director of the Budget.

McCoy further demonstrated Polk's success as chief of foreign affairs. In this respect, McCoy described Polk's ability, in less than four years, to settle every major dispute between the United States and foreign nations. McCoy did not fail to mention Polk's reassertion of the Monroe Doctrine and his expansion of the nation across the continent.

Polk's conception of the president as chief legislator was that he should lead, not be led by Congress. McCoy added that Polk was probably the first of the "modern" presidents in believing that the president was the representative of all the people, while members of Congress represented narrow and special interests.

McCoy also described Polk's wisdom in retaining the power of patronage and thus acting effectively as party chief. Polk could not have remained in control had he surrendered patronage to the leaders of party factions in the various states. McCoy did acknowledge the fact that Polk lacked the charisma which might have secured him a loyal personal following.

Finally McCoy argued that a Jacksonian president had to do more than meet emergencies and defend his prerogatives; instead he had to have a strong program, a definite set of objectives to be accomplished, and the ability to get his program implemented. Polk was successful in this respect, McCoy concluded, because he knew what he wanted and how to get results. Polk came to office with his goals clearly in

mind, and he was able to accomplish every major objective. McCoy added correctly that those who deplore Polk's methods would not give back the territory he acquired. From the standpoint of results, McCoy believed Polk's presidency was one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest.

The popular conception of historical figures is shaped in large measure by textbook accounts. A consensus of the major textbooks in both diplomatic and general American history is a very fair treatment of the eleventh President. Thomas A. Bailey, for example, says that "One can fairly criticize Polk's methods, but one can hardly fail to be impressed with the results." [32] Thomas Williams, Richard Current, and Frank Freidel echo the most frequently repeated remarks: "Probably no other President entered office with so clearly defined a program and accomplished so much of it as Polk. He was the ablest president between Jackson and Lincoln and perhaps the strongest chief executive before the Civil War." [33]

The fact that historians have revised their opinions of Polk since the President's era is now obvious. The fact that Polk left a diary is largely responsible for this shift in historical opinion. Once party and sectional cleavages diminished and historians began to look with new perspective at Polk's fine achievements, a man once so maligned in his own time received considerable praise from his posterity.

[32] Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1964), 266.

[33] Thomas Harry Williams, Richard N. Current, and Frank Freidel, *A History of the United States to 1877* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf [second edition, revised], 1964), 519.

BOOK REVIEWS

Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia. By Robert McColley. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1964. Index, map. Pp. x, 227. $5.00.)

This study of the period 1776-1815 aims to show that the "peculiar institution," though deplored and on occasion denounced by the statesmen of Revolutionary Virginia, became only more firmly fixed in the economic and social structure of the new commonwealth. The plantation economy and slavocracy that historians have associated with the expansion of the cotton kingdom after 1815 and the dominant society of the ante-bellum South are now depicted as well established a generation earlier in Virginia. The author analyzes the growth of the agrarian economy and the "pursuit of happiness" by the large planters who controlled politics as well as the way of life among their "people." What he has to say about the life of the slave and the status of the free Negro, about the slave as "the most valuable property" on the market for sale or hire, and about runaway and rebellious Negroes as a threat to society and an interstate problem, constitute familiar themes of the Old South. Set in an earlier chronological framework, they expose Virginia as the mother of slave states and abettor of the domestic slave trade. "Gentlemen's Opinions on Race and Freedom" gave a hollow sound to noble principles concerning the rights of man; the "True Emancipators" of the Revolution were the Methodists and especially the Quakers, whose "practical" immediate demands appear in sharp contrast to the "theory of statesmen."

Although Mr. McColley acknowledges the existence of "more than enough sources [on Jeffersonian Virginia] to divert a lifetime," three major repositories in Virginia and the Library of Congress, he declares, "largely satisfied my curiosity." So far so good for his doctoral dissertation, but not for his book. There is a thinness about the documentation—sometimes none at all to substantiate factual statements—that might have been remedied by research in the rich collections at Duke University and The University of North Carolina. He gleaned some information from Will Books in the Virginia State Archives, but he overlooked the Personal Property Tax Books, from 1782, which would have yielded valuable data by sampling.

As a historical work, the book is marred by the author's caustic impatience with Jefferson and his intellectual contemporaries who never translated their high principles of freedom into emancipation of all slaves. Mr. McColley's commendable concern with the moral issue renders him incapable of evaluating slavery in the economic and social context of that generation, heirs of a century-old system that was neither outmoded as a way of life nor undermined by scientific conclusions concerning race. It was the tragedy of Jefferson's generation that, with better prospect than its successors, it found no practical solution to this vexing problem other than amelioration on an individual basis. Mr. McColley, in fact, assumes the role of attorney when he asserts that "Tobacco sheds and spinning rooms were typical sanatoriums [*sic*] for aging and invalid slaves" (p. 76); that "Theirs [the planters'] was not a society that identified virtue with manual labor" (p. 184); that "Jefferson was most concerned with the evil effect of slavery on white Virginians" (p. 128); that the Ordinance of 1784 was "another case in which Jefferson had in mind the best interests of white people" (p. 171); or that "the Jeffersonian Republicans grasped control of the entire Mississippi Valley . . . , guaranteeing the security of slavery in the vast Louisiana Territory" (p. 181).

It is regrettable that Mr. McColley, with the advantage of his enlightened hindsight, has indulged in argument against the Jeffersonian Virginians for failure to reform their society. While he enables present-day readers to appreciate how firmly entrenched the institution of slavery had become despite the revolutionary spirit of the age, the forensic, and at some points unhistorical, quality of his work can hardly be absolved by his immaturity.

Lester J. Cappon

Institute of Early American History and Culture

The Diary of Dolly Lunt Burge. Edited by James I. Robertson, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1962. Index. Pp. xv, 141. $4.00.)

James I. Robertson, executive director of the Civil War Centennial Commission, here reprints the diary of Dolly Lunt Burge, first printed in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*. An introductory chapter sketches the life of New England-born Dolly Sumner Lunt (1817-1891), wife, in turn, of Samuel H. B. Lewis, Thomas Burge, and William J. Parks. Lewis was a New England doctor who brought Dolly to Georgia in search of health. Burge was a large Georgia landowner, and Parks

was a Methodist minister and agent for Emory College. The diary (1847-1879) contains a careful record of plantation life in middle Georgia from frontier, to plantation, to Civil War and Reconstruction, to partial recovery in the 1880's. Through the pages of her journal pass an array of important Georgia ministers, educators, and prominent settlers. This edition, with footnotes and index, makes this record of life in middle Georgia in the nineteenth century available in book form for the first time.

Malcolm C. McMillan

Auburn University

The C.S.S. Florida: Her Building and Operations. By Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965. Appendix, notes, index. Pp. 163. $6.00.)

After the "Alabama," the C.S.S. "Florida" was the most successful of the Anglo-Rebel commerce raiders. Her first cruise, under John Newland Maffitt, resulted in the capture of forty-five northern merchant vessels. In twenty-one months she inflicted over $4 million in damages to the Union carrying trade. Among the consequences of the success of the "Florida," and others like her, were the weakening of the southern blockade, intense irritation of the general public along the North Atlantic coast, and the crippling of America's maritime commerce for half a century thereafter.

To trace the career of the "Florida," Dr. Owsley made effective use of substantial categories of unpublished source material in addition to official records and other published works. He found missing portions of the log of the "Florida" and papers from which he has provided a continuous chronicle of the ship's activities. Personal, diplomatic, Treasury and State Department records help fill out the story.

Dr. Owsley emphasizes the flaunting of international law and custom by naval officers on both sides of the Civil War, the most flagrant such act being that by which the "Florida" was finally captured. Readers will find in Maffitt's tenure as captain of the vessel an interesting study of the thrusts and ruses by which a first-rate naval officer sustains his effectiveness. It is also apparent that the "Florida" owed a measure of her success to the solicitous attitude sometimes shown her

by British, French, and other foreign officials. Sixteen illustrations add to the interest of an excellent little volume.

Thomas C. Parramore

Meredith College

Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction. By William A. Dunning. Introduction by David Donald. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc. [Reprint of the Macmillan Company's 1897 edition]. Harper Torchbooks. 1965. Introduction, prefatory note, index. Pp. xx, 397. $1.95.)

It is interesting that this volume should be reprinted at a time when the author's reputation is at its nadir. Trained at Columbia and Berlin, William A. Dunning returned to Columbia, where he attracted many southern students who wrote of the Civil War and Reconstruction with a pro-southern bias. The "Dunning School" has come to be equated with racism, a trait visible in this collection of essays. A basic Radical Republican error, Dunning thought, was the assumption that Negroes were capable of self-government. He saw the "two races so distinct in characteristics as to render coalescence impossible." Slavery "had been a *modus vivendi* through which social life was possible." After emancipation slavery had to be replaced "by some set of conditions" which recognized "the same fact of racial inequality."

Dunning's works are valuable, nevertheless. He was the first to attempt a scientific investigation of Reconstruction and his essays, though inadequately documented by today's standards, were a landmark in historiography. His study of the Constitution is thoughtful and original. The only serious violation of that document during the tragic decade was the Republican principle "that impartial manhood suffrage . . . was a characteristic feature of a republican form of state government." This he regarded as revolutionary. Republicans were criticized for the impeachment of the President, but Dunning did not admire Andrew Johnson whose "bad judgment and worse taste" had alienated them.

Mistakenly believing Negroes received adequate attention in state courts before Military Reconstruction, Dunning contended that southern abuse of freedmen was exaggerated. The Republican's efficient implementation of Reconstruction was admirable but their purpose was condemned. "To stand the social pyramid on its apex was not the surest way to restore the equilibrium of the South," he commented.

Universal manhood suffrage was branded as reckless. Consistently he inaccurately referred to "black" governments and the "political domination of the blacks" in the South. He did not, like some of his students, justify southern terrorism.

Despite racism, and Dunning's lack of access to numerous materials uncovered since it was first published, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction* remains one of the best constitutional and legislative histories of the period.

Joe M. Richardson

The Florida State University

The Burden of Time: The Fugitives and Agrarians. By John L. Stewart. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 552. $12.50.)

John L. Stewart's *The Burden of Time* is the latest study of the Nashville Fugitives and Agrarians of the 1920's and 1930's, the most important literary groups ever to come out of the South. Obviously a labor of love, the book has been nearly twenty years in the making—and therein lies its major drawback. While Dr. Stewart was tracing and dating letters of his subjects and accumulating information, two books on the Vanderbilt poets have appeared: Louise Cowan's excellent *The Fugitive Group* and John Bradbury's *The Fugitives,* to say nothing of valuable critical studies of the individual poets, including Dr. Stewart's own *John Crowe Ransom.* Dr. Stewart does, however, manage to produce new information, especially on Sidney Hirsch and his astonishingly bad plays, a minor figure who is credited with providing the impetus for the early meetings of the Fugitives and naming the seminal magazine which they edited and published in the early 1920's.

The Burden of Time is half history and half criticism. The first section traces the origin, growth, and fragmentation of the group of poets at Vanderbilt University who called themselves, somewhat too poetically, the Fugitives: John Crowe Ransom—the teacher and acknowledged leader—Donald Davidson, Merrill Moore, Allen Tate, Robert Penn Warren, as well as such minor talents as Alec Stevenson and Jesse Wills. Dr. Stewart is most helpful when he develops the shifting of interests from poetry and criticism to agrarianism, a move that left behind all of the Fugitives except Ransom, Tate, and Warren, while

picking up, among others, the historian Frank L. Owsley. The Agrarians, hoping to cling to the values of the old South and stem the tide of northern industrialism, produced the famous symposium published at Chapel Hill, *I'll Take My Stand.* The author has scant sympathy for the romantic view of a "European" South and subsistence farming; in fact, his treatment of *I'll Take My Stand* is a good deal harsher than it need be.

More valuable is the second half of the book, which includes a critical examination of the total canon of the three major figures to grow out of the two movements: Ransom, Tate, and Warren. His skillful and clear chapters on the development of "the big three" should be of interest to any student of southern literature. The author points out the weaknesses of Ransom's critical theories and concludes, rightly, that Ransom's range is a narrow one for a poet of his stature. He seems biased in favor of Warren and is too obviously unsympathetic in his analysis of Tate. More damaging, he almost completely ignores Donald Davidson, a curious omission, since Davidson was a leader of both the Fugitives and the Agrarians.

In spite of his waspish tone and his tendency to include too much of minor significance, Dr. Stewart's exhaustive book is quite readable and is unquestionably an important contribution to the study of the background and literary works of the Vanderbilt poets and the Agrarians.

Guy Owen

North Carolina State University

The Case for Liberty. By Helen Hill Miller. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Illustrations, note on sources, index. Pp. xvi, 254. $5.95.)

The Case for Liberty is a history of the specific colonial incidents which led to the guarantees of the Bill of Rights. Mrs. Miller looks beyond the English precedents for the events which occurred in America making men aware of the possibility that their essential human rights might be violated. Once this was made clear the Americans drew up declarations of rights—culminating in the first ten amendments to the Federal Constitution—to provide assurances that these basic freedoms might always be enjoyed.

For each of the nine basic rights considered, Mrs. Miller, a journalist, presents a clear, well written account of one related event in one

of the colonies. In the account of each event she shows why the colonists were aware of the dangers that violation of a specific right might bring. The historical settings are generally good and both secondary and primary sources have been fully utilized.

Even so, the book is not satisfying. The subject cannot be adequately covered in the chosen manner. Mrs. Miller recognizes this by stating that her choices are "by no means exhaustive; other cases, in other places, stirred popular feeling quite as much as these" (p. xiii). In some instances one feels that other cases stirred more feeling than the cases discussed. Many people other than those involved in the "Gaspee" Affair faced the danger of being transported beyond the colonies for trial. Mrs. Miller does not make tenable her case that the main principle involved in Bacon's Rebellion was the right to bear arms. In other instances discussion of related cases would have strengthened the book. Additional portions of the Bill of Rights should have been considered.

Mrs. Miller has made a beginning on an important subject—although not an altogether successful one. Further attention needs to be given to all the events which contributed to each of the rights assured by the Bill of Rights and some careful evaluation of the relative effectiveness of each event. As for *The Case for Liberty*, its accounts are well told but their full significance is not discussed and a lack of proper evaluation mars the entire work.

J. Edwin Hendricks

Wake Forest College

The Making of the American Party System, 1789-1809. Edited by Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1965. Pp. xi, 177. A Spectrum Paperbook. $1.95.)

This useful collection of documents, a natural by-product of the editor's research for his two books on the Jeffersonian Republicans, is intended to reveal to the reader the beginnings of party politics in the United States during the administrations of the country's first three presidents. Often interesting in themselves, the documents evoke the aura of their times and suggest some parallels in more recent administrations. The selections, which have been rather widely gathered, adequately illustrate both the general theme and the chapter topics and do reasonable justice to both parties. Introductory notes to chapters and individual documents are generally satisfactory; in a few instances further annotations or identifications, if possible, would be

helpful. Chapters deal with attitudes toward the party system; with issues and ideologies; with party managers, newspapers, machinery; with the national nominating caucus; with campaigning and campaign appeals; and with Jefferson's use of the patronage.

Numerous minor political figures, as well as the expected great ones, are introduced through their thoughts and actions. These men recognized the fact of political party development but most of them refused to accept it wholeheartedly and dignify it as a respectable part of the American way at the outset. The practice of party politics preceded the theory. The same pragmatism was evident in the matter of the relationship between issue and ideology for Hamiltonians and Jeffersonians alike; but, as the editor points out, some consideration was given to principles and the parties were divided by more than self interest. The shaping of issues and the supplying of leadership is shown to have come largely from Congress and the administration in the early days, although one might give more emphasis to the influence of local factors even then. Partisanship won out over neutrality among newspaper editors as well as politicians. The predominance of Federalist press support over that of the Republicans seems to have been reversed between 1800 and 1809 but the chronic problem of financing newspapers remained. Campaigning became more personal and direct, emphasizing the growing importance both of appeals to the voters based on performance as well as passion and of the voters' response. The political practitioners presented in Professor Cunningham's selections were the builders of the two-party system—however reluctant they were to admit it—and they were even then making clear the need under that system for party responsibility, including both a responsible administration and a responsible opposition.

Lawrence F. Brewster

East Carolina College

The Abolitionists: Reformers or Fanatics? Edited with introduction by Richard O. Curry. (New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Toronto, London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. The American Problems Studies. 1965. Bibliography. Pp. 122. $1.50.)

The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists. Edited with introduction by Martin Duberman. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1965. Index. Pp. x, 508. $10.00.)

The Abolitionists: Reformers or Fanatics? is a collection of previously published writings arranged in the form of a debate about the

origins, philosophy, significance, and effects of American abolitionism. Selections are included from the writings of James Ford Rhodes, Gilbert H. Barnes, Dwight L. Dumond, John L. Thomas, David Donald, Robert A. Skotheim, Martin B. Duberman, Frank Thistlethwaite, Thomas F. Harwood, David Brion Davis, Avery O. Craven, C. Vann Woodward, Russell B. Nye, and Stanley M. Elkins. Recent scholarship is well represented in the book. All the essays, except the selection by Rhodes, were first published after 1930 and five were published after 1960.

The theses of the various authors are well known to historians; college teachers who find the "problem" approach to the study of American history valuable in stimulating thought and interest among undergraduates will welcome this collection of essays. The introduction helps to put the essays into perspective and raises provocative questions. It is unfortunate that the editor or publisher chose to omit the original footnotes. Without this documentation, the student will find it difficult to test and evaluate the evidence used to support the theses or interpretations.

In American historiography *The Antislavery Vanguard* is a most significant book. Such re-evaluation as it attempts is long overdue. The volume contains seventeen essays by as many different authors; all except one were written especially for this book and are here published for the first time. The editor conceived the volume with two objectives in mind: "first, to excavate and encourage the tendency toward a more sympathetic appraisal of the [abolitionist] movement, but second, to include all scholarly points of view, so that disagreements in interpretation might be further clarified." He was unable to find contributors to present the traditional view of the abolitionists; consequently, all the essays present new viewpoints and are generally sympathetic to the abolitionist movement. None of the authors, however, has considered it his function to defend or vindicate the abolitionists.

Only a few of the new viewpoints found here can be mentioned. Fawn M. Brodie charges that writers who have given the traditional view of the abolitionists have distorted history by both vituperation and omission. For example, he says that in their efforts to glorify Robert E. Lee, historians have glossed over his support for slavery, while, on the other hand, they have over-emphasized Lincoln's differences with the abolitionists and ignored "the steady evolution of Lincoln's attitude toward Negro rights and massive evidence of his cooperation with men in the radical wing of his party and they with him." Donald G. Mathews, Irving H. Bartlett, and Benjamin Quarles,

in essays on Orange Scott, Wendell Phillips, and Frederick Douglass, indicate the complexity of the problem of generalizing about the characters and motivations of the abolitionists. The essays by James M. McPherson and Willie Lee Rose reveal the fallacy of ignoring the constructive work of abolitionists during Reconstruction and labeling them as irresponsible fanatics and iconoclasts. Staughton Lynd maintains that in the Philadelphia Convention the issues of slavery and sectionalism were very potent forces in the shaping of the Constitution and that any interpretation of the convention which stresses economic factors, large and small state rivalry, or democracy versus conservatism while leaving out the slavery issue is an inadequate interpretation. Robin W. Winks maintains that Canada was neither the great haven for fugitive slaves and stronghold of freedom nor the supporter for American abolitionism that most historians have assumed. Howard R. Temperley maintains that a fair comparison of British and American abolitionism must consider the differences in character and magnitude of the problems they faced as well as tactics and effectiveness. Howard Zinn gives an able and thoughtful defense of the tactics of the abolitionists and compares them to the tactics of present-day "Freedom-Riders."

This volume does not present a synthesized reinterpretation of the abolition movement. Many areas remain to be explored in the light of new understandings and techniques available to today's historians. While the essays are uneven in quality and often contradictory, they suggest new approaches to the study of the abolition movement, and should stimulate research and writing in the field.

Clifton H. Johnson

LeMoyne College

How They Became President: Thirty-five Ways to the White House. By Rexford G. Tugwell. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1964. 587 pages. $8.95.)

Rexford Tugwell, formerly a New Deal Brain Truster but now a political scientist at the University of Puerto Rico, attempts to explain how the presidents have attained their high office and also to provide a handbook for those who would seek the White House.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I contains short sketches of each presidential campaign, and Part II contains a series of very short essays on the intrigues of presidential politics. Both parts are

superficial; in fact, the entire volume is but a surface sketching of presidential politics. The author surely could have made a better contribution by writing a straightforward analysis of the presidency. By dividing the book into two distinct parts, he succeeded in producing nothing more than two booklets. There is little here for the scholar; the book does not contain either bibliography or footnotes.

Professor Tugwell writes as an old New Deal Democrat; Republican presidents are roughly handled, especially Whig and Republican presidents-generals. Former President Eisenhower is severely criticized for ineptness, "While Dulles played God, Eisenhower played Golf. . . ."

The most interesting essay concerned the Kennedy campaign of 1960. The author writes with authority, but the picture of Kennedy is not flattering. Tugwell describes him as a coldly ambitious young man, backed by a family determined to gain the White House. President Lyndon B. Johnson is described more sympathetically; he is another F.D.R. fulfilling the New Deal's unfinished program.

Professor Tugwell's suggestions for attaining the presidency will come as no surprise. One must be of an orthodox faith, of Western origin, and a supporter of the common man. The book, though written by a man who worked with Franklin D. Roosevelt and Lyndon B. Johnson, is a disappointment.

Frank L. Grubbs, Jr.

Meredith College

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Lanier Library, 1890-1965, is the story of the growth of the library in Tryon from 2 to 20,000 volumes. The Lanier Library Association compiled the record to commemorate its diamond jubilee. The collection was started with a donation of two books of Sidney Lanier's poems, given by his wife. Copies of the 128-page book may be ordered from The Lanier Library Association, Inc., 114 Chestnut Street, Tryon, North Carolina, 28782, for $2.00 each.

Another in the *American Problem Studies* series, published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, is *The American Revolution: How Revolutionary Was It?* The 122-page, paper-back book was edited by George Athan Billias of Clark University. Selections from leading historians such as George Bancroft, Charles M. Andrews, Arthur M. Schlesinger, and Merrill Jensen give some idea of the varying points of view presented in this publication. Copies may be ordered from the publisher for $1.50.

The National Archives has recently published *Federal Population Censuses, 1790-1890: A Price List of Microfilm Copies of the Schedules.* The schedules of population contain material of value to historians and genealogists; the information in each successive census tends to become more detailed. The list is arranged chronologically by census year, with names of states, territories, and counties alphabetically arranged thereunder. Prices are quoted so that persons interested in acquiring microfilm copies of particular records can order conveniently. The booklet of 138 pages is available free of charge from the National Archives, the address of which is given below.

Volumes I and II, Number 163, *Preliminary Inventories,* have been published by the National Archives. Compiled by Edward E. Hill, Number 163 is entitled *Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.* Persons interested in the history of Indians in America will find this guide of tremendous help in doing research on the subject. Copies are available without charge from the Exhibits and Publications Division, National Archives, National Archives and Records Service, General Service Administration, Washington, D. C., 20408. The two volumes contain 459 pages; the index to both volumes is included in the second.

Stephen Beauregard Weeks, 1865-1918: A Preliminary Bibliography, by William S. Powell, was published this year as a centennial tribute

to Weeks. The titles listed by Mr. Powell show the extent of the contribution made by Stephen B. Weeks to the study of North Carolina history. The booklet was distributed to persons who attended the centennial dinner held in Chapel Hill on June 3. A limited number of copies of the 19-page publication are still available and may be purchased for 50 cents each. Inquiries should be sent to The North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

The North Carolina Good Neighbor Council, D. S. Coltrane, Chairman, has published a 53-page illustrated booklet, *At Work in North Carolina Today*. The brochure gives the stories of individual Negroes engaged in a wide variety of occupations in North Carolina. Sketches of forty-eight persons who took advantage of educational opportunities offered by the state and who are now employed in interesting jobs show progress being made by Negro citizens of North Carolina. Further information about the publication may be obtained by writing Box 584, Raleigh.

The Inevitable Guest, edited by John Ardis Cawthon, is "A documented excursion into the South of Civil War days." Letters of a South Carolinian, Jemima Darby, reveal clearly the trials and tribulations of those living in the period 1853 to 1883. Footnotes are given at the end of each chapter; there is a bibliography and an index at the end of the volume. Illustrations add to the interest of this 412-page book, published by The Naylor Company, San Antonio, Texas. The cost is $10.00

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Director's Office

On May 28 dedication ceremonies were held for the new courthouse in Tarboro. Judge Emery B. Denny was the principal speaker and Dr. Christopher Crittenden presented to the Edgecombe Court a facsimile copy of the minutes of the county court of Edgecombe County for 1744-1746.

In the office of Governor Dan K. Moore on June 11, Mr. Dan Paul presented to the museum of the U.S.S. "North Carolina" the sponsor's cup that had been given to his wife, the former Isabel Hoey, now deceased, when the "North Carolina" was launched, June 13, 1940.

The North Carolina hospitality committee for the convention of the National Trust for Historic Preservation met July 19 to plan for the convention which will be held in Raleigh October 7-10. Mr. Ralph P. Hanes, Winston-Salem, is chairman of the committee.

The General Assembly abolished the Heritage Square Commission, the State Capital Planning Commission terminated, and a bill was passed establishing a Capital Planning Commission which includes the Council of State and certain others.

The 1965 General Assembly increased the operating budget of the department as follows:

1964-1965	*1965-1966*	*1966-1967*
$782,084	$899,417	$851,037

This is an increase of 15 per cent the first year. In the second year the total decreases by almost $50,000, due to the fact that the sum appropriated as a grant-in-aid to the Colonial Records Project and the Civil War Roster Project was made only for the first year of the new biennium (1965-1966), but not for the second year (1966-1967). This figure does not include $3,050,000 appropriated in 1963 for a new Archives and History-State Library Building, plus 1965 appropriations by separate bills for historic sites.

The Raleigh Historic Sites Commission met July 20; Raleigh architect William H. Deitrick, newly appointed chairman, presided. Mrs. Sam Beard is co-chairman. All members were reappointed from the former commission and Mrs. Harry Clark II was added to the membership.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Dr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist; Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist; and staff members Donald E. Tedder and Percy

Hines attended the annual meeting of the North Carolina Association of Registers of Deeds in Statesville June 13-15.

Admiral Patterson on July 10 addressed the National Association of County Recorders and Clerks in San Diego, California, on the subject of "Archival Records—Foundation of the Future." He also attended the convention of the National Association of Counties and visited officials of the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah, relative to the co-operative microfilm program in North Carolina. On his return he visited the Arizona State Archives in Phoenix.

Mr. James O. Hall, Archivist II, attended the 19th Institute on Modern Archival Administration in Washington, D. C., June 7-18.

Miss Beth G. Crabtree, Archivist II, spoke to two local groups recently.

Miss Elizabeth Donnelly, formerly on temporary status, was appointed Archivist I effective August 1. Mr. Donald E. Tedder, microfilm operator, resigned effective July 31.

Two archivists, Miss Betsy Fleshman and Mrs. Judith A. Faulk, completed extension courses in North Carolina history in July.

Among the recent accessions in the Archives are 28 volumes of records of the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company, 1858-1964; minute books of the State Board of Equalization, 1927-1932, and of the State School Commission, 1933-1943; and an original copy of the 1850 census of Perquimans County. A private collection of 78 Civil War letters and documents relating to the Bracy family of Robeson County, including letters to and from soldiers at Forts Caswell and Holmes, was given by Mr. Lyman Wilson Sheppard of Erwin. The Isaac S. London Collection has been received, but will not be available for researchers for some months.

During the quarter ending June 30, 1,185 researchers registered in the Search Room and 1,085 letters requiring research were answered. Other statistics for the division included the following: 1,469 reels (144,960 linear feet) of microfilm were processed; 19,637 pages of manuscripts were restored by lamination; approximately 2,400 copies were furnished the public; and 4,700 copies were made for departmental purposes.

As a memorial to the late Clarence H. Poe, long-time publisher of the *Progressive Farmer,* a 24-reel microfilm edition of that weekly journal for the period 1886-1909 was completed. Dedicatory and biographical notes were filmed at the beginning of the first reel. Other newspapers made available on microfilm since the publication of the third edition of *North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm* are the *Salisbury Weekly Sun* (1897-1904), one reel; *Salisbury Daily Sun* (1897-1905), four reels; and the *Warrenton Gazette* (weekly, 1872-1897), ten reels.

The Civil War Roster project, formerly under sponsorship of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, was transferred to the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, effective July 1, 1965. The editor of the project, Dr. Louis H. Manarin, who was awarded the Ph.D. degree by Duke University on June 7, is assisted by his wife, Mrs. Jo Ann Manarin. Both are continuing research in the records at the National

Archives. The first volume, which will include the artillery units, is now in galley proof and is expected to be published before the end of the year.

Original records have been received in the Local Records Section from Beaufort, Craven, and Iredell counties. Microfilm copies of Gaston and Wilkes county records have been placed in the Search Room for public use. The microfilming of permanently valuable records of Rockingham and Wayne counties was completed and work is in progress in Iredell and Sampson counties.

In the State Records Section progress has been made in developing an essential records protection program for state agencies. "Memorandums of Understanding," listing records deemed to be so essential as to require special protection and specifying how this protection is to be provided, have been signed with the State Treasurer, Tax Review Board, Board of Paroles, Supreme Court, Recreation Commission, and Prison Department.

During the quarter ending June 30, 16,324 reference services were performed by the Records Center staff. During the same period, 1,893 cubic feet of records were accessioned and 249 cubic feet disposed of, for a net gain of 1,645 cubic feet.

Division of Historic Sites

The 1965 General Assembly appropriated funds through special bills for a total of $194,594 for the following historic sites in the state: the Cupola House, Edenton, $16,700; the James Iredell House, Edenton, $11,600; Fort Butler, Cherokee County, $6,000; Historic Halifax, $50,000; Davidson's Fort, Old Fort, $16,500; Confederate Gunboat "Neuse," Kinston, $15,000; the House in the Horseshoe, Moore County, $14,000; Pettigrew State Park, Washington County (Somerset Place), $19,000; the Barker House, Edenton, $2,900; Fort Defiance, Caldwell County, $20,000; "Hope Plantation," Bertie County, $20,000; and Bentonville Battleground, Johnston County, $2,894. Two of the above bills had the effect of establishing new State Historic Sites—Historic Halifax, and Pettigrew State Park in Washington and Tyrrell counties.

A deed of gift of the Allen House, Alamance County, was executed by the owner, Mr. Charles Fletcher Allen of New York, making it possible to proceed with the moving of the house to Alamance Battleground. The Burlington Merchants Association, under the leadership of Mr. George Colclough, conducted a campaign to raise $18,000 to meet a challenge grant of $4,000 offered by the Richardson Foundation. The Allen House was built about 1780 by a brother-in-law of Herman Husband, leader of the Regulators.

The Visitor Center-Museum at Fort Fisher has been completed, and exhibits installed; a dedication program was held August 11 with Governor Dan K. Moore as the principal speaker.

Satisfactory bids have been received for the visitor center-museum at the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial, and construction is in progress. Contracts totaling $63,150 are being processed for the visitor center-museum at Brunswick Town and construction will be started soon.

The Visitor Center-Museum at the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace has been completed and will be dedicated in the fall.

In June archaeological work was resumed for the summer at Bethabara. Mr. Stanley South, Archaeologist, was in charge of this program as well as work at the Palmer-Marsh House in Bath and at Brunswick Town.

Approximately 243,455 persons visited the nine historic sites during the fourth quarter of the fiscal year 1964-1965 as compared to 102,928 for the same quarter the preceding year.

The summer meeting of the North Carolina Museums Conference was held at Old Salem on June 23; Mr. Frank E. Walsh, president, presided. Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg and Mr. James A. Gray were in charge of the program. Several members of the staff attended the conference and toured the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.

On July 24 Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., visited the James K. Polk Ancestral Home in Columbia, Tennessee, and discussed the development plans for the Polk Birthplace at Pineville with members of the James K. Polk Memorial Auxiliary, which administers the home and its large collection of Polk memorabilia. The Polk Birthplace plans call for reconstruction of the log cabin in which Polk was born and the construction of a visitor center-museum at Pineville.

On May 3 Mr. W. S. Tarlton and Mr. Honeycutt lectured to a group of North Carolina State University School of Design students on "The Early Architecture of North Carolina and Aids to Dating Old Buildings." Each year the architectural students photograph and make measured drawings of old buildings in North Carolina. Last year the project centered on Historic Hillsborough and this year Historic Beaufort has been emphasized.

On May 4 Mr. Honeycutt investigated the Richmond Hill Law School, home of Richmond M. Pearson, Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court from 1858 to 1878. The school, where more than 1,000 lawyers studied, is located in Yadkin County. Plans for restoration of the school were discussed with Senator Boone Harding; Mr. James Hutchens, County Auditor; and Mr. Jimmy Hutchens, president of the Yadkin County Historical Society.

On June 8 Mr. Honeycutt conferred with Mrs. Dan K. Moore at the Executive Mansion concerning the work of the Executive Mansion Fine Arts Committee which is now trying to locate the original Samuel Sloan or A. G. Bauer architectural drawings of 1883-1891.

Division of Museums

On July 1 the official title of the museum became the North Carolina Museum of History. The name was changed from the Hall of History because of the repeated interpretation by the public of the name "Hall of History" as a hall of fame, the limiting image created by this connotation, the proposed move into a new building, and the need for a title to equal the scope of the museum and its program.

The May issue of *Tarheel Junior Historian,* featuring "North Carolina Variety Vacationland," was distributed to all clubs and to libraries requesting copies.

The 1964-1965 schedule for the Mobile Museum of History was completed July 5. Over 35,000 students and adults viewed the Civil War exhibit in the traveling unit since its initiation last October. Plans are underway for a new exhibit featuring the stories of tobacco and textiles in North Carolina.

The Assistant to the Museums Administrator, Mr. Samuel P. Townsend, attended the Third Annual Midwest meeting of the Junior Historian Leaders' Conference, June 10-13, in Madison, Wisconsin. Mr. Townsend was also a featured speaker at the Second Conference on Underwater Archaeology in Toronto, Canada, April 15-18.

Division of Publications

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, Meredith College, has accepted the editorship of the Pettigrew Papers. Dr. C. O. Cathey had previously been working on this collection but he asked to be relieved of the responsibility. Mr. Max R. Williams of Western Carolina College has agreed to do further work on additional volumes of Graham Papers. Material for several volumes was edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton prior to his death, but additional work is needed before the material can be published. Mr. Williams, who did his dissertation on William A. Graham, has just completed the requirements for the Ph.D. degree.

Receipts for the second quarter were $5,851 with $4,730 being retained by the department and $1,121 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 193 documentary volumes; 5 copies of the *Index* to *The North Carolina Historical Review*; 70 small books; 7,244 pamphlets, charts, and maps (including 175 Tercentenary pamphlets); 20,150 leaflets and brochures; and 2,825 copies of the list of publications available from the department. Not included in the total of 30,487 were 2,230 copies of the May issue of *Carolina Comments* and 2,044 copies of the Summer, 1965, issue of *The Review.*

Colonial Records Project

The Colonial Records Project is now chiefly concerned with publishing a volume of early records of the General Court, which was the highest court of law in North Carolina during most of the colonial period. Transcription of documents and other preliminary work was begun in July. The projected volume will contain seventeenth century records. Its preparation and publication will require about two years.

Drastic reduction in the project staff was made necessary in July because of failure of the General Assembly to appropriate funds for continuous operation at an optimum level. Although the legislature appropriated $25,000 as a grant-in-aid for the project, the grant must be matched by private funds before being made available. Consequently, one

full-time employee and four part-time employees were released at the end of June, and the staff was reduced to two part-time employees and the editor. As additional funds become available, the staff will be rebuilt.

The office was moved to the Raney Building in July, as the building formerly housing the project was scheduled for early demolition. The new quarters are temporary, as the Raney Building also is scheduled for demolition before the end of the year.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Mr. Luther W. Barnhardt, Associate Professor of History at North Carolina State University at Raleigh, retired July, 1965, after thirty-eight years of service. Dr. Oliver H. Orr, Jr., resigned as Assistant Professor of History to become, on August 2, Specialist in American History in the General Bibliography and Reference Division of the Library of Congress. Dr. Murray S. Downs was promoted from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor. Dr. John M. Riddle was appointed Assistant Professor of History effective July 1. During the 1964-1965 academic year he pursued advanced study in the medieval field as a Fulbright Graduate Fellow in Bonn, West Germany. Dr. Doris E. King has been appointed Visiting Professor of Education beginning February 1, 1966, and Professor of History beginning July 1, 1966. Mr. James S. Saeger was appointed Instructor of History effective September 1, 1965. Mr. Richard G. Lipsey has been appointed Assistant Professor of History in the Fort Bragg Branch of North Carolina State University.

Chancellor John T. Caldwell has announced the appointment of Mr. Maurice S. Toler as University Archivist, a position established by the 1965 General Assembly. Mr. Toler was for six years on the staff of the Department of Archives and History. In his new position he will develop an archival-records management program at the university. This is the first institution of higher learning in North Carolina to establish a full-time archivist position.

Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., Director, Department of History at East Carolina College, reports that Dr. George Pasti, Jr., served as Director of the Asian Affairs Institute during the summer. Dr. Betty Congleton has published an article, "George D. Prentice and Bloody Monday: A Reappraisal," in the July issue of *The Register* (Kentucky Historical Society). Dr. Fred D. Ragan joined the staff as Assistant Professor in September.

Mr. David W. Southern joined the staff of North Carolina Wesleyan College as Instructor in History, effective in September.

Announcement has been received from Asheville-Biltmore College that Dr. Phillip A. Walker, Professor of History at Asheville-Biltmore College, has been named chairman of the department.

Kenan Professor Fletcher M. Green won the Thomas Jefferson Award for 1965. The cash award for that member of the faculty whose life is in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson was established by Earll McConnel of Hobe Sound, Florida, who gave $10,000, the income from which is used to make the annual prize at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Professor James Logan Godfrey, former Dean of the Faculty, succeeds Professor Carl H. Pegg as Chairman of the Department of History. Professor Pegg served in this capacity from 1960 to 1965. Mr. Samuel F. Wells, Jr., has joined the department as an Assistant Professor. His specialty is American diplomatic history.

Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, Kenan Professor of History, will revise his article on North Carolina for the new edition of *Collier's Encyclopedia.*

The Department of History of Duke University announces the following promotions: Dr. John W. Cell and Dr. Donald E. Ginter to Assistant Professor; Dr. Warren Lerner, Dr. Anne F. Scott, and Dr. Donald G. Gillin to Associate Professor; and Dr. Robert F. Durden to Professor.

New appointments beginning in September, 1965, are: Professor Richard A. Preston as W. K. Boyd Professor of History, Mr. John Scott Wilson, Mr. Frederick H. Krantz, and Mr. Alden B. Pearson, as instructors.

Dr. Ernest W. Nelson, Professor of History, retired at the end of the 1964-1965 year and was honored at a departmental reception. He will be Visiting Professor of History at the University of South Carolina in the fall semester and at Emory University in the spring.

Guest lectures at various National Defense Education Act Institutes were given during the summer by Professors Colton, Crane, Durden, Gillin, Lerner, Parker, and Watson.

Dr. Haskell M. Monroe, Jr., a contributor to *The North Carolina Historical Review,* is editing *The Papers of Jefferson Davis.* He has asked for information concerning unpublished papers relating to Davis. Rice University, Houston, Texas, is the academic sponsor for this project which has the approval of both the National Historical Publications Commission and the United States Civil War Centennial Commission.

Grants-in-aid up to $1,000 each are available from the Harry S. Truman Library Institute, to cover travel and living expenses, for projects involving the Truman Administration and the history and nature of the presidency of the United States. For information and application forms, write the Director of the Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

The University of Delaware and the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation will award two or more Hagley Fellowships in a two-year program in American economic or technological history leading to a Master of Arts degree. Students take graduate courses at the university, perform research in primary materials at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, and become familiar with the work of the Hagley Museum. Further infor-

mation may be obtained by writing Hagley Fellowship Program, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL GROUPS

Dr. John Costlow, president of the Beaufort Historical Association, announced, July 19, two gifts to the Beaufort Restoration Fund, putting the campaign within sight of its $30,000 goal. Miss Reba Morton will furnish the Bell House with period antique furniture from her collection; Mr. Robert P. McLarty, a descendant of the builder of Bell House, donated $10,000 toward the restoration.

The April issue of *The Chronicle* of the Bertie County Historical Association was dedicated to the memory of Dr. William Picard Jacocks. Two articles about his life and work were included in the publication.

Dr. Harold J. Dudley, Executive Secretary of the Presbyterian Synod of North Carolina, delivered the main address at the bicentennial of the Bethesda Presbyterian Church in Caswell County on June 27. The church, founded about 1765 as "Hart's Chapel," has been called the "mother of many churches." An 87-page *History of Bethesda Presbyterian Church, 1765-1965,* written by the Reverend William E. Lytch, pastor, is available for $1.50 from the *Caswell Messenger,* Yanceyville.

The May issue of the Brunswick County Historical Society *Newsletter* featured an article, "Natural History of Smith Island," by Dr. Arthur W. Cooper, chairman of the Conservation and Legislative Committee of the North Carolina Academy of Science. Efforts are being made to preserve for future generations this last remaining example of undisturbed Atlantic coastal wilderness.

The State Department of Archives and History sponsored a summer daily tour service of Historic Halifax buildings and sites, directed by Mr. Charles Boykin, whose office was in Constitution House. Halifax is being restored as it was in the late eighteenth century when the Halifax Resolves were signed on April 13, 1776.

The Catawba County Historical Association met July 7 at Newton. Mr. Loyd Mullinax cited some of the Maiden landmarks that played a leading role in the town's early history and development, including the old Maiden and Providence mills, the old railway depot, South Fork Institute, and the post office.

The newly organized Cleveland County Historical Association met June 25 at Shelby. Mr. Edwin Gill, State Treasurer, was the principal speaker. The Department of Archives and History was represented by Mr. Honeycutt, who spoke on proper objectives of a historical group. The

following officers were elected: Mr. James Allen, president; Mr. David Beam, Mrs. B. A. Harry, and Mr. O. P. Hamrick, vice-presidents; Mrs. Rush Hamrick, Jr., recording secretary; and Mrs. Pansy Fetzer, treasurer. Proceedings were initiated to incorporate the society and to obtain tax exempt status from the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

The Granville County Historical Society met in Oxford May 24. Mrs. Leslie Hummell, president, presided; the organization is seeking information about private or public cemeteries which should be marked.

The Greensboro Historical Museum celebrated its fortieth anniversary June 17 with a luncheon and a tour of the expanded museum. Mr. Henry Norman Walmsley, consul at the British Embassy in Washington, principal speaker, was presented a certificate of honorary citizenship in Greensboro by Mayor William L. Trotter, Jr. Other speakers included Mr. Earl Weatherly, chairman of the museum board; Mr. James MacLamroc, representing the English Speaking Union; Dr. Crittenden; Mayor Trotter; and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger. The following new officers were elected: Mr. David Schenck, president; Mr. John A. Kellenberger, vice-president; Mrs. Kellenberger, secretary; Mr. Charles A. Banner, Jr., treasurer. The museum, which had been closed during the expansion, was opened to the public June 18.

The Historic Hillsborough Commission met May 28, in Hillsborough, following a meeting of its Executive Board. The commission purchased the old Burwell School as its first restoration project. Mrs. Alfred G. Engstrom, chairman, presented the story of the school. The commission approved participation in the bicentennial celebration of the granting of the charter of Hillsborough and of the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the Presbyterian Church in Hillsborough.

The Hyde County Historical Association met June 26 in New Holland. The business meeting was followed by a talk by Mr. David Stick of Colington, on "History in Your Own Backyard." The following officers were reelected: Mrs. Allen Bucklew, president; Mrs. Marina Baum, vice-president; Mrs. Juanita Miller, secretary; Mrs. Betty Spencer, treasurer.

The Johnston County Historical Society met on its tenth anniversary, July 18, at the Bentonville Battleground Visitor Center-Museum. Mr. C. S. Coats presided over the meeting which was highlighted by a note-burning to celebrate the debt-free status of the museum.

The Mecklenburg Historical Association met May 20, in Charlotte. Mr. John Staton, president, presided over the celebration of the one hundred ninetieth anniversary of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Hinson, Charlotte, showed color slides of their foreign travels.

The Littleton College Memorial Association held its annual reunion at North Carolina Wesleyan College, July 10. The Reverend William K. Quick, pastor of Saint James Methodist Church in Greenville and secretary of the Methodist Historical Society, North Carolina Conference, was the principal speaker. Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives, who spoke briefly about the beginning of Littleton Female College and the beginning of Methodism, presented a portrait of Frances Asbury to Wesleyan College on behalf of the association. New officers are Mrs. Curtis Crissman, president; Mrs. Lula McCall Usher, secretary; Miss Mary Shotwell, treasurer.

The McDowell County Historical Society met in the Carson House in Marion, June 28. After the business session, Mrs. John Henderson spoke about her trip to Scotland and Ireland where she visited ancestral homes of a number of early McDowell County families.

Members of the Board of Directors of the New Bern Historical Society met June 24. Mr. Robert L. Stallings, Jr., president, presided.

The Directors of the North Carolina Coastal Historyland Association met in New Bern, June 25. Other meetings were held July 13, 14, 15, at Wilmington, Goldsboro, and Elizabeth City, respectively. Mr. P. D. Midgett, Jr., president, presided over the meetings.

The Perquimans County Historical Society at its June meeting accepted an offer of the White-Newbold home, near Hertford, and made plans for conservation of the building. Mr. David M. Warren and Mrs. W. D. Holmes, Jr., of Edenton spoke about the restoration of historical buildings. The following officers were elected: Mr. B. C. Berry, president; Mrs. Alice E. Futrell, vice-president; Mrs. Raymond Winslow, recording secretary; Mr. R. L. Stevenson, treasurer; Mrs. S. M. Whedbee, secretary-curator.

The Rockingham County Historical Society met July 25 in Wentworth. Mrs. S. R. Prince, president, presided. Dr. Hugh F. Rankin, Professor of History at Tulane University, spoke on the Revolutionary War.

The Wake County Historical Society conducted its third annual walking tour of the Capitol Square area in Raleigh, July 5. The tour, led by Miss Beth Crabtree and Mr. T. W. Mitchell, is part of a continuing effort to acquaint citizens of Wake County and North Carolina with their State Capitol area.

The Wilkes Historical Society tour in the Yadkin Valley, on July 18, included the Colonel Nathaniel Folk Law School; the Patterson School, whose history was told by Headmaster George S. Wiese; "Walnut Fountain"; and Fort Defiance, where Mrs. Mildred McDowell Jones told of the history and proposed restoration of the fort.

On July 23-25 the Wisackyola Festival, sponsored by the Waxhaw Woman's Club, emphasized the history of the area. A pageant, "Listen and Remember," traced the history of the Waxhaw section from the discovery in 1670 by John Lederer of Wisacky, the village of the Waxhaw Indians, through the Revolutionary War; scenes on Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk were included. Mr. Frank Crane, Commissioner of Labor, received the Lederer-Lawson award and the Reverend Harry Gamble received the Andrew Jackson award.

The Yadkin County Historical Society met July 10 at Yadkinville. Reports were made on proposed projects, including a request for state markers for unmarked historic sites in Yadkin County.

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